ṬABAḲĀT-I-NĀSIRĪ :

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ṬABAḲĀT-I-NĀṢIRĪ:

A GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

MUHAMMADAN DYNASTIES OF ASIA,

INCLUDING HINDUSTAN;

from A.H. 194 (810 A.D.) to A.H. 658 (1260 A.D.)

and the

Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam

by

MAULĀNĀ, MINHĀJ-UD-DĪN, ABŪ-'UMAR-I-'UṢMĀN

Translated from Original Persian Manuscripts

by

MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY

VOL. I

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PREFACE.

IN 1865 I was led to read the printed text of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī, published at Calcutta in 1864, in search of materials towards a history of the Afghāns and their country, which is very much mixed up with that of India.

Having gone through a great portion of it, and finding it defective in many places, and full of errors, I thought it advisable to examine the India Office Library *MS.*, No. 1952, from which the printed text was said to have been taken, went through the whole of that work, and found that it also was defective, and contained numerous errors. I found nothing, however, respecting the Afghāns, except in one place, and there they were briefly mentioned in a few lines, but very characteristically.

I had already discovered, when in search of other materials, what lamentable errors the available Histories of India, so called, in the English language contained, and I now found how they had arisen. With a view of correcting them, I made a translation of those portions of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī which related to India, and the History of the Ghaznawī and Ghūrī dynasties; and, when I offered a translation to the Bengal Asiatic Society some twelve years ago, my intention was, as stated in my letter on the subject, merely to have made a fair copy of the translation of those identical portions.

Soon after, I obtained a very old copy of the work; and, on comparing it with the I. O. L. *MS.* No. 1952, I found such considerable and important differences to exist, that I determined to begin anew, and translate the whole work.

The Society having accepted my offer, and the defective

state of the printed text being well known, Mr. Arthur Grote, to whom I am very greatly indebted for assistance in many ways, advised that, in making this translation, I should avail myself of any other copies of the text that might be procurable in Europe. On instituting inquiry the following were found, and have been already referred to in my report to the Society, published in the "Proceedings" for February, 1873, and have been used by me in my task. I must here give a brief description of them, and notice and number them according to their apparent age and value, which arrangement, however, will bo somewhat different from that in the notes to pages 68 and 77 of the translated text.

1. A *MS.* belonging to the St Petersburg Imperial Public Library.

This, probably, is the most ancient of the copies collated. It is not written in an elegant hand, by any means, although plainly and correctly, but in the style in which Mullās usually write. The *dāls* are marked with diacritical points, and other letters are written in a peculiar manner, denoting considerable antiquity It is, however, imperfect, and does not comprise much more than half the work.

2. The British Museum *MS.* No Add 26, 189.

This copy is considered by Doctor Rieu, whose experience is sufficiently great, and authority undoubted, to be a *MS.* of the fourteenth century. It is clearly written and correct, and has been of the utmost use to me It wants a few pages at the end, hence the date on which it was completed, and by whom written, which generally are inserted at the end, cannot be discovered.

3 The old *MS* in my possession.

To judge from the writing and paper, I should suppose it to be about the same age as No. 2. It is clearly written, but wants several pages at the end, consequently, the date of its completion likewise cannot be discovered. One pretty good proof of its age, however, is that the whole, from beginning to end, has been cut close to the illuminated borders of each leaf, and inlaid on other paper, which also appears to be of considerable age. Whoever did this turned a number of leaves the wrong way, and misplaced

several pages, which took me some time to put in their places again.

I imagine that there is very little difference, in point of antiquity, between these three copies.

4 A *MS.* belonging to the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg.

This is a well and correctly written *MS.*, which has also been of the greatest use to me in my work It wants about two leaves at the end, and, consequently, the date on which it was copied does not appear. I should say, comparing it with the others above described, that it is a *MS.* of the sixteenth century, possibly, still earlier. It has an unreadable name on the last leaf, with 1218 H. [1803 A.D.] upon it.

5. The India Office Library *MS.*, No. 1952.

This is also a plainly written copy, and, apparently, of considerable age, nearly as old, possibly, as the three copies first named, but it is incorrect in scores of places: one place in particular, where three complete pages of the history of Sulṯān Mas'ūd of Ghaznīn occur in the middle of the account of the Saljūks This is important, although an error, because it shows us how many other copies have been taken from it, or that it, and the other copies hereafter to be named, were all copied from another, still earlier, *MS.* imperfect in that identical place

This *MS* is, in all probability, that referred to by Stewart, as belonging to Tipū's library, and said to have been "copied by the author himself." The reason why this, too, has been erroneously considered "*an autograph of the author's*," is simply this—whoever copied it, as in the case of other copies, neither recorded his own name, nor the place where, or date when, it was completed, and so it terminates in the author's own words, hence some people have run away with the idea—and it only shows upon what a shadow they often found their theories—that the author himself *must have written it.* It ends thus:—"The book of Al-Minhāj bin Sarāj, the 5th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal—the third month—in the year fifty and six hundred." The eight, which should have preceded the fifty, has been left out. On the first leaf the following is written: "The Ṯabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī, in the city of Ḥaidar-ābād, in the month of Rabī'-

ul-Awwal, 1157 H. [1744 A.D], was bought of the booksellers in that place."

6 and 7. Two *MSS.* in the Paris National Library.

These may be classed, at least the best of the two, with the preceding *MS.*, No. 5, in point of date, and want of correctness, and I believe that they are either copies of No. 5, or, like it and two others—the Bodleian *MS.*, and the Ro. Asiatic Soc. MS.—copies of the same identical *MS.* They all agree as to errors,[1] and they all end in the same way, without the name of the scribe, the date, or place where copied, with the single exception of the Bodleian copy, which has the word "eight" *written over* the words "fifty and six hundred." For the reasons above-mentioned, both Paris *MSS.*—not one only, I find—were fondly considered "*autographs of the author's;*" but M. H. Zotenberg, whose opinion I asked, very justly says, "this is impossible, because the two *MS.* are not in the same handwriting." He, however, adds, "but to judge from the paper and the writing, I should suppose that they are both *MSS.* of the fifteenth century. They were both brought from India." They came from the Dakhan, in all probability.

8 and 9 The other copy of the text in the British Museum, No. Add 25,785, which Doctor Rieu considers may be of the sixteenth century, and another belonging to the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg These are, comparatively, modern copies, of the first half of the seventeenth century in all likelihood. They are plainly written, but are neither of them very correct. The former is defective to the extent of seven or eight 8vo pages at the end, and the other also wants a few leaves. They are neither of them of much value

10. A *MS.* formerly in the Library of Haileybury College.

This is the most complete *MS* of the text that I have met with, although it is of comparatively recent date It is written in a plain, but not elegant hand. It is generally correct, and closely agrees with Nos. 2, 3, and 4, and I have found it exceedingly useful. Indeed without it, and

[1] See Notes [9], page 308, [3], page 376, [3], page 400, [1], page 426; [3], page 573, [7], page 577, and particularly page 665, note [8], page 684, note [1], note page 692, and [9], page 703, in which some of these are pointed out.

Nos. 2, 3, and 4, I never could have completed my task satisfactorily. In a few places it supplied what was defective in two of the others. The date of copying is not given, but, from its appearance, I should say it was a *MS.* of the last half of the seventeenth century. After the author's concluding words the following is written :— "The owner of this *MS*, in the port [Bandar] of Sūrat, [is] the Ḥājī, Muḥammad Sharif, son of Mullā Muḥammad Sharif, son of Mullā Muḥammad Ṭāhir," after which follow some words not quite intelligible, "on the 8th of Sha'bān—the eighth month—1113 H [1701-1702, A D], was recorded" The two last words appear to refer rather to the date the owner wrote his name, than to the date the *MS.* was completed. It subsequently belonged to some Grandee of the Mughal empire, from the titles given under the above record, namely, "The Mumtāz-ud-Daulah, Mufakhkhar ul-Mulk, Ḥusām-i-Jang" Who he was I am unable to say.

11 The copy of the text formerly belonging to the late Colonel G W. Hamilton, C B, in the collection of the late Earl of Crawfurd and Balcarres. This is, upon the whole, the worst copy I have collated, and contains very numerous errors, although, in point of age, it may be older than Nos 8, 9, and 10 It terminates abruptly at page 462 of the Printed Text, and is thus defective to the extent of about twenty-six pages, but it has the closing page, and when and where written Before I saw it, I was informed that it was a very valuable copy, and that it had belonged to "the Emperor Shah Jahan, because his seal was stamped on the margin of one of the pages" On examination, I found that the *MS.* was completed "on Thursday, the 6th of Rajab—the seventh month—of the year 1059 H [July, 1649], in the reign of the Second Ṣāḥib-i Kirān, Abū-l-Muzaffar, Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, Shāh-i-Jahān, Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī, in the city of Burhānpūr [in Kāndes], at the time when hostilities broke out between that monarch and Shāh 'Abbās the Second [the Ṣafawī ruler of Īrān], respecting Ḳandahār [the Ḳizil-bāshis were then actually investing that stronghold]," and that the copyist was the Khānah-zād-i-Dargāh [the born slave of the Court or Household], Mu'īn-ud-Dīn, Khwājah-i-Jahān, the Jahān-girī," [of the Household of Jahāngīr Bādshāh], Shāh-i-Jahān Bādshāh's father.

Beneath this again is the name of a **Maulawî, the son of** some "Khān," partly obliterated, with the date 1255 H. [1839 A.D.]. A seal underneath bears the date 1233 H. [1818 A.D.] The largest seal, supposed to be that of Shāh-i-Jahān Bādshāh, bears the following inscription :—"Mu'in-ud-Dîn, Muhammad [the same person as referred to above], ghulām-i-Shāh-i-Jahān," with the figures 24, referring to the year of that monarch's reign, and the year 1061 H. [it began Dec. 14th, 1650, A.D.]. A smaller seal, with an inscription—"Yā Mu'in"—"O Helper!"—bears date 1058 H. [1648 A.D.]. I could discover nothing to show that the *MS.* had ever belonged to Shāh-i-Jahān Bādshāh.

12. The *MS.* belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society. This, as previously mentioned, is a modern copy, of the latter part of the seventeenth century possibly, and is either a copy of No. 5, or copied from the same *MS.* that that was copied from. It is pretty plainly but carelessly written, in, by no means, a good hand ; but, like the others referred to, is very defective, and the proper names of persons and places are often without any points.

I have already noticed how incorrect the Printed Text is. In the Preface to it, Colonel W. N. Lees, LL.D., says: "When I commenced the work, we had three copies, one belonging to the Ro. Asiastic Soc., one in the India House Library, and one belonging to the High Priest of the Pársís at Bombay. A little while afterwards, Colonel Hamilton, in reply to a circular of the Society, forwarded a copy from Dehli. These *MSS.* are all apparently good old copies, and are written in very different hands. It was supposed, then, that we had four distinct copies to collate ; but, before long, it became apparent that the four had been copied from two *MSS.*,[1] so, in reality, we had only two. . . . The Society had issued hundreds of circulars to all parts of India, and had failed to draw out more than two copies ; and the fact, that the four old copies I had had been copied

[1] In this case, if the Ro. As. Soc's *MS.* is a copy of the India Office *MS.*, the Hamilton *MS.*, and the High Priest's, must be copies one of the other, or copies from another *MS.*

Sir Henry Elliot mentions that he found one in the Royal Library at Lakhnāo, but most of the MSS. in that collection were, I believe, destroyed during the rebellion of 1857.

from two *MSS.*, seemed to indicate so clearly the great scarcity of *MSS.* of this work, that I decided to go on"

From these remarks its defectiveness is not to be wondered at, but, at the same time, as I have shown in my notes, there are numerous errors in it which are not to be found in these *MSS.*, and a little historical and geographical discrimination on the part of the editors might have corrected many of them.

The time and labour required for simply translating a book, especially if but one or two copies be used for collation, is not very great; and this translation could have been accomplished in a tithe of the time I have devoted to it. But, as this History is one of the four most important works with respect to the early rulers of India, and that part of Central Asia upon which all eyes have been lately turned, and are likely to be turned in the future, I thought it advisable not to spare any pains on it, although it has occupied some years longer than I anticipated. I have collated nine copies of the text word for word, and all doubtful passages have been collated for me from the other three Although this has occupied a great deal of time, and entailed much labour, a still greater amount of both has been expended on the notes, which I deemed necessary to illustrate our author's often brief, sometimes erroneous, but generally valuable, statements, to point out the errors which he has sometimes fallen into, and to point out some of the legion of lamentable mistakes, and misleading statements, contained in compilations purporting to be "Histories of India," "Histories of Afghánistán from the Earliest Times," and similar Histories of other Eastern states and peoples; and to show the exact value of the compilations, turned out by the yard by raw hands, for the Public of the newspapers and reviews, and the general reader.

These errors in Indian History are solely attributable to the miscalled translations of the comparatively modern chronicle, known as the Tārīkh-i-Firishtah by Dow and Briggs, the first of whom could not possibly have understood the words of the writer in scores of places, and in such cases appears to have recorded his own ideas instead of the author's statements. Firishtah's work, too, is not difficult, and the style is simple; and it is one of a few books

well adapted for the Lower Standard of Examination in the Persian language. Firishtah's materials were chiefly taken from the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, also known as the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbar Shāhī, of the Khwājah, Niẓām-ud-Dīn, Aḥmad, who obtained his materials, up to the reign of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Balban, from the work of our author, and not a single event is recorded in Firishtah that is not recorded in the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī This will be quite clear to any one who will take the trouble to compare them. Firishtah, indeed, follows it so closely that, not only are the poetical quotations appropriated, but the errors also, as I have pointed out in my notes, have been faithfully copied by the Dakhanī author where the one errs the other is sure to follow[3]

The English version of Briggs, "*the admirable version*," as a writer, who did not know the contents of Firishtah, calls it, is clearly based upon Dow's, with very slight alterations, and they are chiefly of a verbal kind I should be sorry to be unjust to any author, but I submit that, where great, misleading, and glaring, historical errors, are as clear as the light of day, it is a duty towards the public, and in the interests of science, that they should be pointed out, even at the risk of "hurting the susceptibilities" of the authors of them or their friends, especially when such pernicious compilations as I have referred to, under the name of history, continue to be used in our colleges and schools, without the nature of them being known in its true light The writers of them have much to answer for, but those who have adopted them in our public institutions a vast deal more. See, for example, note [4], page 312, and note, page 323

One of the most glaring of the misstatements I refer to is that wherein the Turk sovereigns of Ghaznīn, as well as the Tājzīk rulers of Ghūr, are turned into "Patháns" or "Afgháns," which words are synonymous, and "Patháns" or "Afgháns" into Turks and Tājzīk Ghūrīs. Dow, in the first place, is to blame for this, but Briggs blindly followed him[4] I say this advisedly. The proof is

[3] A few examples of which may be seen in Note [9], page 441, and [8], page 653; last para of Note [8], page 665, [4], page 697, and [4], page 711

[4] Examples of this will be found in Notes [3], page 204, [8], page 312, [4],

easy from any *MS.* of Firishtah's work, but with *MSS* alone we need not rest content We have only to compare Briggs's version with that lithographed edition printed at Bombay, to which Briggs put his name as editor and reviser, to prove my words

Let us, for example, take any passage in Briggs' account of the Ghūrīs, or the history of the Turkish slave Sultāns of Dihlī—those, say, referred to at page 508 of this work —and in the Persian text which, according to the title-page, had the benefit of his editing and revision, *not one word will be found respecting their being Afghāns, as contained in his* "admirable translation:" all comes from Dow

If this TRANSLATION OF THE ṬABAKĀT-I-NĀṢIRĪ, the original of which was published just six hundred and twenty-one years ago, and the notes accompanying it, disperse to the winds this error-bubble alone, I shall deem my time not lost, and the labour of years not thrown away, because, even since the publication of Sir H Elliot's extracts from various Histories, which also showed how incorrect this "Pathán" theory was, Turks, Tājzīk Ghūrīs, Turkish Slaves, Jats, Sayyids, and others, continue to figure under the ridiculous name of "Pathán dynasties," up to this present day[1]

I have already remarked that our author has mentioned the Afghāns but once in his History, and that very briefly, but, at the same time, most graphically [page 852], a body of them being in the pay of the Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam. The Afghāns were by no means unfamiliar to our author, and he certainly knew the Ghūrīs better than any other author known to us, and he shows on that very page that they were a totally different race In his account of the Shansabānīs of Ghūr, and their dynasties, he simply stands unrivalled, and also in his accounts of the first Mughal invasions of the territories between Hirāt and Multān The Afghāns appear at this time to have begun to take service under the Muhammadan feudatories of the western border provinces of the Dihlī kingdom They may have been in the

page 320, note [7], para 4, page 321, note [8], page 404; [7], page 431, note [8] page 441, note [4], page 514; and [1], para 5, page 794

[1] See the "Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society," Part I., No. II., pr. 1880, page 18.

habit of taking such service previously, but to no great extent I imagine, but, about this period, there was a particular reason for it—the confusion and convulsions caused throughout the vast tracts of country which formed the kingdom of the Ghaznawīs and their subverters the Ghūrīs, styled Afghānistān by Europeans chiefly, through the irruptions, devastations, massacres, and final subversion of the Musalmān rule by the hordes of infidel Mughals, by whom the country of the Afghāns was completely surrounded on the north, south, and west, while the only territory still held by a Musalmān sovereign lay on the east—the Panj-āb—the western part of which also subsequently fell under the Mughal yoke The limits of the true Afghānistān were prescribed by the mountains bounding the Kurma'h valley and the territory of Kābul on the north, the Koh-i-Surkh on the south, the territories of Ghaznīn and Ḳandahār on the west, and the Sulīmānī mountains or Koh-i-Siyah on the east.

It will be observed that I have really commenced the Translation from Section VII., and from that point it embraces the whole work. The first six, with the exception of the History of the early kings of Ī-rān, are not of much importance by reason of their brevity The account of the Ī-rānī dynasties, which would require a volume to illustrate them, I have treated as a separate work, which, ere long, may see the light. To make the Translation in effect complete, however, I have given an abstract of the first six Sections.

The adulations addressed to, and constant prayers offered up for, the Sulṭān to whom the author dedicated, and after whom he named, his History, have been omitted or greatly reduced, and some of the introductions to the Sections also, which are of a similar style, have been cut short, but, in all other cases, I have not "compressed" the Translation in the least degree, and I may say that I have weighed every word and sentence, and have omitted nothing, not even the poetical quotations, having only rejected some of the longer portions when they have been of no interest, not necessary to the text, or of no particular merit. I have endeavoured to render the translation as nearly as possible in the author's own words, without being slavishly literal. It is however sufficiently

literal to assist a student, and yet readable by the English reader, though keeping much of a foreign complexion for various reasons. It is possible that in so long a work, published at intervals as completed, and not in a complete form at once, slight inconsistencies in punctuation and English (though not Persian, save through printers' errors) orthography may be here and there observable. Most English punctuation is haphazard, and left to the compositors, who, apparently, sometimes use it to denote breathing pauses; sometimes to help out the grammar. One may point sentences very much or very little, but whatever is done should be upon one system. Accordingly here, for the most part, the minute plan of what may seem to some over-much stopping is adopted, though not always, but no such absurdity is allowed to appear as a divorce of the verb from its subject by a single comma, and other errors of that sort, which come of printers attending entirely to pause and forgetting grammar.

Scholars will understand that there may be much to be said for more ways than one of spelling the same word in such a language as English.

This book, the text and notes together, will be found to be a very thesaurus of the most varied and often recondite historical material for the periods of which it treats, and many time-honoured historical errors have been pointed out and rectified. It wants but one thing to make it still more acceptable to the Student, and that is an Index. The Reviewers are tolerably sure to point this out for fear nobody else should see it. So the Translator begs to say, once for all, that he is too weary, and his time too valuable, to take up any such work Meanwhile, The Index Society will have here a capital tough subject for their charitable exertions

Besides the standard Histories mentioned in note [1], page 869, the following, among which are many rare, celebrated, and excellent, works, have been also used, and some of them have been extensively drawn upon. The majority, but not all, have been mentioned in the notes taken from them. From "the labours of" these authors "my predecessors" I have derived the utmost "assistance," and acknowledge it accordingly.

Tārīkh-i-Tabarī,
Kitāb-i-Yamīnī,
Kitāb-i-Masālik-wa-Mamālik,
Tārīkh-i-Abū-l-Fazl-i-Baihaḳī,
Zain-ul-Akhbār,
Nizām-ut-Tawārīkh of the Ḳāzī, Abū-Sa'īd-i-'Abd-ullah of Baizā,
Tāj ul-Ma'āṣir,
Kāmil-ut-Tawārīkh of the Shaikh, Abū-l-Ḥasan-i-'Alī, surnamed Ibn-ul-Asir,
Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh of Sujān Rāe,
Khulāṣat-ul-Akhbār,
Mir'āt-ul-'Ālam,
Mir'at-i-Jahān-Numā,
Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī of Ziyā-ud-Dīn, Baranī,
Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī,
Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī of Shams-i-Sirāj,
Zaffar-Nāmah,
Tuzūk-i-Bābarī,
Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī of the Mīrzā, Muhammad Ḥaidar, the Doghlātī Mughal,
Memoirs of Humāyūn Bādshāh by Bāyazīd the Byāt,
Ā'īn-i-Akbarī,
Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī,
Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh of the Budā'ūnī,
Akbar Nāmah of Faiẓī the Sarhindī,
Taẓkirāt-ul-Abrār of the Akhūnd, Darwezah,
Makhzan-i-Afghānī,
Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahān, the Lūdī,
Ẓubdat-ut-Tawārīkh,
Rauẓat-uṭ-Tāhirīn,
Sair-ul-Bilād — a Persian Translation of the Aṣār-ul-Bilād,
Baḥr-ul-Asrār,
Tuhfat-ul-Kirām,
Chachh Nāmah,
Tārīkh-us-Sind of Mīr Ma'sūm, the Bakharī,
Tārīkh-i-Haft-Iklīm,
Ikbāl Nāmah-i-Jahān-girī,
Ma'adan-i-Akhbār-i-Aḥmadī,
Taẓkirat-ul-Mulūk of Yaḥyā Khān,
Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh of Faḳīr Muhammad,
Tārīkh-i-Rājahāhe Jammū,
History of Gauṛ or Lakhanawatī of Shiām Parshād,
and a few others.

The following Pushto or Afghān Chronicles have also been used —The History of the Khashī sept of the Afghān nation, and their conquests beyond the river of Kābul, by Khwājū, the Matīzī, the Tārīkh-i-Nisbat-i-Afāghinah, by the Shaikh, 'Abd-ur-Razzāḳ, Matīzī, and the Tārīkh-i-Muraṣṣa' by Muhammad Afzal Khān, Khatak

I cannot close these remarks without tendering my sincere thanks to Doctor C Rieu, Keeper of the Oriental

Manuscripts of the British Museum, for his kind and efficient assistance at all times, also to Professor Alois Sprenger of Wabern near Bern, and to Monsieur H. Zotenberg of the French National Library, who very kindly collated numerous passages for me.

The system of transliteration, adopted in the following pages, is that known as the system of Sir William Jones, which, after some thirty years' experience, the Translator conceives to be the easiest, as well as the most natural, and as easy of pronunciation [except, perhaps, the purely 'Arabic gutturals] as the original letters of the 'Arabic alphabet.

The vowels are three *short* —a, i, u, equivalent to ‑َ — ‑ِ — and ‑ُ; and three *long*—ā, ī, ū, equivalent to آ — ى — و.

All consonants, except the following, are pronounced precisely the same as in English: — ث s̱, as *th* in thing, or lisped *s*, چ — c͟h, as *ch* in church, ح — ḥ, strongly aspirated, which occurs only in purely 'Arabic words, خ — k͟h, as *ch* in loch, and as German *ch*, ڈ — ḍ, pronounced by applying the tip of the tongue inverted to the palate; ذ — ẕ, as *th* in thine, by 'Arabs, *dth*, ڑ — ṛ, as *r* uttered by striking the point of the tongue on the palate, ژ —j͟z, as *s* in pleasure, or soft French *j*, ش — s͟h, as *sh* in shell; ص — ṣ, as *ss* in dissolve; ض — ẓ, as *dwd*; ط — ṭ, as *t* with a slight aspiration, ظ — ẓ, as English *z* with a slight aspiration; ع — ', a deep guttural without any audible aspiration, and, when initial to a word, the ' is placed before its vowel, as in 'Alī, and, when not initial, after its preceding vowel, as in Ja'far and Rāfi'; غ g͟h, a guttural sound like that produced in gargling, or Northumbrian *r*, and something similar to *gh* in ghost, ق — ḳ, another peculiar 'Arabic sound, produced by pressing back the root of the tongue to the throat, and partaking of the sound of *k* and *q*; ه— h, slightly aspirated; at the end of a word it is often unaspirated. When *e* occurs at the end of a word preceded by *ā*, the former is almost quiescent. The only diphthongs are *ai* and *au*

From the above system the scholar can at once tell the original letters in the names of persons and places. Unless the peculiar letters are marked there is no knowing what they are meant for. For example; if the equivalent of ح

is not marked, we cannot tell whether the original was غ or the two letters گ and ه; and if the roman equivalents of ث, س, and ص are all rendered by simple "s," how are we to know which is the letter meant?

As the work is rather more bulky than was anticipated at the outset, and may be perhaps more convenient in two volumes than in one, I have provided for binding it up into two volumes by giving two separate title-pages, as it can be conveniently divided at the commencement of Section XXII., page 719.

Rock House,
Milverton, Somerset,
12th January, 1881 A.D 12th Ṣafar, 1298 H

MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR.

FEW materials exist for a notice of our author, and these are chiefly furnished by himself.

The first mention he makes of his family is to the effect that "the Imām, 'Abd-ul-Khāliḳ, the Jūrjānī, having, in his early manhood, dreamt a dream on three successive occasions, urging him to proceed to Ghaznīn and seek a wife, set out thither; and, subsequently, obtained, in marriage, one of the forty daughters of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm of Ghaznīn," who was in the habit of bestowing his daughters, in marriage, upon reverend and pious Sayyids and 'Ulamā, like other Musalmān rulers have continued to do, down to recent times.

By this wife, 'Abd-ul-Khāliḳ had a son, whom he named Ibrāhīm, after his maternal grandfather, the Sulṭān, and he was our author's great-grandfather. He was the father of the Maulānā, Minhāj-ud-Dīn, 'Uṣmān, who was the father of the Maulānā, Sarāj-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad—who is called Ibrāhīm by some—who was known by the title of 'Ujūbat-uz-Zamān—The Wonder of the Age. He was the father of the Maulānā, Minhāj-ud-Dīn,[1] Abū-'Umar-i-'Uṣmān, the author of the following History, who thence often brings in his father's and grandfather's name, styling himself Minhāj-i-Sarāj-i-Minhāj, the two *iẓāfats* being used to signify *son of* in place of the Arabic *bin*.

Our author's ancestors, on both sides, for several generations, appear to have been ecclesiastics of repute, and men

[1] The title, Sarāj-ud-Dīn, means "The Lamp, or the Luminary of the Faith," and Minhāj-ud-Dīn, "The High-road, or the Way of the Faith." See note [2], page 1295.

distinguished for learning He states that he possessed, among the *misāl* or diplomas granted to his maternal ancestors by the Khalīfahs, one from the Khalīfah, Mustaẓī B'illah, conferring the Ḳāẓī-ship of the fortress, or rather, fortified town, of Tūlak, described in the following pages, together with that over the Ḳuhistān, and the Jibāl—Highlands—of Hirāt, upon his maternal grandfather, in conformity with the diploma previously held by the latter's father before him His paternal grandfather also received an honorary dress from the same Pontiff, and our author says that he himself possessed the diploma which was sent along with it

In the oldest copies of the text, and in several of the more recent, our author almost invariably styles himself 'the Jūrjānī'—حورحاني—as I have from the outset rendered it, but those *MSS* previously referred to, which appear to have been copied from the same source as that from which the I O L. *MS.* was taken, or from that copy itself, generally have حورحاني—Jūzānī—and sometimes Jūrjānī as above. If the point of ز—z—be left out, as is very liable to be the case, like the points of other letters, by copyists, it is but simple ر—r Words containing long ū—وُ—are often written with the short vowel *zammah* or *pesh*—ُ—instead of وُ—and hence, in some few copies, it is خرحاني—Jurjānī, while sometimes it is written both ways in the same *MS*

Since writing note [7], at page 321, giving an account of the Amīr, Mas'ūd's inroad into the northern parts of Ghūr, when on his way from Ghaznīn to Hirāt, I have considered that the word given by our author referred to the tract of country described in that note as the Gūzgānān, or the Gūzgāns, by Tājziks, but which 'Arabs, and people of 'Arab descent, who use J—ج—for the Tājzik g—گ—turn into Jūzjānān, and that the word he uses in connexion with his own name refers to one of the Gūzgāns, and that he should be styled 'the Gūzgānī' or 'Jūzjānī' As the most trustworthy copies of the text, the best and most correctly written, had Jūrjānī, I considered it necessary to follow them as I had begun, and to mention the matter more in detail here in the Memoir of the Author's life

Gūzgān, as the native inhabitants styled it, or Jūzjān, is not the name of a single town, village, or fortress,

but one of the small districts or tracts of country among the mountains, on the north-west frontier of the country of Ghūr, and north of Hirāt, beyond the Murgh-Āb—the Jibāl of Hirāt, as he himself styles it—but its exact position, and the localities of most of the great fortresses mentioned by our author in the last Section of his work, are at present unknown to us. The Gūzgānān, or Gūzgāns were the appanage of the Amīr, Muḥammad, brother of Mas'ūd, and it was from thence that he was brought when he assumed the throne of Ghaznīn after the death of his father. Notwithstanding the details which our author gives respecting the great fortresses of Ghūr, Gharjistān, and other parts, including the fortress of Tūlak, which appears to have been his own place of residence at the time, and also the home of his maternal relatives (see page 1066 and note [5]), which he helped to defend against the Mughal invaders, and which must have been situated in one of the Gūzgāns, he never once, throughout his whole work, refers to Gūzgān or Jūzjān, except in connexion with his own name. See also notes to pages 186 and 232.

After the Ghūrīs obtained possession of Lāhor in 582 H., and they had seized the Sultān, Khusrau Malik, the last of the Sultāns of Ghaznīn, our author's father was made Ḳāẓī of the Ghūriān army stationed at Lāhor, under the Sipah-Sālār, 'Alī-i-Kar-mākh; and twelve camels were assigned him for the conveyance of the establishment of his office, his tribunal, etc., on the line of march.

Our author was born after this, in the year 589 H., the very year in which Dihlī, of which, and of which Musalmān kingdom, he was subsequently to become the chief Ḳāẓī and Ṣadr, was made the seat of the Musalmān government in Hindūstān by the Turk Mamlūk, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, I-bak, who was, in after-years, to become its first Muḥammadan Sulṭān. That our author was born at Lāhor, as the Dāghistānī, referred to farther on, asserts, cannot be correct, for, from what he himself states respecting his arrival at Ūchchah in 624 H. [see pages 541 and 722], that was the first time he set foot in Hind. Had he been born at Lāhor, he would, doubtless, have mentioned it, and he would probably have been styled and known as the Lāhorī in consequence.

The next mention he makes of his father is, that, when

Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, ruler of Bāmīān and Ṭukhāristān, succeeded his father on the throne, he desired that our author's father, the Maulānā, Sarāj-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, should take up his residence in his kingdom, and enter his service With the sanction of his own sovereign and patron, and Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām's suzerain, namely, the Sulṭān of Ghūr, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, the Maulānā proceeded to the Court of Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, and was made Ḳāẓī of the kingdom of Bāmīān and Ṭukhāristān, with the judicial administration over its forces, was made censor, with full powers as regards ecclesiastical law, and intrusted with the charge of two colleges, and their funds This happened in 591 H., when our author was in his third year He states that the diploma conferring these offices upon his father, in the handwriting of the Wazīr of the Bāmīān state, was still contained in the *kharītah* [a bag of embroidered silk for holding documents] containing his own diplomas, his banner, and turban of honour

The mother of our author was the foster-sister and school-mate of the Princess, Māh Malik, the daughter of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, mention of which lady will be found in several places in the following pages, and his mother appears to have continued in her service after her marriage Our author distinctly states that his early years were passed in the *Haram* of the Princess, until the period of his entering upon adolescence, when, according to Musalmān usages, he had to be sent elsewhere. He speaks in terms of much gratitude of the fostering kindness and protection he received while dwelling in that Princess's household Under these circumstances, Lāhor can scarcely have been the place of his birth

When Sulṭān Takish, Khwārazm Shāh, withdrew his allegiance from the Khalīfah, Un-Nāṣir-ud-Dīn-Ullah, and the latter's troops had been defeated by him, Ibn-ur-Rabbī', and Ibn-ul-Khaṭīb, on two different occasions, came as envoys to the Courts of the Sulṭāns of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, to demand aid from these monarchs against Sulṭān Takish. In consequence, the Imām, Shams-ud-Dīn, the Turk, and the Maulānā, Sarāj-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Tājzīk, our

author's father, were directed to proceed to Baghdād, to the Khalīfah's Court, along with the envoys.[1] They set out for Baghdād by way of Mukrān; and, in some affray into which they fell on the road, they were attacked by a band of robbers, and our author's father was killed. Intimation of his death was received in a communication from the Khalīfah to the Sultān, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, in these words: "Furthermore, Sarāj-i-Minhāj perished in an affray on the road. The Almighty recompense him!"

Another of our author's relatives, his mother's brother's son, was Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of 'Abd-us-Sallām, Ḳāẓī of Tūlak, who was left in command of the fortress of Tabarhindah, with a force of 1200 Tūlakīs, by the Sulṭān, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, when that Sulṭān was about to retire from Hind before the hot season of 587 H., intending to return after it was over and relieve him. The Ḳāẓī of Tūlak was to hold the place for seven months; but, as the Sulṭān, just after this arrangement was made, was defeated by Rāe Pithorā, and severely wounded in the battle, and an expedition into Khurāsān soon after intervened, he was totally unable to come to the Ḳāẓī's relief, as agreed upon, in the following season, and, consequently, after having held out over thirteen months, the Ḳāẓī, Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, had to capitulate.

At the time Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, was assassinated by the Khwārazmī refugees, in Ṣafar, 607 H., our author was dwelling at Fīrūz-koh, and was then in his eighteenth year.

In 611 H., the year preceding the surrender of his capital, Fīrūz-koh, by the last of the Sulṭāns of the Ghūrī dynasty,

[1] He was despatched on this mission by Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, Sulṭān of Ghūr, the elder brother and suzerain of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, Sulṭān of Ghaznīn, who, in a paper in the "*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*," Part I., No. I, for 1880, page 28, by Mr C. R. Stülpnagel, is styled *Mu'az-ud-din*. The writer is at a loss to know why the elder brother's name appears on his younger brother's coins, and informs us that "of Sultán Ghias-ud-din *scarcely anything is known*." I beg to recommend him to study the twenty-three pages respecting him in the following translation, and to refer to note [6], page 472, and [3], page 489. Here again "*Mu'az*" is turned into "the first *Pathán* king of Dehli!" See also Part I., No. II., page 84, of the "*Journal*."

our author proceeded thither. Two years after we find him in Sijistān, at Zaranj, the capital, where he remained some time At this period the whole of the territories which had formed the empire of the Ghūrīs, including the dominions of Ghaznīn, and extending east of the Indus into the upper part of the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah of the Panj-āb as far as the Jhilam, had fallen under the sway of the Khwārazmīs. These events must, in some way, have been the cause of his sojourn in Sijistān for seven months, but he is quite silent on the causes which led him there. See page 195

In 617 H., during the first inroad of the Mughals into Ghūr and Khurāsān, before the Chingiz Khān himself crossed the Oxus with his main army, our author was living at Tūlak; and, shortly after, in the same year, took part in the defence of that fortified town against the invaders, who kept prowling about it for about eight months During a period of four years, from the above mentioned year up to the close of 620 H, during which the Mughals made several attempts upon it, he helped to defend it.

In 618 H., the year in which he says the Chingiz Khān crossed the Jīhūn into Khurāsān, and he was in his thirtieth year, he married the daughter of a kinsman of his own; and, in 620 H, he determined, as soon as circumstances permitted, to leave his native country, and proceed into Hindūstān, not liking, apparently, to dwell in a country overrun by the Mughal infidels In 621 H he was despatched from Tūlak, where he was then living, and in the defence of which against the Mughals he had just taken part, by Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan-i-Khar-post, to Isfizār, after Khurāsān had become clear of Mughals, and from thence into the Ḳuhistān—the Chingiz Khān had, at that time, returned homewards—to endeavour to arrange for the re-opening of the *kārwān* routes, which, during the Mughal invasion, had been closed, and the traffic suspended.

On a second occasion, in 622 H, he again proceeded from Tūlak into the Ḳuhistān for the same purpose, at the request of Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of 'Usmān, the Maraghanī, of Khāesār of Ghūr, the father of

Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the first of the Kurat dynasty, as the Tājzīk—not Afghān, I beg leave to say—rulers of the fiefs of Hirāt and Ghūr and their dependencies, who were the vassals of the Mughals, were styled. The following year he again set out on a journey into the Ḳuhistān, on the part of Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, that the *kārwān* route might be re-opened. From Khāesār he first went to Farāh, and from thence proceeded by way of Sijistān into the territory referred to, and returned to Khāesār again.

In 623 H., our author, who appears to have left Tūlak and was residing at Khāesār, with the permission of Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, went to Farāh in order to purchase a little silk required by him for his journey into Hindūstān. Having arrived in the neighbourhood of Farāh, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn, the Khwārazmī, who then ruled over Sijistān, and was engaged in war with the Mulāḥidah of the Ḳuhistān, induced him to undertake a journey into the latter territory, to endeavour to bring about an accommodation between himself and the Mulāhidah governor of that part, the Muḥtashim, Shams-ud-Dīn Our author was accompanied by the son of Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, whose name is not mentioned, but, in all probability, it was the identical Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the founder of the Kurat dynasty. Our author succeeded in effecting an accommodation, but it does not appear to have been on terms acceptable to Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn, for he wished him to return to the Muḥtashim's presence and declare war again This he declined to do, as he had several times put off his journey into Hind, and was now desirous of departing without further delay, and before the Mughals should again appear Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn, was wroth at this refusal, and shut him up within the walls of the fortress of Ṣafhed of Sijistān There he was detained for a period of forty-three days, but, Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, having interfered in his behalf, he was set at liberty.

He did not allow the grass to grow under his feet after this; and in the fifth month of the following year—Jamādi-ul-Awwal, 624 H., [in another place he says it was Rajab, the seventh month, while in another place—page 612—he

says it was in 625 H.], by way of Ghaznin and Banīān, he reached Ūchchah by boat; and, in the following Zī-Ḥijjah, Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, ruler of Ūchchah and Multān, placed him in charge of the Fīrūzī College at Ūchchah, and made him Ḳāẓī of the forces of his son, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh.

Our author could distinguish the winning side, and preferred it, for, no sooner had Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, ruler of Dihlī, Ḳabā-jah's rival, appeared before Ūchchah, than he deserted Ḳabā-jah and the Fīrūzī College, and went over to his rival. In the first place, our author presented himself before Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān, who was in command of the van of I-yal-timish's forces, and, a few days after, I-yal-timish himself having arrived, he waited on him. He was favourably received, and was appointed to officiate, in his priestly capacity, within that Sultān's camp. After the fall of Ūchchah, he accompanied I-yal-timish to Dihlī, and reached it in Ramazān, 625 H.

He subsequently accompanied the Sulṭān, in his priestly capacity, to Gwāliyūr in 629 H., and, in the following year, after that stronghold was taken possession of, was made Ḳāzī, Khatīb, and Imām of Gwāliyūr and its dependencies, under the governor, Rashīd-ud-Dīn, 'Alī. In the early part of Sultān Raziyyat's reign he returned to Dihlī, but he was not removed from office, neither was he a "forgiven rebel,"[1] and, during his absence from Gwāliyūr, his Deputies acted for him. On reaching the capital, in 635 H., that sovereign added to his offices that of Superintendent of the Nāṣiriah College at Dihlī.

In the year 639 H., in the reign of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, our author was made Chief Ḳāzī of the Dihlī kingdom, and of the capital as well. In the disturbances which arose between that Sultān and his Amīrs, our author, and other ecclesiastics, endeavoured to bring about a peaceful accommodation, but without effect. In Zī-Ḳa'dah of the same year, the Khwājah, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, the Wazīr, bribed a number of villains to murder him, and, after the conclusion of the Friday's prayers, on

[1] See page 1285, and Thomas's "*Pathán Kings of Dehli*," page 105.

the 7th of that month, they actually attacked him in the Jāmi' Masjid, but he escaped without hurt.

Soon after, on the accession of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, on the Khwājah, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, being re-appointed Wazīr, our author, in 640 H., resigned the Chief Ḳāẓī-ship, and in Rajab of that year left Dihlī in order to proceed into the territory of Lakhaṇawatī. There he remained about two years, and there he acquired his information respecting it and its rulers. While residing in that country, he accompanied Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān in his expedition against the Rāe of Jāj-Nagar, and was present at the attack on the frontier post of Katāsin, in Shawwāl, 641 H. On the removal of that Malik from the government of Lakhanawatī in 643 H., our author accompanied him on his return to Dihlī, and, in Ṣafar of that year, presented himself at Court. Muhazzab-ud-Dīn had in the meantime been put to death by the Amīrs, and, through the interest and efforts of his subsequent munificent patron, Malik Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban (afterwards Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, and subsequently Sulṭān of Dihlī), who held the office of Amīr-i-Ḥājib, three days after his return, he was put in charge of the Nāṣiriah College once more, and entrusted with the administration of its endowments, the lecture-ship of the Jāmi' Masjid, and the Ḳāẓī-ship of Gwāliyūr, according to the previous grant. Subsequently, in the same year, he accompanied the army which advanced to the banks of the river Biāh for the relief of Ūchchah when invested by the Mughals.

In 644 H., at Jalhandar [in the Panj-āb], on the return of the army, on the occasion of performing the services prescribed for the 'Īd-i-Aẓhā in the hall of the College there, the new Sulṭān, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, to whom this History is dedicated, presented our author with a cloak, a turban, and a richly caparisoned horse. In 645 H., he wrote a description, in verse, of the expedition against Talsandah, entitled the "Nāṣirī Nāmah." The Sulṭān rewarded him for this with a yearly stipend, and Malik Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban, the hero of the poem, and commander of the expedition, gave him the revenues of a village in the Hānsī province, which was that Malik's fief at that period. In

649 H., for the second time, the Chief Ḳāẓī-ship of the Dihlī kingdom, with jurisdiction over the capital as well, was conferred upon him, but, when, two years after, in 651 H., the eunuch, 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān, succeeded in his conspiracy for the removal from office of our author's patron, who had been raised to the title of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam in 647 H, and he was banished the Court, our author, like others of the Ulugh Khān's clients and supporters, was removed from the office of Chief Ḳāẓī, and it was conferred upon one of the Rayḥānī's creatures, notwithstanding our author stood so high in the estimation of the weak and puppet Sultān. In 652 H, matters improved a little: a new Wazīr succeeded, and, while in the Kol district, whither our author appears to have accompanied the Sulṭān's Court, the title of Sadr-i-Jahān[4] was conferred upon him

At the close of the following year the Rayḥānī was ousted from office, the Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam again assumed the direction of affairs, and our author, who, for months past, had been unable, for fear of his life, to leave his dwelling, even to attend the Friday's service in the Jāmi' Masjid, was, in Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 653 H, for the third time, made Chief Ḳāẓī of the Dihlī kingdom, with jurisdiction over the capital as before

With the exception of his remark at page 715, in winding up the events of the year 658 H, that if his life should be spared—he was then in his seventieth year—and aptitude should remain, whatever events might subsequently occur would be recorded, our author henceforward disappears from the scene, and we hear no more of him. At the end of his account of the Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam farther on, he does not renew that promise, nor does he do so when finally closing his History The munificent rewards he received on presenting copies of his work to the Sulṭān and to the latter's father-in-law, the Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, are mentioned at page 1294 He refers to his family casually, now and then, in the following pages, but, with a single exception, enters into no particulars whatever At page 820 he says, with reference to the Malik-ul-Ḥujjāb [Head of the Chamberlains], 'Alā-ud-Dīn, the Zinjānī, that he is "his son, and the light of his eyes," but he could not have been

[4] See page 698, and note 8

his son from the fact of his being styled "the Zinjānī," that is to say, a native of Zinjān in Khurāsān. He may have been his son-in-law, or an adopted son.

When the emissaries from Khurāsān were received by the Sultān, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, as related at page 857, our author composed a poem befitting the occasion, and this, he says, was read before the throne by one of his sons. He also, in one place, refers to a brother.

Between the time when our author closes this History in 658 H., and the Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam succeeded to the throne of Dihlī under the title of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, in 664 H.—the date generally accepted, although Faṣiḥ-ī says it was in 662 H.—is a period of about six years, and, as no other writer that we know of has recorded the events of that period, it is a complete blank in Indian History, which, I fear, cannot be filled up. Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Baranī, in his Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī, which is not much to be depended on, says he takes up the relation of events from the time our author left off, but this is not correct, for he begins with the reign of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Balban.

Our author died in his reign, but when cannot be discovered, neither can the place of his burial. Possibly some inscription may hereafter turn up which may tell us, but there is no record available in any of the works I have waded through in search of the information. Whether his health failed him, whether he grew out of favour with his old patron, the new Sultān, or whether circumstances arose which, as regards the Ulugh Khān's conduct towards the weak-minded, but amiable, Sultān, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, would not bear the light of day—for there are vague statements of foul play on the part of the Ulugh Khān, but no proofs—who shall say? Some writers state that the Sultān died a natural death, which is most probable, and some further add that he, having neither offspring nor heir, nominated his father-in-law, the Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, his successor, which was but natural, seeing that, for nearly twenty years, he had virtually ruled the state. That the Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam poisoned him appears unworthy of credence, since, had he desired to supplant him, or get rid of him, he might have effected either object years before. See note [4], page 716.

The only mention I can find, after much search, respecting these years, between the closing of our author's History and the accession of the new Sultān, is the following from Faṣiḥ-ī. "Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, died in this year, 662 H., and great anarchy and disorder arose throughout the territory of Hindūstān. At last, since among the great Amīrs of Hind, for prudence, counsel, wisdom, munificence, dignity, magnificence, and power, the Amīr, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn [the Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam] was pre-eminently distinguished, and as he had obtained his freedom previously—a matter never alluded to by our author—he, with the unanimous accord of the great nobles and grandees of the kingdom, ascended the throne of Dihlī in the beginning of this year, 662 H."

The Dāghistānī, previously referred to, in his Taẕkirah, under the letter س — s — has the following.—"Sarāj-ud-Dīn-i-Minhāj is the author of the Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī, which he completed in the name of the Malik of Hind, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn. His birthplace was Lāhor, and his origin was from Samr-kand."

This last sentence of the Dāghistānī's is sufficient to show that he is not entirely to be depended upon, in this instance at least. Our author's family was not from Samr-kand. The Dāghistānī also gives the following as a quatrain of our author's:—

"That heart which, through separation, thou madest sad,
From every joy that was, which thou madest bare of,
From thy disposition I am aware that, suddenly and unexpectedly,
The rumour may arise that thou hast broken it."

In the "Akhbār-ul-Akhyār"—a Biographical Collection of Notices of Saints—of 'Abd-ul-Ḥaḳḳ [he died 1052 H. = 1642 A.D.], the following will be found respecting our author:—"The Shaikh, Ḳāẓī Minhāj, the Junjānī, the author of the Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī, was a saint, and one of the most learned and excellent of his time, and one of those who would become filled with religious ecstasies on hearing the singing at Ẕikrs or Taẕkirs. When he became Ḳāẓī of Hindūstān that office assumed integrity and rectitude. The Shaikh, Niẓām-ud-Dīn,[5] states:—"I used, every Monday,

[5] This, probably, is no other than the celebrated saint of Dihlī.

to go to his Tazkirs, until, one day, when I was present at one of them, he delivered this quatrain :—

> "'The lip, in the ruby lips of heart-ravishers delighting,
> And to ruffle the dishevelled tresses essaying,
> To-day is delightful, but to-morrow it is not—
> To make one's self like as straw, fuel for the fire.'

"'When I heard this verse,' says the Shaikh, Nizām-ud-Dīn, 'I became as one beside myself; and it was some time before I came to my senses again.'"

Our author appears to have been deeply imbued with the tenets of Ṣūfī-ism, for a brief essay on which, see the Introduction to my "Poetry of the Afghāns." Professor Sprenger tells me that he was a notorious Ṣūfī. A good account of these Zikrs, or Tazkirs, will be found in the notes to the Third Chapter of Lane's "Thousand and One Nights"

Before closing this brief memoir of our author, it will be necessary to mention the reasons which led him to write this History. These he gives in the Preface dedicating the work to the Sulṭān, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, and this divested of much of its fulsome adulation and redundant expressions, may well appear as the Preface to this translation of his History

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE[1] AND DEDICATION.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

Thus sayeth Abū-'Umar-i-'Usmān, son of Muhammad-al-Minhāj-al-Jurjānī, that, when, through the blessing of Almighty God, the diadem and throne of the dominion of Hindūstān became graced by [encircling] the blessed head, and adorned by [being pressed by] the august foot of that Lord of the World, Nāsir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Muzaffar-i-Mahmūd Shāh, son of the Sultān, I-yal-timish—May his reign long continue!—and the khutbah and coin became embellished with his titles and his name, and, during the reign of which august sovereign, the justice-seat of the Ķāzī-ship of the empire of Hindūstān was consigned to this loyal servant, on a certain occasion in the tribunal of law and justice, a book came under his observation which the learned and worthy of former times had compiled[2] for the edification of the select and distinguished of posterity. This had been taken from the annals of the Prophets and Khalīfahs—On whom be peace!—together with their genealogies, and the histories of the reigns of great Maliks [kings] of bygone times—The splendour of the Almighty illumine their tombs!—and had been written down in tabulated forms, and abbreviated after the manner

[1] This Preface varies in some copies, particularly at the commencement, to the extent of a page or more.

[2] I do not find any trace in the Preface to either of the copies collated, of the "tabular chronicle compiled by the Imam Mohammad Ali Abu l Kasim Imâdi, in the time of Nasir ol din Sobok tikin," mentioned by Col. Lees, LL.D., in the English Preface to the Calcutta Printed Text, nor is it to be found in its Persian Preface. The words are كه افاضل سلف جمع كرده بودند. The Imām's "Tārīkh-i-Mujdul" is mentioned in Section XI.

of an epitome, in the time of the Sulṭāns of the dynasty of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Sabuk-Tigīn—The Almighty guard their last resting-place!—from every flower-garden a flower, from every sea a drop, they had brought together [in this book]. After mentioning the Prophets, and giving their genealogies, and that of the Khalīfahs of the Banī-Ummiyah and Banī-Abbās, the Maliks of 'Ajam, and the Akāsirah, they rested content with an account of the family of the august Sultān, Mahmūd-i-Sabuk-Tigīn-i-Ghāzī—On whom be peace!—and abstained from any mention of other great Maliks, or the dynasties or annals of the Sultāns of the past

This frail one desired, therefore, that this meagre History should be filled up from first to last, from beginning to end, with an account of the whole of the Maliks and Sultāns of Islām, both of 'Arab and of 'Ajam, and that a candle out of every dynasty should be enkindled in this assembly, and that, to the head of every race, a cap might be stitched, by the relation of events and occurrences and illustrious actions. Therefore, an account is recorded here, of the Tubbā-yawa' of Yaman, and the Ḥimyar Maliks, and, after mention of the Khalīfahs, an account of the Ṭāhirīs, Ṣuffārīs, Sāmānīs, the dynasty of Buwiah, the Saljūks, Rūmīs, Shansabānīs, and the Sultāns of that family who were sovereigns of Ghūr, Ghaznīn, and Hind, the Khwārazm-Shāhīs, the Kurd Maliks who are Sultāns of Shām, and the Mu'izziah Maliks and Sultāns, who became Bādshāhs on the thrones of Ghaznīn and of Hind, up to the present time, which is the reign of the heir to the diadem and throne of the dominions of the I-yal-timishī dynasty and house,

Sultān-ul-Mu'azzam, Sultān-us-Salāṭīn Fī-l-'Ālamīn,
NĀSIR UD-DUNYĀ WA-UD-DĪN,
ABŪ-L MUZAFFAR-I-MAḤMŪD SHĀH,
Yamīn-i-Khalīfah U'llah, Ḳasim-i Amīr-ul-Mūminīn
—Khuld U'llah Saltanatahu![*]

[*] Signifying, The Supreme Sulṭān, The Sulṭān of the Sulṭāns of the World, The Defender of the World and of the Faith, The Victorious (or Accustomed to Conquer), Maḥmūd Shāh, The Right Hand of God's Khalīfah, The Co-Sharer with the Lord of the Faithful—The Almighty perpetuate his Reign!

and this History is reduced to writing, and adorned with his august titles and name,[4] and is entitled the

ṬABAKĀT-I-NĀSIRĪ

It is his implicit hope, through the perfect grace of the Creator, the Most High and Holy, that, when this book shall be honoured by the blessed sight of this Bād<u>sh</u>āh, the Asylum of the World, it may meet with the felicity of his approbation, and that from the zenith of the firmament of benefaction, and the summit of the sphere of favour, a ray of the royal grace may shine upon this frail one, and, after his removal from this temporary dwelling, from its readers may a kind invocation endure, and, should they become cognizant of any error or omission, may they veil it with the skirt of the robe of forgiveness, since whatever was to be found in trustworthy chronicles is herein recorded

[4] In ELLIOT, vol II, page 261, the editor, Mr Dowson, tells us that, "The eulogistic way in which he [our author] always speaks of the successor of Nasiru-d dín would induce the belief that the work appeared in the reign of that Sultan, and the fact is proved by his more than once offering up an ejaculatory prayer for the continuance of his reign." Again, at page 362 of the same work, in a foot note, we are informed that "The text says 'the Sultán (may God prolong his reign),' plainly showing that this part of the work [the notice of Ulugh Khan—the text at page 807 of this Translation is referred to] was written in the reign of Balban"

What our author says above, as well as his other statements noticed in the body of the work, and up to its very conclusion, are, perhaps, *undoubted proofs* that this work was neither written, nor appeared, in Balban's reign.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES AND EMENDATIONS.

THERE is some disadvantage in publishing an extensive History of this kind in parts after each portion is completed, because any extra information obtained during the progress of the work cannot be inserted in its proper place To remedy this, as much as possible, I have embodied here such further information in the form of Additional Notes and Emendations.

Page 34 —Further research shows that Arg or Ark—ارك—is an error of the copyists for Ūk — اوك—the و having been mistaken for ر as suggested in note [8] The word is correctly given in the last Section See pages 1120, 1124, and note, page 1122, para 5 It was a celebrated fortress of Sijistān, and was still an important place when Amīr Tīmūr took it

Page 36 —"Sanjarīs," in note [9], taken from Faṣiḥ-I, is an error for Sijizīs or Sigizīs, that is to say Sijistānīs or Sigistānīs See note [6], page 34. This error is frequently made by oriental authors as well as scribes.

Page 52, note [9] —All the copies of the text are wrong with respect to this word, and have ك for ن Ūz-kand of Turkistān is meant, not Ūrganj the capital of Khwārazm See note [7], page 1097

Page 68, line 5 —There is no doubt whatever as to the meaning of the text here respecting Sabuk-Tigīn's nickname, and that one man could possibly be nicknamed "*black troop*," or "*black uproar*," is very improbable See note [4], page 852, and Elliot's India, vol viii, page xii, where, if not "*ghaugha*," there is, at least, "*ghubar-angezi*" I have not followed the printed text in this Translation, because it is very incorrect as well defective

The Turk Amīr ul-Umarā of Baghdād who was accidentally killed by some Kurds in 329 H, bore the name of Buj kum [بُجْكُم], as written with the vowel points, which is the same word as I supposed that applied to Sabuk-Tigīn to be from the way it was written in one copy of the text, which Turkish word means, in the Tājzīk language, ghajz-ghāo [غژغاو] See the last para of note [4], and the Bodleian copy of the Kitāb-ul-Kāmil of 'Izz-ud-Dīn i Ibn ul Aşīr, under the year 329 H It is therefore quite clear that Jūk [not Ḥūk (حوق), which is the same word less the vowel point of ج left out by the copyists a similar name occurs at page 477], entitled Sabuk-Tigīn, was, by his Turkish comrades, nicknamed "the Ḳarā Buj-kum," the Tājzīk translation of which is "the Siyah Ghajz-Ghāo," which is the Kutās of Mīrzā Ḥaidar, the Doghlātī Mughal, who gives a description of that immense and formidable animal The English translation thereof is "The Black Wild Yāk," *siyah* here signifying furious as well as black, and the Turkish *kara* will bear the same construction See note at page 922, and at 948, para. 2

Page 77, note [2], para. 1 – There is no doubt whatever as to the point of junction of the rivers of Nūr and Ḳirāt at Darūnthah, now a well-known place The words in the original are النور و قرات but the printer has carelessly let

the drop out after the type was set up, and the proof passed for press. I have described the Darah of Nur, as well as Darūnthaḥ, in my "NOTES ON AFGHĀNISTĀN," page 108, and there they will be found. Mr Dowson appears to have forgotten what is contained in his second vol, page 465. See also vol. i. page 394, which is certainly amusing.

Page 95.—The fortress of Girī here mentioned, I believe, refers to the fortress of Gibar Kot in Bājawṛ. See "Notes on Afghānistān," page 117.

The word "Tahkrī" in para. 5 should be "Tighaṛī."

Page 101.—The singular of the word *murghān* [مرغان], which I have rendered "carrier pigeons," "signifies a *bird absolutely*" [مطلق پرنده], and not *a fowl* only, as Mr Dowson imagined, and as *fowls* do not carry news, and carrier pigeons are referred to by the same word as is here used in note [4], page 1280, para. 4, I had no hesitation in adopting the rendering I have. Another proof that carrier pigeons were meant is the fact that *one day* was not sufficient to convey the news from Ghaznīn to the fortress of Baz-Ghūnd, afterwards known as Kūshk-i-Sulṭān, for that was at Fīrūz-Koh, a distance of about 240 miles as the crow flies, and a very difficult tract of country to traverse.

Pages 104, 105.—There is an error here respecting our author's ancestors, caused by some confusion in most copies of the text, which have "great-great-grandfather," whereas, from his statements elsewhere, his third ancestor, or great grandfather is meant. It should stand "great grandfather" at page 104, and "That princess bore him a son, whom he named Ibrāhīm, and he was the father of the Maulānā, Minhāj-ud-Dīn, 'Uṣmān-i-Ibrāhīm, upon whom be the mercy of the Almighty! The Maulānā, Minhāj ud-Dīn, was the father of the Maulānā, Saraj ud Dīn," etc, etc.

Page 106.—The text is not چند باره و قصبه—"chand bārah wa kasbah"—as Mr Dowson imagined, and even if it were, although *bārah* means "walls," it does not mean "*a* fortification," much less "fortifications," but the text has پاره—*pārah*—not "bārah," and no و—and the signification, of the sentence, in the idiom of the East, is as rendered in the Translation. The very same word occurs at page 821—٢١٠ of the printed text—but that Mr Dowson leaves untranslated. See also printed text, page ٤٠٢ and page 1294 of this Translation.

Mr Dowson (Elliot's India, vol. viii, p. xi) is very wroth with me about my criticisms, to one of the errors in which work the above refers, and says he has "noticed them, and examined them seriatim," but this is a mistake, and the "Cradle of Irák," in note [6], page 107, is one of very many others to which, very wisely, he has not referred.

Page 107.—The words of the text are not و گرمسیر و ممالک عربی as Mr Dowson assumed, except in the printed text, in which, *two words have been left out before* گرمسیر and the first و is redundant. The reason why Arsalān assumed the throne in the Garmsīr, instead of waiting until he reached Ghaznīn, the capital, is elsewhere explained.

Page 112, note [5], para. 2.—There seems to be an error of ten years here. The writer doubtless meant the year of the Riḥlat, instead of the Hijrat, which would make a difference of ten years. Our author distinctly states, at page 111, that Bahrām Shāh was succeeded by his son, Khusrau Shāh, in 552 H. See note [6], and note [2], page 347.

Page 115.—Our author has made a mistake here, or rather his copyist for him, of ten years, for, as related at pages 378, 457, and in other places, the campaign against Sulṭān Shāh in Khurāsān occurred in 587 H. See also Appendix A, page ii.

Page 122, note [8].—The proper title and names of this Chief are "Amīr 'Imād-ud-Daulah, Dā'ūd-i-Jaghar Beg, or Jaghari Beg," son of Mīkā'īl [Fasih-ī says, son of Taghari Beg], son of Abū-Sulīmān, son of Saljūk. The word Mīkā'īl has been left out accidentally after Jaghar Beg.

Page 154, line 6 after poetry.—The word Kabālik, written in the text قبالق is an error for Kaiālik—قیالق—the ی was made ب by the copyists. For the details respecting it see page 900, and note [2]. Karā-Khitā-ī in the same paragraph should be Karā-Khitāe, the latter word, or Karā-Khitā, being the proper name, the substantive, applied to the country, and the former, the adjective, applied to the people, as correctly given a few lines under, and farther on.

Pages 159, 160.—Kizil is the more correct mode of writing this Turkish word, signifying "red," and so it should be read in all cases.

Page 162, note [2].—The Nū-īn or Nū-yān, Tājū, is the same leader as is mentioned at page 1237, and is the Tānjū of the Pro-Mughal writers. See note at page 1191, line 10.

Page 163, note [5], line 9.—"Abghā" Khān cannot be correct, for the period indicated was the interregnum which occurred between the death of Kyūk Khān, and the accession of Mangū Kā'ān in 648 H. Āb-ghā, Āb-kā, Abāghā, or Abākā Khān, Hulākū's son, appears to be referred to here, and he only succeeded his father in 661 H. See note at page 1287, para. 2.

Page 164, line 15.—The Nū īn, Aljaktā, here mentioned, is the Aljaktāe, or, more correctly, Iljidāe, Īlchikdāe, or Īlchiktāe, as it is variously written, the desolator of Hirāt. Much about the latter Sultāns of Rūm will be found in note [7], page 1261.

Page 188.—The campaign against Khitā mentioned here refers to the war with the Gūr Khān of Karā-Khitāe, mentioned at pages 261 and 934.

Page 201.—"Arg of Sīstān." This refers, as previously mentioned, to Ūk. According to the Pro-Mughal writers, the investment took place in 627 H., but it actually commenced in 625 H., and terminated in 627 H., the place having held out nineteen months. See page 1120.

Page 224 and note [8].—The chroniclers of the Crusades say that "it was proposed that Joan of Sicily, sister of Richard Cœur de Lion, should be given in marriage to Saphaddin," as they write the title, Saif-ud-Dīn, "and that Jerusalem should be yielded to the parties in this strange alliance." The Princess, however, refused to give her consent, and so the affair came to nothing.

Page 233, line 6.—After Muhammad there should be an *izāfat*, namely, "Muhammad-i-'Usmān," because 'Usmān was his father. See page 1198.

Page 233, line 12, and note [4].—Suhārī is the same place as is referred to at page 227, and again at page 237, where it is said to be in Turkistān.

Page 235, line 12.—This well-known place is called Guzarwān, and Juzarwān by 'Arabs, and people of 'Arab descent. Its correct name, according to the pronunciation of the people inhabiting it, was Gujgarwān, as mentioned in the note below. See note [2], pages 257 and 258, and pages 376 and 475.

Page 239, note [1].—There is an error here: it should be sixteen, not "eight" years, for, from 551 H., as mentioned in the preceding note [6], to 567 H., is a period of sixteen years.

Page 254, line 18.—At page 240 the Khān of Kifchāk is styled Akrān or Ikrān. This was his Turkish name, and Kadr, which is 'Arabic—Kadr Khān—his Musalmān title only. Our author, to avoid confusion, ought to have given both.

Page 257, note [2], line 7.—Shihāb was his first title, by which some Indian Muhammadan writers, who knew not the fact of the change, nearly, if not always, incorrectly style him. His elder brother and sovereign assumed a new title on ascending the throne, and a new one was also assigned to Shihāb-ud-Dīn, his brother. See page 370.

Page 260, and note [7], para. 5.—Kulīj Khān cannot refer to the Gūr Khān, for his Khitā-ī name, which is very different, is given at page 928, and Kulīj is again mentioned distinct from the Gūr Khān.

Page 263, note [1].—The frontiers of Jund are referred to here; and the correct name of the territory referred to in the following para. is Saghnāk, as confirmed by other writers.

Page 267.—The Kadr Khān, son of Yūsuf, here mentioned, is the same person as is referred to at page 1097, as son of Safaktān-i-Yamak. It appears, therefore, that, in this instance also, Yūsuf is his Musalmān name, and Safaktān his Turkish name. The Yighur, or Īghūr, here mentioned, and at page 270, is written Saghar at page 960, which see, also note [6] to that page.

Page 267, note [9], to "this very year" should have been added "according to some," for, as given farther on, the first month of 617 H. was the year of the Sultān's flight. See note [2], para. 2, page 972, and page 274.

Page 268, note [4], line 5.—Takrīt is an error of the writer from whose work the extract was taken. It should be Makrīt, a well known tribe; and Kara Kuram is an error, often made, for Karā-Kum. These errors have been rectified at page 1097.

Page 270, para. 3, line 6.—"Tingit." The name of this country is written Tingkut by the Pro-Mughal writers.

Page 270, and note [7].—The Sayyid, Bahā-ud-Dīn is a totally different person from the Bahā-ud-Dīn of Guzīdah, and Muhammad, the Khujandī. The Sayyid was a man of high position and dignity, and is again referred to at page 963, where the subject is more fully detailed.

Page 280, and note [9].—The movements of the Chingiz Khān and his sons are given in greater detail at page 968. Tūlī was not sent into Khwārazm, but, when the two eldest sons of the Chingiz Khān began to quarrel at the siege of Gurgānj, or Ūrgānj, its capital, Ūktāe, the youngest of the three there present, was directed to assume the chief command. See note at page 1090, para. 2.

Page 288, note [3], line 5.—Wāmīīn or Bāmīīn, and Wālīān mentioned below, are neither of them correct. Our author, in the text above, did not give the name of the place, but he does so farther on. It should be Wālishtān—والشتان. Some careless copyist of an early copy, probably writing the ش long, thus—والشتان—left out the three points of the letter, and thus led others who followed to read the word واليان—Wālīān—omitting the *MS. form of* س—*which* ش *is without the points*, putting two points under instead of over, and thus turning ت into ي—and causing great confusion and error. Wālishtān is the same place as is *mentioned* at page 319, but, in the same way as in Gūzgān and Gūzgānān, the singular form of the word, and also its plural, as if there was more than one place or district so called. The same mode of expression is used with regard *to the* Lamghān district, which is also known as the Lamghānāt or the Lamghāns.

The Chingiz Khān, moreover, was not investing Tāe-kān, *twenty miles east* from Kundus, as mentioned in the fifth line from the bottom in the same note, but Tālkān, *about three hundred miles west* of Kundus, and much the same

distance from the Parwān Pass. His main army was encamped at and around the Pushtah-i-Nu'mān, near by. It is a common error for writers to mistake Ṭāl-ḳān, which is in Khurāsān, for Tāe-ḳān, which is in Ṭukhāristān; and these errors are contained in the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-Kushāe, and other works consulted by me, which led me to suppose that our author's statement at page 290 might possibly be wrong, but he was perfectly correct, and the others wrong. At page 1016, likewise, our author mentions Wālishtān as the identical place invested by the Mughals which Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn marched to relieve, and there the details will be found.

Page 290, note [4].—Ṭāl-ḳān had fallen after a long siege, and *before* the Chingiz Khān set out in pursuit of the Sulṭān. The writers, who mistake that place for Ṭāe-ḳān, make the Chingiz Khān move towards Ghaznīn by way of Andar-āb, Bāmīān, and Kābul, thus making the geography suit their statements. He reached Ghaznīn by a much more direct route; and such a place as Bāmīān is not once referred to. See page 1016, and note [6].

Page 318, line 1.—"Aytkīn-ābād." From the way in which the first part of this word is written elsewhere, and what is stated at pages 350 and 448, and in note [8], this *might* be more correctly written Ai-Tigīn-ābād, and might refer to Tigīn-ābād, about which so much is said, but the site of which, unless old Ḳandahār stood on it—which I am sometimes inclined to think, because the latter name begins to be mentioned when the other disappears—has been altogether lost.

Page 319, line 1.—"Tajīr-Koh." This I believe to be the Nakhjīr of Baihaḳī, or in some way connected with it.

Page 319, line 11.—It was not my *MSS.* which "*enabled*" me "*to correct*" the words "*the fifth mountain is Faj Hamsár*" in Elliot (see vol. viii., p. xviii.), but the knowledge that *faj* is a common term for a defile or pass, in the same way that I was aware what rāsīāt meant, and that "*the mountains of Ráslát*" was, and is, an impossible translation, whether "worthy of consideration" or not. I was also aware that "*Sarha-sang*" was not a proper name, as supposed, and rendered in Elliot, which Mr. Dowson wisely passes over in his "seriatim examination," but two very simple, every-day words.

Page 341, note [7].—See note at page 348, last para. Bahrām Shāh is said to have died in 543 H., the year previous to Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, the Ghūrī, but our author distinctly states at page 111 that Bahrām Shāh was succeeded by his son nine years later, namely, in 552 H. The former date may refer to the Rihlat.

Page 370, line 4 from the bottom.—The meaning usually assigned to Sar-i-Jān-dār, as here given, is not correct, but, at page 603, I have mentioned its correct signification. See also pages 410 and 447.

Page 378, line 8.—Kīlaf, or Kīlif, is probably the town on the Oxus of that name, only, in our maps, it is placed on the farther (north) bank.

Page 379, note [8].—See page 469, and Appendix A., page ii.

Page 391, note [8].—As subsequently shown, 'Ighrāḳ was the name of a Turk-mān tribe, and the territory held by those people was sometimes called after them. See pages 1015 and 1043.

Page 392, last line.—The Ūrgān here mentioned may possibly refer to Urgūn of Ghaznīn. See my "Notes on Afghānistān," page 85.

Page 427, last para. of note [8].—"Rāṣif." The name of this place is also written Arsuf—ارسف—in several histories, the first letter being placed second.

Page 429, line 4, and note [4].—Rāz is the name of a place near Sabzwār,

but the Imām was probably styled Rāzī, not as being a native of that place but of Rai, the inhabitants of which are styled Rāzī

Page 433 —The Beghū, referred to here, and in note [6], also written Beghūn, with the "n" nasal, is the name by which the Ḳārlūks or Ḳārlūghs are also known, an account of whom is given in the notice of the Afrāsiyābī rulers at page 909. In *MS*, the letters و and ن are very liable to be mistaken one for the other, as the point of the latter is often omitted

Page 435, line 13 —The Hazār Darakhtān here mentioned is not that north-east of Ghaznīn, but more to the west, on the way from that city towards the Bāmīān district There are several places so called

Page 477, note [8].—I think it probable that all the errors that have been written as to the gates of Ghaznīn having been shut against the Sultān by his most trusted slave, and his successor to the throne of Ghaznīn, have arisen from the act and name of the slave, mentioned in the text above, Ayyah, Jūḳī (Sabuk-Tigīn's Turkish name was Jūḳ See *ante*), who seized the bridle of the Sulṭān's charger, and dragged him out of the fight The "King of Multān" is no other than the Khokhar Rāe

Page 482, note, line 18 from bottom —Amīr Muḥammad, son of Abī 'Alī, was the Sulṭān's kinsman, and also son-in-law to the late Sulṭān, Ghiyaṣ-ud-Dīn He was entitled Ziyā-ud-Dīn before he succeeded to the throne of Fīrūz-koh after the death of his father-in-law, upon which he was styled Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn

Page 488, note [1] —"The year 4 of his rule," mentioned in the second para, cannot refer to his rule in Hind, because 589 H was the year in which Dihlī was made the capital, as mentioned at page 469 Lāhor was acquired as early as 582 H, but some say in 583 H

Page 495, *line 9* —*It* is probable that the name Aetkīn would be more correctly Ai-Tigīn, for both may be written as one word thus—ایتگین—and as two ای تگین

Page 499, note [3] —This requires a little explanation The lower road did not lead by the Dara'h of Karmān, but the northern or higher routes did, one leading by Kohāt to Peshāwar, and the other through Bannū The route by Kābul, and Nangrahār, or Nek-Nihār, or Nek-Anhār, through the Khaibar *faj* or defile, was rarely used at the period in question The flourishing province of Karmān, so called after the small Dara'h of that name, in those days was of considerable extent, and very populous. In after years, at the period of Akbar Bādshāh's reign, it constituted the Sarkār of Bangash, but its condition had greatly changed for the worse The "lower road" into Hind was by the Gumul See "*Notes on Afghānistān*," etc, previously referred to, Section Second

Page 503, note [8] —The Jalāl-ud-Dīn, referred to in line 7, cannot, from the dates, refer to the gallant Sulṭān of Khwārazm, but to Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, son of Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, Ghūrī, of Bāmīān See page 493, and note at page 527

Page 513, note [1], last line, should be Ī-bak-i-Shil, as repeated in the second line over leaf, or the nickname would not be complete, for Ī-bak, alone, does not convey the meaning ascribed to it, from the *simple* fact that at least half-a-dozen Ī-baks are mentioned in this work, and the whole of them could not have each had a fractured finger

Page 525, line 2 —It must not be supposed from our author's mode of narrating events that Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn set out from Lāhor for the presence of Sultān Maḥmūd, the late Sulṭān's nephew It is only his way of relating

events which happened subsequently, before others which happened previously. Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn had gone to join the late Sulṯān in the expedition against the Khokhars, as related at page 604, under the reign of I-yal-timish, and had not left the Panj āb. Sulṯān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, was assassinated on the 3rd of Sha'bān, the eighth month of 602 H, and Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, according to our author, assumed sovereignty at Lāhor in Zī Ka'dah, which is the eleventh month. But there is, I think, no doubt that the correct date of his assuming sovereignty was 605 H., as stated at page 398, for it was only in that year that he received his manumission from Sulṯān Maḥmūd, and it is very certain that an unmanumitted slave could not assume sovereignty It is very possible, however, that Sulṯān 'Alā-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, who had been made Sulṯān of Ghūr on the death of Sulṯān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, may have sent Ḳutb-ud-Dīn the investiture of Hindūstān when Sulṯān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was assassinated, and before he was himself ousted by his rival, Maḥmūd, to whom Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, as stated at page 398, sent soliciting his manumission. See also note to page 525, para 2

Page 529, note [4] —It is barely possible that the words Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn's "brother's son"—برادر زاده—may have been intended by Abū-l-Faẓl and others, and that in some copies the word زاده may have been left out by the scribes, but, whether Abū-l-Faẓl says so or not, it is clearly stated that Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn had *no son* still, on the other hand, we are not told that he had a brother An adopted son is by far the most probable

Page 531, last line —This word, like Ai-Tigīn, may be, more correctly, Ai-Tīmūr, as no diacritical points are given in the text

Page 539 —The Khalj, not "Khilj," are by no means "hypothetical," but a well-known tribe, as may be seen from these pages See Elliot, vol viii, p. xviii There was no "army of Khilj," but a contingent from the Khalj tribe served in the army of the Sulṯān of Khwārazm A Turk tribe, or part of a tribe, all the males being armed, was a *lashkar* in itself; and who and what the Khalj were who sought refuge in Sind is explained in the note. That these few formed "*all* the forces of Khwārizm" is a blunder pure and simple. What the forces of Khwārazm were composed of is mentioned in many places in this work

Page 551, text, para 2 —Two or three copies of the Persian text have these additional words at the beginning of the para. "*For one or two years, in this manner*, he used," etc

Page 553, note [6], line 7 —559 H is a printer's error for 590 H, as the context plainly shows.

Page 562, note, last para., line 4, where "Dinjā pūr" occurs, is also a mere press error, unobserved by the printer's reader, for Dīnāj pūr It is correctly given in the preceding note [1], pages 558—559, and Dīnāj-pūr should be read in all places.

Page 567, line 11 —"Nunis" is incorrect it is an error in the text of ن for ت The Tūnīs are described farther on, page 1157 The Kar battan of our author may be Shigatze of the latest maps, or where Shigatze now stands, and the great river in which the Musalmān troops perished is, doubtless, the Sānpo They must have penetrated to within a few marches of Lhāsā Names of places become changed in the course of six or seven centuries, especially when old dynasties, one after the other, have been overturned, and others have arisen.

Page 581.—See Elliot's India, vol viii, p xx The Editor, Mr. Dowson, does not see the least necessity for my criticism of the incorrect

translation of this sentence in vol ii. of that work, and says that the words are (in the text) "Nán-i khurish-i safriyána," and that "*bread* for travelling food" is its literal translation, explained in dictionaries as "travelling provisions," and adds that mine is "a paraphrase, not a translation"

Safar certainly means "journey," "travelling," etc, but "*safr*" does not The printed text, which Mr Dowson says he so implicitly followed, has the words قرصی با before the "travelling food" What has become of them in the "literal translation"? The words for the food are not "nán-i-khurish-i safriyána,"—there should be no *izáfat* after *nān*—but *nān-khurish-i safariānah*, nān-khurish being a well known compound word, signifying some dainty or savoury morsel to eat along with bread, such as meat, fish, cheese, pickles, or the like, and is equivalent to the 'Arabic word ادم which word, as well as nān-khurish, he will probably find in his dictionary if he refers to it

Page 582 —There is no necessity to "*venture* upon any explanation of the position" of Basan-kot, as suggested by Mr Dowson, because it is sufficiently well known, but, in Elliot, the proper name has been left out entirely

Page 583, note [9] —"To better his means" The next page shows how he bettered them He came, as others still come from the very same parts, to better his means, and the word in the Translation is correct as rendered He was an eminent ecclesiastic and good preacher, and was, therefore, invited to deliver "*a discourse*" before the pious and orthodox Sulṭān and his Court, as I have translated the sentence, and as any one else would do who knew what he was translating

Mr Dowson, however (vol viii, p xxi), "*cannot admit Major Raverty's improved rendering of the words,*" although he is himself "*not satisfied with the Munshi's rendering in Elliot* '*his name was mentioned at Court,*'" and considers "*Having recited a commemorative* (*speech or ode*) *he came to Court,*" would be much better, or, he thinks, "the author's meaning would have been more clearly rendered [mark the words] by *He came to Court and delivered an eulogistic speech*"

In other places he can *admit* "preach,' "sermon," and even "discourses," which is the same in signification as "discourse" used by me

At page 615 of this Translation, our author—himself a good preacher and ecclesiastic of repute—says he was called upon, on first entering Hind, to deliver *discourses* within the audience tent of Sulṭān I yal-timish when that Sulṭān was investing Ūchchah The corresponding place in Elliot is page 326 of vol ii, but *the whole passage has been left out*, and so we have no "commemorative speech or *ode*," nor an "eulogistic speech"

At page 619, our author relates, that, during the time the same Sulṭān was investing Gwālīyūr, he "was commanded to deliver *discourses* at the private pavilion of the Sulṭān," that "three times in each week *discourses* were fixed," that "in Ramaẓān—the fast month—a *discourse* used to be delivered daily," and that "ninety-five times *congregations were convened* at the entrance of the Sulṭān's pavilion" The words of our author here, as elsewhere, I have rendered literally, and the printed Persian text agrees with the *MSS.* I used See also page 745

The corresponding place in Elliot is page 379, and there it is stated that the author "was ordered to *preach in turns* [sic, but not in the original] at the door of the royal tent," that "*Discourses* were appointed to be delivered three times every week," and winds up with "Ninety-five times *religious assemblies were convened* at the royal tent"

At page 651, our author says "*a discourse* was delivered" by him in the

Kaṣr, named Safed [White Castle], and the same word is again used two lines under.

The corresponding place in Elliot is page 338, and it is rendered, "there was a *sermon* in the Palace of the White-*roof*," and two lines under "sermon" is again used.

At page 656, our author again says, on the news of the Lāhor disaster, that—and the rendering is literal—"to the writer of these lines the Sulṭān gave command to deliver a *discourse*, and the people pledged their fealty [anew] to the Sultán." In a note I say, "Compare Elliot, vol. ii., p 340, for, at that page, the corresponding passage of the text is thus rendered, "The Sulṭān assembled the people of the city at the White Palace [there is no White-*roof* here], and the writer of this book received orders to *preach* and induce the people to support the Sultán.'" This too is literal possibly.

Again, at page 845, our author says—and the translation is literal—that he, on the occasion of the invasion of Sind by the Mughal infidels, "by command, delivered an *exhortation* with the object of stimulating to holy warfare, and the merit of fighting against infidels," etc

The corresponding place in Elliot is page 379, which is there rendered "the author received orders in the royal tent to *compose an ode*, to stir up the feelings of the Muhammadans and to excite them to warlike fervour for the defence of their religion and the throne" This is certainly very far from literal, even without the "ode"

Which is the most probable, the delivery of an exhortation, lecture, sermon, or discourse, by an eminent preacher and one of the highest ecclesiastics in the kingdom, on such an occasion, or "the composition of an *ode*"? and would "odes" be delivered three times a week, and "religious assemblies convened" ninety-five times to "compose" or listen to "odes" or "eulogistic speeches"? The very idea of such a thing is absurd

Now I must mention that *in every instance* here referred to in which I have used "discourse" or "exhortation," *the very same word* is used in every copy of the Persian text, the printed text included, and that word is تذكير and it was ignorance of the correct signification of this simple word, the idiom of the language, and the usages of the Musalmāns, which has given rise to all these blunders, and yet they must not be noticed!

There are several other instances in our author's work of the delivery of discourses, lectures, or exhortations. At page 190 it is stated that his grandfather, an eminent ecclesiastic and preacher, was called upon to deliver a *discourse*—تذكير—before the ruler of Sijistān, and the subject he chose for his discourse or lecture was "on defiling emissions." Mr Dowson "cannot admit" my "improved rendering" of the word "discourse" for تذكير Does he think "*the author's meaning*," in this instance, "*would have been more clearly rendered*" by "He came to Court and delivered *a eulogistic speech* on defiling emissions," or that he "*composed an ode*" on the subject?

Because, in the course of my work, I have had to point out such like errors as these—but this last "is a gem of its kind"—Mr Dowson, in the Preface to vol viii of Elliot's India, must call it "hostile criticism," and has been so foolish as to dig up "the late Lord Strangford," who, to suit certain purposes, had the assurance to write a criticism on my Pus͟hto works, without knowing a single word of the language, except "what he *read up* for the purposes," in the course of a few days, as I was informed on undoubted authority I could say much more on this subject, but I will only remark here that the writer's object was not attained, and that I hope he possessed a more practical

knowledge on the other subjects upon which he is said to have written. Better Mr Dowson had admitted the errors, and eschewed "*ghaughá*" It seems that a writer must shut his eyes upon, and conceal the most palpable errors in Oriental history and geography for fear of "hurting the susceptibilities of those who made them," and must refrain from correcting them lest he be declared "hostile" and "offensive" But I undertook this "Translation," and have devoted years to it, to correct errors

Page 587, note 4.—Mr Dowson is not altogether disingenuous in his "Examination" of my criticisms, and in this one, xxxiii of his replies, he would make it appear that I objected to his rendering of the words "territories of Lakhnautí," at page 319 of the volume referred to, but what I say is, that there is nothing, even in the printed text, to warrant such a statement as "*that Jáj-nagar ever formed part of the Lakhanawatī territory*" They were totally different one was a Muhammadan state, the other Hindū

Page 600 note [4] —Mr Dowson appears to have assumed that, because herds or droves of horses are mentioned in the same page with merchants, the latter may be turned into "*a dealer*" There is nothing in the original to show that the merchants were horse-dealers, but the contrary, and the herds of horses—not "a drove," for the plural form is used—evidently belonged to the Ilbarī tribe because the pastures are also mentioned I contend that the *bāzargānān* —here too the plural form is used—were not necessarily *horse*-dealers any more than *ass*-dealers, *cow* dealers, or any other dealers The word *bāzargān* signifies a merchant, but, in the translation in Elliot, the words, "*into the pastures*" have been left out

Mr Dowson considers this last criticism "a gem of its kind," and, at the beginning of his "Examination" of my criticisms, says he has noticed and examined them *seriatim*" He is mistaken a great many "gems" are passed over unnoticed by him, and not with reference to the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī only, for example, at pages 311, 557, 579, 580, 664, 686, 687, 853, 1023, and several other places

Page 623, and note [8].—For the identification of Banīān see my "Notes on Afghānistān," page 281

Page 633, note [7] —Further research has shown that this Turkish title should be read Tāī-shī See reference to page 732 farther on

Page 644, note [4], para 2 —Balkā Khān is referred to at length at page 1283 The name of this monarch is generally written with "r"—Barkā - as our author writes it, but in Turkish words "l" and "r" are often interchangeable See page 617 and note [*]

Page 645 —The Turkish name of Malik Ikhtiyār ud-Dīn is sometimes written Karā Kash, and sometimes Karā Kush, and Karā-Kush, which last two forms are the most correct ones, and signify, literally, "a large black bird," kūsh or kush signifying a bird in general, but the term Karā-Kūsh is the name by which the Golden Eagle is known in Turkistān Such names often occur, as for example Karā Sunkar, a species of black or dark falcon Karā Kush was also the name of the celebrated engineer from Egypt, who built the citadel of Al Kāhirah, and had fortified Acre, and took part in its defence when besieged by the Christians in 1189 A D, which was considered "one of the mightiest events of the middle ages"

Page 677, note [6] —I have previously referred to the identification of Banīān Instead of "hilly tract west of" read "hilly tract west of the Jhilam," etc The year 644 refers to the Ḳiblat, which is equivalent to 654 H The details will be found at page 1201

Page 716.—As the Ulugh Khān's son, whose Turkish title was Bughrā Khān, and his Musalmān title Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd—and evidently so named after his father's sovereign and son-in-law—married a daughter of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, it is very evident that the idle tales about the latter having only one wife must be incorrect He must have had more than one, or a concubine at least, since the Bughrā Khān could not possibly have married a daughter of his own sister, even though she is the only wife mentioned. As this daughter of the Sulṭān had children by the Bughrā Khān, and a son of hers, Kai-Ḳubād, succeeded her father, Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban, Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, can scarcely be said to have left no offspring or heir, unless she died shortly before her father, but even then an heir survived.

Page 717, note [4], para [8]. The Malik of Kābul is an error on the part of the writer from whom this extract was taken, or the scribe who copied it possibly, for the Malik-i-Kāmil, an account of whom is given at page 1274

Page 732, and note [3] —The title of Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn is, correctly, Tāī-shī, not Tā yasa'ī It is a Turkish title The scribes appear to have read the three diacritical points of ث as ﺀ See Additional Note, page 866, para. 7

Page 901, note, para 4.—Gardez is not really *in* Karmān, but, at the period in question, it was included in the province of Karmān. See "Notes on Afghānistān," page 75

Page 932, note, para. 4 —The word Ī-lāsh, in the original یلاش is possibly an error for Talāsh, which would be written تلاش the two points above instead of below making all the difference Ī-lāsh and Ilāmish are both plainly written, however, in several works. Talās, also written Talāsh, is the name of a city of Turkistān. There is also a little district so called immediately north of Lower Suwāt

Page 987, note, para. 1, line 6 —"Darah of the Sārīgh-Kol" [کول]—the latter a Tājzīk word—is, literally, Valley of the Yellow Lake, a mistake constantly made The correct name is "The Lake in, or of, the Sārigh Ḳol" [قول]—the last a Turkish word—or Yellow Valley

Page 1043, note [1] —The most correct mode of writing this word is Gibarī or Gībari, and not "Gabarī" The fort referred to near the Indus is known to the Afghāns, and other inhabitants of the locality, as Gaṛī Kapūra'h. See "Notes on Afghānistān," page 247

Page 1201, note, para. 5, line 2 from end —Can the Chingiz Khān here mentioned be the person referred to whose coin is given by Thomas, in his "Pathān Kings of Dehli," page 91 ? See also pages 711, 784, 792, and 884.

Page 1216, note, para. 3 —Jāng, in Turkī, signifies "cold," and, if the word be read Chāng, it means "dust" in the same language We have a tract called Ḳarā-Ḳum, or Black Sand, and another called Ḳarā-Ḳuram, or Black Shale, etc, and, therefore, a Ḳarā-Jāng, or Black Cold, or a Ḳarā-Chāng, or Black Dust, is not improbable after all

Page 1220, note, last line —The great river Ḳā'ān-Ling here referred to is evidently "the Kyan-lin" of the Chinese, mentioned six paragraphs farther on

Page 1229, note [3] —The "Ibn" prefixed to the word would rather indicate that "the 'Alḳamī" is the father's name

ERRATA.

Page 9, note [1], *for* Ẕū-l-Yamanain *read* Ẕū-l-Yamanain in all places.

10, line 6, ,, A'yan ,, A'yun, also at page 30, line 11.

,, ,, 20, ,, Ahwāz ,, Aḥwāz in all cases.

,, ,, 19, ,, 'Īraḳ ,, 'Irāḳ.

11, ,, 3, ,, Ṯālhah ,, Ṯalḥah

12, ,, 12, should be Māwarā-un-Nahr in all places where otherwise, not Māwar, the last syllable of the word having escaped notice for some time It is correctly written subsequently

14, line 17, *for* Al-Mutaṣim *read* Al-Mu'taṣim

15, ,, 3, ,, Ẕū-l-Ḥijjah ,, Ẕū-l Ḥijjah always.

,, ,, 16, ,, Muhammad-ī-Ṯāhir *read* Muhammad-i-Ṯāhir

19, ,, 3, ,, There should be a comma after Sarāj

21, ,, 7 from bottom. After Laiṣ should be a semicolon

,, ,, 20, *for* Lāis *read* Laiṣ,

22, note [8], ,, Shapūr, and Ya'ḳub *read* Shāpūr, and Ya'ḳūb in all cases

23, ,, [1], ,, Badghais *read* Bādghais

24, ,, [3], ,, Jāmi' ut-Tawārikh *read* Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh

,, ,, [4], ,, Naḳib ,, Naḳīb

25, line 7, ,, Muḥammad Bashīr ,, Muḥammad-i-Bashīr, that is, son of Bashīr, which he was

,, note [2], ,, Ibrahāmī ,, Ibrāhīmī

27, line 15, ,, Khāddāt ,, Khaddāt

29, ,, 5, ,, Ḳāṣghar is writen in other places Kāshghar

,, ,, 7, ,, Irān *read* I-rān always

32, note [6], ,, Haḳ ,, Haḳḳ

33, line 18, ,, Ẕakriā *read* Zakariā, also at page 37, note [9]

34, note [8], ,, Haft Aḳlīm *read* Haft Iḳlīm

35. ,, [4], ,, Dowāti and *dowāt* *read* Dawātī and *dawāt*.

,, ,, [5], ,, Ibrāhamī ,, Ibrāhīmī

36, line 9, and page 38, line 16, *for* Nāyab *read* Nā'ib, and in other places.

38, note [6], *for* *MS* ,, *MSS*

39, line 4, also page 63, *for* Jibāl *read* the Jibāl, and where otherwise

40, last line, and note [4], ,, Alb-Tagīn *read* Alb-Tigīn, as in other places.

44, line 2 from bottom ,, Ḥisām ,, Ḥusām in all cases

45, ,, 25, *for* Ī-lāk ,, Ī-lak

46, ,, 15 — Abī 'Alī is often written Abū 'Alī, and both are of the same meaning, and sometimes Bū is written for Abū

,, note [4], third line from bottom, should be "from Kāshghar to Chīn, not, the Jīḥūn"

52, lines 3 and 10, and note [8], *for* Ẕī-Ḳa'dah *read* Ẕī-Ḳa'dah.

,, note [8], *for* Ibrahīm ,, Ibrāhīm.

,, ,, [8], line 13 from bottom, *for* Abū Ismā'īl *read* Abū Ibrāhīm.

53, last line of text, ,, Ilyas ,, Ilyās

Page 58, line 2, the comma after "he" is redundant.

„ „ 2 from bottom *for* "Tabrī" *read* Ṭabarī

59, „ 10, *for* "Mūṣil" *read* Mausil, as correctly written in other places

61, „ 18, „ "diffe-rent" *read* differ-ent, the printer has incorrectly divided the word

64, note [1], para 2, *for* Burhān Ḳāṭī *read* Burhān-i-Ḳāṭī' always.

70, „ [2], *for* "Ghazī" „ Ghāzī

72, „ [6], para 3, line 2, should be "Amīr Manṣūr, son of Nūḥ, son of Nasr'

77, „ , first line after the Persian, *for* "Tawarīkh" *read* "Tawārīkh"

80, „ [5], line 2, *for* "Maḥmud" *read* "Maḥmūd"

„ „ [5], „ 2, „ "overcome" „ "overcame"

81, „ [4], „ 4, „ "different place to" *read* "different place from"

86, „ , „ 28, „ "Al Zawzanī" *read* "Az-Zawzanī" in all places.

87, „ , para 1, „ "'Amid" „ "'Amīd"

„ „ , „ 2, line 6 — The words "works of" have been left out after "in"

88, „ [6], *for* "Jalāl-ul-Millat" *read* "Jamal-ul-Millat"

„ „ [6], line 6, *for* "Māmlūks" *read* "Mamlūks," and next line, after "contrary to" a comma is required

89, „ [8], line 9, *for* "Iyāz" *read* "Ayāz," also at page 102, note [4].

90, line 14, "Mawdūd" should be "Maudūd" in all cases

97, „ 13, *for* "Sūliṃān" *read* "Sulīmān"

101, „ 23, the date should be 443 H, as in note [9], page 102, not 344 H

„ „ 3, and note [7], for Bar Ghūnd and Buz-Ghūnd *read* Baz Ghūnd

102, „ 10, *for* Razzī-ud-Dīn *read* Raẓī-ud-Dīn

107, note [6], line 5, *for* Baihakī „ Baihaḳ

109, line 15, there should be a comma after "the Martyr"

„ note [9], last line, *for* "Taimūr" *read* "Tīmūr"

110, „ [1], first line — The year 548 H is an error for 514 H, as the context shows, and as given immediately under

112, „ [1], line 6, *for* "western" *read* "eastern," the present Panj āb is referred to

113, „ , line 13, „ "Badāūnī" „ "Budā'ūnī"

„ „ , para 4, line 11, *for* "Seyr" *read* "Siyar," and after "others" there should be a comma.

„ „ , first line, *for* "Sanḳarān" *read* "Sanḳurān," also on page 115, note [8], as at pages 450 and 498

117, „ , para 3, line 2, *for* "Tughril" *read* "Taghari"

123, „ , line 6 from bottom, *for* "Sāljūḳs" *read* Saljūḳs" as before.

128, „ , „ 2, after "p 142" there should be a full stop

134, „ [8], „ 3, *for* "Gūr Khān" *read* "the Gūr Khān"

„ „ [9], „ last, *for* "early" *read* "yearly," the letter "y" has been allowed to fall out

140, „ [5], line 3 from bottom, *for* "Khaṭā-ī" *read* "Khiṭāe"

145, „ [4], „ 4 „ „ "Almūt" „ "Alamūt," as at page 363 and other places

151, „ [6], line 11 from bottom, *for* "Ibn-i-Khalkān" *read* "Ibn Khalli-kān," as in note, page 1278

„ „ [6], last line, *for* "Mughis" *read* "Mughīs"

152 line 4 of the poetry — There should be a colon after the word "field," instead of a comma

Page 154, line 6 of the poetry.—The note refers to "white steed's," and not to girths, therefore, the figure 9 should be over the former.

,, line 2 of text under poetry, *for* "Khaṭā-ī" *read* "Khiṭāe," and in all other places. Khiṭā or Khiṭāe is the name of the country, and Khiṭā-ī is the adjective derived from it

161, note, line 14 from bottom, *for* "fifth" *read* "fourth"

167, ,, [8], line 8, *for* "Yafā'ī" *read* "Yāfa'ī," as in other places

170, ,, [8], ,, 10 from bottom, *for* "Shīrwān" *read* "Shirwān."

171, ,, [1], *for* "Muḥammad, Jahān Pahlawān," *read* "Jahān Pahlawān, Muhammad," as in the note above.

172, ,, , line 14, *for* "Būwiah" *read* "Buwīah."

180, ,, [5], *for* "Changiz" *read* "Chingiz," as in other places

183, line 9, after "himself seen" there should be a comma

185, note, line 5, para 2, and para. 3, line 4, *for* "Ḥusain 'Alī" *read* "Ḥusain-i-'Alī," with an *izafāt*, for Ḥusain was 'Alī's son according to other writers who have *bin*

190, line 10 from bottom, after "learning" a comma is required.

199, note [7], last line.—"Kurt" This name is more correctly written "Kurat" See note [8], page 1198

200, line 6, *for* "Mangabarnī" *read* "Mang-barnī"

202, note [6], ,, "Sufed" ,, "Safed"

,, ,, [6], ,, "walls of his fortress," *read* "walls of this fortress" the printer, after revision, let the "t" drop out.

204, line 4, *for* "Lakhnautī" *read* "Lakhanawatī," also in note [1] of preceding page

205, note [4], *for* "Ibn-i-Khalkān," *read* "Ibn Khallikān," as in note, page 1278

208, ,, [1].—After "Zangī" there should be a comma.

211, line 3.—There should be a comma after "Rūm," and another after "other" in line 10

217, note, line 5 from bottom.—There should be a comma after "Vertot"

220, ,, [8].—After "force" in line 2, after "Jerusalem" and "Nov" in the next line, and after "knights" in the next, there should be commas.

221, ,, [8], line 5, *for* "different to" *read* "different from."

222, line 11, ,, "Azīz" ,, "Afẓal"

225, note [4], next to last line of para 1, also at page 226, note [6], *for* "Mīā-fārḳīn" *read* "Miyyā-fāriḳīn," as at page 1268, and note [9]

229, ,, [5], last para, line 7, *for* "Manṣūrah" *read* "Manṣūriyah, and "Kaif or Kayif" appears to be meant for "Katif"

235.—There should be no comma between "Abī" and "Muḥammad" in lines 16 and 19, and *for* "Ḳutlagh" in the latter *read* "Ḳutlugh," and in all cases

242, note [6], para 1, *for* "Dajlah" *read* "Dijlah," as in other places.

246, ,, [7], three lines from the bottom, instead of "that man," the sense requires "that that man," etc, the other that has been left out

247, ,, , para 2, line 10 from bottom, after "his brother" a comma is required

250, ,, [6], line 4, *for* "Sulṭān Shāh" *read* "Malik Shāh," as above.

252, ,, [3], ,, 3, after "brother" should be a comma

253, para 4, line 7, *for* "Garmsir" *read* "the Garmsir"

Page 271, note, para. 1, line 2 from bottom, *for* "Tatār" *read* "**Mughal.**"

272, fourth line from bottom of text, and next page, line 8, and in first line of note [3], add Khān after Chingiz, for alone, without the Khān, the word Chingiz, which only means "the great," etc., is meaningless.

273, note [6], line 5, the number should be 5000, as at page 970, not 50,000. Ḳarājah and Ḳarāchah are often written the one for the other.

276, ,, , line 20, *for* "Kalāt" *read* "Ḳal'āt"

277, line 12, *for* "Tamīshah," *read* "Timmīshiah."

282, note [5], line 10, *for* "Tatār" *read* "Mughal," also in note [9], line 3 from bottom, page 283

283, ,, [9], line 11 from bottom, *for* "Jīrfat" *read* "Jīraft," as in other places " the letters have been misplaced

285, line 2 from bottom, *for* "Karrmān" *read* "Karmān"

286, ,, 2, an *izāfat* is required between Muḥammad and 'Alī—Muḥammad-i-'Alī—for 'Alī was Muḥammad's father's name, as mentioned elsewhere

,, ,, 3, *for* "Changiz" *read* "Chingiz," as before

287, note 1, last line, *for* "Amīn-ul-Mulk," the more correct name is "Yamīn-ul-Mulk" See note [2], para [3], page 1014 He is sometimes called Yamīn Malik

288, ,, [3], see under Emendations

290, ,, [4], para 2, line 4 from bottom, there should be a bracket after "Ghūrī," thus "Ghūrī]"

292, ,, , line 5, *for* "Khurdabih" *read* "Khurdādbih," as in other places

295, ,, , para 1, line 3, para 2, line 5, *for* "Ḥūḳal" *read* "Hauḳal," as correctly rendered in other places

298, ,, , para 2, line 2, *read* "'Alā-ud Dīn, Kai-Kubād," not "son of Kāi-Ḳubād"

301, ,, [2], last line, not "Saiyid" but "Sayyid," as before

305, line 4 from bottom, *for* "Dimawand" *read* "Damawand"

319, ,, 11, *for* "Khaesār" *read* "Khāesār"

322, note, para 5, line 7 from bottom, there should be a bracket before "This seems," etc

332, line 2, *for* "Razzī" *read* "Razī," as corectly rendered in other places

341, note [6], line 8, and note [7], last line, *for* "'Utba" *read* "'Utba'"

342, line 7 from bottom, *for* "Ḳazil" *read* "Ḳizil"

346, note [9], *for* "Pathorā," read "Pithorā," as correctly rendered at page 458 The reference, "page 125," is incorrect it should be 391

383, line 7, *for* "Sarāj-ud-Dīn, son of Minhāj-i-Sarāj," *read* "Sarāj ud-Dīn, son of Minhāj ud-Dīn"

405, note 4, line next to last, *for* "different place to" *read* "different place from"

408, line 17, *for* "Irān" *read* "Ī-rān," and *for* "Malik" in the following line *read* "Malik"

413, ,, 13, *for* "*cholic*" *read* "colic"

415, note [4], the reference should be "page 489," not "205"

420, line 12, *for* "'Arifain" *read* "'Arifīn."

423, note [8], para 3, *for* "Nusherwān" *read* "Nūshīrwān," or, as it is also written, "Noshīrwān"

Page 426, note [6], line 16, *for* "Ṯāl-ḳān" *read* "Ṯāe-ḳān," and see note [5], 1008.
435, " [4], line last, *for* "See his reign," *read*, "See his brother's reign," etc., and see pages 495, 496
464, " [7], next to last line, *for* "pears" *read* "spears," and in the following line *for* "wir" *read* "awir" the "s" in the first line and the "a" in the latter, were carelessly allowed to fall out, and were not detected by the printer's reader
470, " , para. 1, last line, *for* "Changiz" *read* "the Chingiz," and *for* "Ūng" *read* "the Āwang," as in note at page 940
484, " , para 4, "posaession" is the printer's devil's mode of spelling "possession," and passed by the printer's reader
489, last line of text and under, *for* "Lakhanawatī" *read* always "Lakhanawatī" if "n" and "t" are not marked correctly.
491, line 3 from bottom, *for* "Janābād" *read* "Junābād." It is also called Gunābād by Tājzīks, and is in the Ḳuhistān
496, note [9], line 8, *for* "firs" *read* "first," line 12, *for* "mounta" *read* "mountain," line 16, *for* "wi" *read* "with;" in the next *for* "o" *read* "or;" and in the next note, line 1, for "tha" *read* "that," and in next line from bottom, *for* "othe" *read* "other" The printer has very carelessly allowed six letters to fall out from the ends of as many lines
499, " , para 2, line 7, *for* "Ṯorīs" *read* "Ṯūrīs"
504, " [4], last line, *for* "etrms" *read* "terms" Through some mystery connected with the printer's art, proofs after being read over and corrected time after time, get changed again, and the printer's reader passes them as "read for press"
521, " , para 3, line 10, after Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir there should be a bracket and a comma, not a full stop, for the sentence is unfinished. It should stand thus "Tāj ul-Ma'āṣir]," etc.
530, last line of text, *for* "Mālik" *read* "Malik"
" note, line 2, the Arabic ل has, through the printer's error, been turned into لا=لا a mistake liable to occur, but the signification is evident from the interpretation
532, " [8], *for* "Inda-khūd" *read* "Indda-khūd"
535, " , para 5, line 2, and page 540, note, para 3, line next to last, *for* "Changiz" *read* "Chingiz"
543 " , sixth line from the bottom Here again, through carelessness in printing, three letters have been let drop out, and have been unnoticed—"n e" *for* "on the"
548, " [2], line 4, *for* "watī" and "wātī" *read* "watī" and "wātī" with "t," as in the word immediately above
550, " [5], line 4, *for* "Karmah nasah" *read* Karam Nāsah, or Karam-Nasa
551, " [3], next to last line, *for* "Hizabar" *read* "Hizabr," as at page 549, line 11 of text
556, line 9, after "kingdom" there should be a comma
559, note [5], line 3, *for* "Nudia" *read* "Nūdiā"
" " [2], para 2, line 6, the comma after "Lakhanawatī" is redundant.
564, " [2], line 7 from bottom, should be "Chingiz" not "Changiz."
585, " [7], " 1, and line 5, *for* "Barinda" *read* "Barindah."
586, " [9], " 4, *for* "Dhākah" *read* "Ḍhākah"
594, " [9], the reference "page 219," should be 319

ERRATA.

Page 595, note [3], line 5, *for* "Nāsir-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ," *read* "Nāṣir-ud-Dīn-i-'Iwaẓ," with an *izāfat*, that is, son of 'Iwaẓ, for Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, was his father

597, ,, [3], line 3, *for* "very different to" *read* "very different from."

602, ,, [3], ,, 2, ,, "Nāsir" ,, "Naṣīr"

610, ,, , para 2, line 1, *for* "D'Ahsson" *read* "D'Ohsson."

615, last para of note [8], next to last line, *for* "page 389" *read* "page 398"

621, note [6], line 12, *for* "mīnārah" *read* "manārah" as before

622, ,, , ,, 5 from bottom of last para, *for* "Afaghinah" *read* "Afāghinah"

627, line 9, after "Yal-dūz" there should be a comma.

,, ,, 15, *for* "Gujah" and "Kūjah" *read* "Gūjāh" and "Kūjāh," as at page 750

637, ,, 11, after "justice" there should be a comma

642, ,, 12, "Act-kīn" See "Additions," reference to page 318

650, note [1], "line 2, *for* "and to the office" *read* "and refers to the office," etc

651, ,, [7], para 2, line 3, *for* "different statement to" *read* "different statement from"

662, ,, [7], line 3, *for* "'Abbāsis" *read* "'Abbāsīs"

680, ,, [6], para 3, line 3, *for* "Kinnanj" *read* "Kinnauj"

690, end of note [8], *for* "page 694" *read* "page 695"

,, note [1], end of para. 1, the printer has again carelessly let the letter ع fall out

694, ,, [4], para 2, line 3, *for* "Nāyab" *read* "Nā'ib"

705, ,, [7], ,, 5, ,, 3, ,, "*mawās*" ,, "*mawās*"

706, line 3 under the Twelfth Year, *for* "Ban" *read* "Bat. Bat Khān is No xvi among the Maliks of Hind

712, text, last line, *for* "Balaram" *read* "Balārām," and also in note [9], three lines from the bottom

716, note [5], para 2, line 12, *for* "Zīyā" *read* "Ẓiyā"

720, text, line 11, *for* "fī ul-'Ālamīn" *read* "fī'l-'Ālamīn"

726, note [4], the printer has put "See the reign under" instead of "See under the reign,' and the printer's reader has passed it over

749, line 15, *for* "Awwāl" *read* "Awwal"

759, note [8]. *for* "Sharṭ-badār" *read* "Sharṭ-bardār"

751, ,, [6] from bottom, after "which" there should be a comma

752, ,, [8], *for* "ee" *read* "See" Here also a letter has fallen out

761, line 11, *for* "Shahnagī" *read* "Shahnagī"

764, ,, 16, *for* "Lakhanawati" *read* "Lakhanawatī," as in tenth line above

775, note, para 4, line next to last, *for* "stated above" *read* "as stated above"

778, ,, , para 5, line first, *for* "as far it goes" *read* "as far as it goes"

780, ,, [7], *for* "page 650" *read* "660"

784, line 12, "Kuit" See page 1198

809, note [2], line 5, *for* "Tukhāristān" *read* "Khurāsān"

810, ,, [4], ,, 2, "664 H" is an error *for* "646 H"

820, line 6 from the bottom, "-i-," after Kashlī Khān is a printer's blunder it should be "Kashlī Khān, Ī-bak-us-Sulṭānī."

Page 822, line 10, *for* "Zī-Ka'-dāh" *read* "Zī-Ḳa'dah."
824, ,, 16, and next page, line 9, as before noticed, instead of "Tā-yasa'ī," the correct title is "Tāī shī" See note, page 866
838, ,, 15, after "Kasmandah" there should be a comma
867, note, line 13 from bottom, *for* "*Balaban*" *read* "*Balban*"
872, ,, , para 1, line 8, *for* "Saklabs" *read* "Saḳlābs."
,, ,, , ,, 8, ,, next to last, *for* "different to" *read* "different from"
875, ,, , ,, 8, ,, ,, , after the words "vowel points," the comma is redundant
877, ,, , para 3, third line from bottom "Ḳafchāḳ," etc, may be also written "Kifchāḳ" and "Khifchāḳ," as at pages 254, 796, and 914 with 'i" in the first syllable is, perhaps, the most correct
890, ,, , line 2, "Irdīsh" is also written with "a"—Ardīsh, as in note at page 950 para 3
,, ,, , para 1, line 5 from bottom, *for* "Kol or Lake Bāe Kol," *read* "Kol or Lake, the Bāe-Kol," etc
892, ,, , para 6, line 5, *for* "ocasion" *read* "occasion"
899, ,, , ,, 2, ,, 4, ,, "Tāijiūt" ,, "Tānijūt," as at page 938
900, ,, , ,, 2, ,, 4, ,, "Mughuls" ,, "Mughals"
908, ,, , ,, 2, ,, 7, ,, "Itsiz" ,, "Itsuz."
913, ,, , ,, 3, ,, 5, ,, "TĀYĀ-GHŪ" ,, "ṬĀYA-GHŪ"
920, ,, , last line in page, ,, "Muran" ,, "Mur-ān"
936, ,, [4], para 2, line 3, ,, "Timur chī," ,, "Tamur-chī"
956, ,, , ,, 2, ,, 5, ,, "Jabbah" ,, "Jabah"
957, ,, , ,, 3, ,, next to last, *for* "Ja'fir" *read* "Ja'far"
968, text, line 2, after "sovereignty" there should be a comma.
969, note [9], *for* "*shrāb*" *read* "*sharāb*"
973, ,, , line 27, *for* "Juji" *read* "Jūjī"
979, line 3, *for* "*jazbi*" *read* "*juzbī*"
980, note [7], para 2, line 2, *for* "Ghū-Balīgh" *read* "Ghū-Bālīgh"
981, ,, , ,, 4, ,, 3, ,, "Gūzīdah" ,, "Guzīdah"
983, ,, , ,, 5, ,, 2, ,, "Gūr Khūn" ,, "Gūr Khān"
985, ,, , ,, 2, ,, 11, ,, "*shuja*" ,, "*shujā'*"
,, ,, , ,, 5, ,, 2, ,, "*Kankuli*" ,, "*Kankulī*"
986, ,, , ,, 1, ,, 6 from bottom, after the bracket and before "gave him" there should be a comma.
,, ,, last, line 3, *for* "Mughāl" *read* "Mughal"
988, ,, , para last, line next to last, *for* "Jihun" *read* "Jīḥūn"
,, ,, , ,, 2, line 13, *for* "Baisut" *read* "Baisūt," as at page 1094
989, ,, , ,, 2, ,, 14, ,, "Tūḳājār" ,, "Tūḳachāi, as in the preceding page
,, ,, , para 4, line 3, ,, "Fushang" ,, "Fūshanj"
991, ,, [4], line 3, *for* "*to-ydal*" *read* "*to ydal*," part of the "y" has been broken in printing
1002, ,, [5], line 2, *for* "was styled" *read* "was also styled"
1010, ,, , para 2, line 1, *for* "Ibn Khalkān" *read* "Ibn Khallikān," as at page 1278
1011, ,, , para. 2, line 7 from bottom, *for* "Ṭal-kān" *read* "Ṭāl-ḳān," and the comma after the word is redundant
1014, ,, [2], para. 4, line 7, *for* "Umrā" *read* "Umarā"
1015, ,, , ,, 3 ,, 12, ,, "Aghrāḳ" ,, "Ighrāḳ," as in other places.

Page 1020, note, para 4, line 9, the full stop after 30,000 men is a printer's error, and is redundant

1025, „ , para. 4, line 1, *for* "Mamālīk" *read* "Mamālik."

1027, „ [8], para 2, next to last line, *for* "Taghachār" *read* "Ṭaghāchār," also in para 3, line 3

1029, note, para. 4, line 2, *for* "Bahā-ud-Mulk" *read* "Bahā-ul-Mulk."

1032, „ , „ 2, „ 5, after "Jahān" the comma is redundant

1046, „ [3], line 6, *for* "AL-BIRŪNĪ" *read* "AL BĪRŪNĪ"

1048, text, last line, „ "Hīrāt" „ "Hirāt" as in other places.

1073, note [4], para 4, line , *for* "Turān" *read* "Tūrān"

1074, „ , five lines from bottom of page, *for* "Shīwstān" *read* "Shiwistān"

1095, „ , line 3, *for* "Mughāl" *read* "Mughal" as in line 2 above

1099, „ , para 2, line 17, *for* "the two" *read* "the other two"

1116, „ , „ 3, „ 4, „ "Itmās" „ "Itimās"

1119, text, line 7 from bottom, "Tā-īr" may also be written "Tā'īr" as in note [2], para 3, next page

1126, note [6], para 2, lines 2 and 3, *for* "Mukānū" and "Mukātū" *read* "Mūkānū" and "Mūkātū," and also in next two paragraphs.

1132, „ , para 2, line 2, before "Humāyūn" there is an *empty space for the word "to,"* which, through carelessness, the printer has allowed to fall out after revise, and a letter in the next to get out of its place

1135, „ [3], para 2, next to last line, *for* "eve" *read* "even," a letter has fallen out here too

1137, „ , para 4, line 3, *for* "tumāns" *read* "tomāns"

1161, line 15, after the words "inclined to it" there should be a comma

1164, „ 6, *for* "Chingīz" *read* "Chingiz," as it has been printed scores of times before

1166, note, para 2, line 3, *for* "Bashghīrd" *read* "Bāshghird"

1180, „ , „ 1, „ 4, „ "Ughūl" „ "Ughūl"

„ „ , „ last, next to last line, *for* "Zī-Kadah" *read* "Zī Ka'dah"

1183, „ , para 2, line 2, *for* "Shīramun" *read* "Shīrāmūn"

1188, end of note [7], *for* "hat" *read* "that," a letter has been allowed to fall out again

1194, note, para 2, line 6, *for* "Jāmī'" *read* "Jāmi'" as in fourth line above

1196, „ [2], line 1, here again, through carelessness, the "g" of excepting has fallen out unnoticed

1197, text, line 14, and 1198, line 17, *for* "Isfirār" *read* "Isfizār"

„ „ „ 15, "Kā īn" may also be written "Kā'īn"

1201, „ „ 1, *for* "*karwans*" *read* "*kārwāns*"

1203, „ „ 3, the "b" in Tabas" should be doubled thus—"Ṭabbas"

1220, note, second line from bottom, and next page, line 7 of note, *for* "Taghachār" *read* "Taghāchār"

1234, „ [4], line 4, *for* "'Usmanlī" *read* "'Usmānlī"

1239, „ para 3 line 7, *for* "Ilkāe, or Ilkā, or Ilkān," *read* "I yalkāe, or I yalkā, or I yalkān"

1255, „ , para 1, last line, *for* "Ibn 'Umrān" *read* "Ibn 'Amrān"

1260, „ [6], line 3, *for* "Ilkā" *read* "I-yalkā"

1267, „ [8], para 3, line 4, *for* "Kūrdīah" *read* "Kurdīah"

1270, „ , „ 1, „ 2 from end, *for* "Umrā" *read* "Umarā"

„ „ , „ 3, „ 10, *for* "Kaimurī" *read* "Kaimirī"

☞ THE present portion of this translation commences with Section VII. of the original.

The first six Sections are meagre, and the first eight pages will contain a *résumé* of their contents, which will be given on the completion of the work, with Title-page, and Table of Contents.

SYSTEM OF PRONUNCIATION.

THE system of transliteration adopted in the following pages, is that known as the system of Sir William Jones, which, after some thirty years' experience, the translator conceives to be the easiest, as well as the most natural, and as easy of pronunciation [except, perhaps, the purely 'Arabic gutturals] as the original letters of the 'Arabic alphabet. Some of the new systems proposed are difficult and complicated, and, in the translator's opinion [as far as he can understand them], in many instances entirely incorrect

The vowels are three *short*—a, i, u, equivalent to َ — ِ and — ُ, and three *long*—ā, ī, ū, equivalent to ا — ى — و

All consonants, except the following, are pronounced precisely the same as in English —ث—s̱, as *th* in thing, or lisped *s*, چ—ch, as *ch* in church; ح—ḥ, strongly aspirated, and occurs only in purely 'Arabic words, خ—kh, as *ch* in loch, and as German *ch*, ڈ—ḍ, pronounced by applying the tip of the tongue inverted to the palate, ذ—ẕ, as *th* in thine, by 'Arabs, *dth*, ڑ—ṛ, as *r* uttered by striking the point of the tongue on the palate, ژ—jz, as *s* in pleasure, or soft French *j*, ش—sh, as *sh* in shell, ص—ṣ, as *ss* in dissolve, ض—ẓ, as *dwd*, ط—ṭ, as *t* with a slight aspiration, ظ—ẓ, as English *z* with slight aspiration; ع—', a deep guttural without any audible aspiration, and when initial to a word the ' is placed before its vowel, as in 'Alī, and when not initial, after its preceding vowel, as in Mas'ūd and Rāfi', غ—gh, a guttural sound like that produced in gargling, or Northumbrian *r*, and *something* similar to *gh* in ghost, ق—ḳ, another peculiar 'Arabic sound, produced by pressing back the root of the tongue to the throat, and partaking of the sound of *k* and *q*, ه—h, slightly aspirated, at the end of a word it is often unaspirated. When e occurs at the end of a word preceded by ā, the former is almost quiescent The only diphthongs are ai and au

From the above system the scholar can at once tell the original letters in the names of persons and places.

H G. R.

TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS REQUIRING CORRECTION

Page 11, note 3, *for* Tālḥah, *read* Ṭalḥah
,, 21, *for* Lāiṣ, *read* Lais
,, 23, *for* Al-Mawaffiḳ, *read* Al-Muwāfik
,, 23, note 1, *for* Badghais, *read* Bādghais
,, 25, note 2, and notes 4 and 5, page 35, *for* Ibrahāmī, *read* Ibrāhīmī
,, ,, *for* Ṭāḥir, *read* Ṭāhir in all cases, and *for* Niẓām, *read* Niẓām
,, 36, note 9, *for* Sanjarīs, *read* Sijizis
,, 40, last line, and note 4, *for* Tagīn, *read* Tigīn
,, 41, note 5, *for* Fanākātī, *read* Fanākatī
,, 58, next to last line, *for* Tabrī, *read* Tabarī
,, 59, line 10, and in all cases, *for* Mūṣil, *read* Mauṣil
,, 69, paragraph 2 of note 4, line 15, *for* گرگزا *read* گرگزو
,, 75, line 19, *for* SULṬĀN-UL-'AZAM, *read* SULṬĀN-UL-'ĀZAM
,, 80, note 2, *for* overcome, *read* overcame
,, 86, note, line 28, *for* Al-Zawzanī, *read* Az-Zaw[illegible], and in all cases.
,, 90, line 14, and notes 4 and 5, *for* Mawdūd, *read* Maudūd in all cases.
,, 97, line 13, *for* Sūlīmān, *read* Sulīmān
,, 101, line 23, *for* 344 H., *read* 443 H.
,, 109, line 15, *for* the martyr Sulṭān, &c., *read* the martyr, Sulṭān, &c.
,, 110, note 1, line 1, *for* 548 H., *read* 514 H., and note 5, *for* 521 H., and 522 H., *read* 541 H., and 542 H.
,, 112, note 5, *for* year 523 H., *read* 543 H.
,, 113, note, line 11 from bottom, *for* Seyr, *read* Siyar
,, 115, line 1, and line 12, *for* Muḥammad, Sam, *read* Muḥammad-i Sām and in all cases
,, 137, note 3, *for* 555 H., *read* 455 H.
,, 140, note 5, *for* Khaṭā'ī, *read* Khiṭā'ī, and in all cases
,, 145, note 4, line 4 from bottom, *for* Almūt, *read* Alamūt
,, 146, line , *for* A'ZAM, *read* 'ĀZAM
,, 167, note 8, line 8, *for* Yafā'i, *read* Yāfa'ī
,, 172, note 3, paragraph 2, line 15, *for* up to this time, even, *read* up to this time even, &c., &c.
,, 176, note 1, line 6, *for* Iṣṭakhur, *read* Iṣṭakhur
,, 177, note 6, *for* 603 H., *read* 613 H.
,, 184, note, line 4 from bottom, *for* [illegible], *read* [illegible]

THE TABAKĀT-I-NĀSIRĪ:

INTRODUCTORY,

BEING AN EPITOME OF THE FIRST SIX SECTIONS

THE following is a brief summary of the contents of the first six Sections of the work as an Introduction to the Seventh with which my translation begins.

SECTION I Account of Adam, the Patriarchs and Prophets, the ancestors of Muhammad, and the latter's history to the date of his decease.

SECTION II The four orthodox Khalifahs, the descendants of 'Alī, and the 'Asharah-i-Mubashirah, or Ten Companions or Apostles of Muhammad

SECTION III and IV The Khalīfahs of the house of Ummiyah and 'Abbās, to the downfall of the latter

SECTION V. The Maliks [Kings] of 'Ajam to the rise of Islām, consisting of five dynasties —I The Bāstāniāh or Pesh-Dādān II The Kai-ānīān III The Ashkāniān. IV The Sāsāniān V The Akāsirah

The author, quoting the Tawārīkh-i-'Ajam from which he says the Shāh-Nāmah of Firdausī was taken, and the statements of the Fire-Worshippers, and other authentic information, states that, when Kābil slew his brother Hābil, Adam had another son born to him who was named Shīs, which signifies "given by God" He was inspired, and became ruler over Adam's descendants The Persians say this [Shīs] was Gaiū-mart, son of Adam, but the Musalmāns say that it is Unnush, son of Shīs, who is here referred to. In Unnush's time a son of Adam named Nabatī, with his children, retired to the mountains of Jarmūn, and devoted themselves to religion, and many others joined them From the death of Adam to this period, according to Abū-l-Ma'shar-i-Munajjim, in the Kānun-i-Mas'udī, was 432 years After some time elapsed, Nabatī and his descendants came down from the mountains and joined the

descendants of Ḳābīl, who had taken possession of the hills of Shāni, and parts around, and who had increased beyond computation Iblīs [the Devil] had taught them the worship of fire, and drunkenness, and all sorts of other grievous sins prevailed among them A thousand years had elapsed since Adam's death, and the rebellious sons of Ḳābīl and Nabatī began to act tyrannically. They chose one of their number to rule over them, who was named Sāmīārush, and between them and the other descendants of Adam, who were just persons, hostility and enmity arose

The sons of Shīs, and others of Adam's descendants who acknowledged Shīs' authority, assembled, and chose one of the Kārānīān Maliks, who are styled the Bāstānīān Maliks, to defend them from the wickedness of the sons of Ḳābīl and Nabatī, and this, the first person among the upright and just kings whom they set up, is styled Ilū-rūs in the Yūnānī language, and the Yūnānīs say, that he is the same as he whom the 'Ajamīs call by the name of Gaiū-mart He was entitled Gil-Shāh, and was the first king of the Gil-wānīān dynasty, which is also named the Pesh-Dādīān, and Bāstānīān dynasty When this Ilū-rūs became king, 1024 years had passed from the fall of Adam, and the land of Bābil became the seat of his government, and the just sons of Shīs, and other just descendants of Adam obeyed him When 1162 years had passed away, the countries of 'Arab, 'Ajam, Shām, and Maghrab became settled, and, according to the Ḳānūn-i-Mas'ūdī, previous to Nūh's flood, eleven kings of the Gil-wānīān dynasty had reigned

FIRST DYNASTY THE BĀSTĀNĪAH

I. GAIŪ-MART, or Gil-Shāh, surnamed Pesh-Dād, or I-rān Shāh Reigned 30 years II HOSHANG, who was born 223 years after Gaiū-mart's death, reigned, according to different accounts, 1400, or 400, or 40 years III. ṬHAMŪRAS-I-DĪW-BAND, great grandson of the preceding Reigned 30 years some say 1030 IV JAMSHED, grandson of Hoshang, but Ṭabarī says brother of Ṭhamūras Reigned 700 years V. BĪWAR-ASP, the infidel, who dethroned Jamshed, and was swallowed up in the Flood For 1000 years after the death of Nūḥ there was no king

on earth, but, after that, one arose of the seed of Hām, son of Nūḥ, named Ẓuḥāk. VI. ẒUḤĀK, THE TĀZĪ [i. e 'Arab]. He was a great sorcerer, and reigned 1000 years. VII. AFRĪDŪN, entitled Mihr-gān Ibrāhīm, the Patriarch, Ṭabarī says, lived in his reign, which was 500 years, but Ibrāhīm lived in Ẓuḥāk's reign, when Nimrūd reigned over Bābil VIII. Ī-RAJ, son of Afrīdūn, reigned 40 years. IX NIMRŪD, THE TYRANT He was great grandson of Nūḥ, and the first to assume sovereignty after the Flood. He perished after reigning 400 years A son of his, Ḳubṭ, an idol-worshipper, succeeded, and reigned 100 years After him, a son of his reigned 80 years, when the sovereignty again passed to the former kings of 'Ajam. X MANŪ-CHIHR, son of Ī-raj. Reigned 120 years, in the 60th year of which the Patriarch Mūsā appeared XI. AFRĀSIYĀB, THE TURK, who invaded Ī-rān and overthrew the dynasty XII ZAU, son of Thamāsib, son of Manū-chihr, who reigned 30 years

SECOND DYNASTY THE KAI-ĀNĪAH

I KAI-ḲUBĀD, sixteenth in descent from Manū-chihr Reigned 100 or 120 years. II KAI-KĀ-ŪS, his son, reigned 150 years Mihtar Sulīmān lived at this period III KAI-KHUSRAU, grandson of Kai-Kā-ūs Died aged 150, but the years of his reign are not given One of his champions was Rustam IV KAI-LUHRĀSIB, THE TYRANT Reigned 120 years and abdicated The Prophet Asha'yā [Isaiah] lived at this time, and Bukht-uṅ Naṣṣar was leader of the forces of Sanjārib, Malik of Bābil V. GUSHTĀSIB, son of Luhrāsib Zartusht arose in this reign, Rustam died, Bukht-un-Naṣṣar became Malik of Bābil, and Jerusalem was sacked Reigned 120 years VI. BAHMAN, son of Isfandiyār, son of Gushtāsib, surnamed ARDA-SHĪR-I-DIRĀZ-DAST [Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks] The Banī-Isrā'īl carried into captivity Bahman marries an Isrā'īlī woman, who bore him a son The Banī-Isrā'īl set free Reign 22 years VII HUMĀ-I [also Humāe], daughter of Bahman Married by her father and bore him Dārā. She abdicated after reigning 30 years VIII DĀRĀ [or DĀRĀB]-I-AKBAR [Great or Elder] He made captive the king of Rūm, and imposed tribute of 100,000 eggs of

gold, each as large as an ostrich egg. **Failaḳūs, Iskandar's father, was king of** Yūnān. Dārā **reigned 12 years. IX.** DĀRĀ-I-ASGHAR [Less or Younger] **Iskandar, son of** Failakūs, **brought all** Rūm **under subjection. Invaded and subdued** Ī-rān Length of reign not given. **X.** IS-KANDAR, son of Failakūs, **who is said to have been the son of** Dārā's sister married to Failakūs. **Iskandar died in** Ī-rān after 12 years' reign

THIRD DYNASTY THE ASHKĀNĪĀN

I. ASHK [Ushk = Hushkā ?], styled ARFA'WĀ, ninth in descent from Dārā-i-Akbar Ashk reigned 10 years. II ASHKĀN, his son, reigned 10 years III SHĀPŪR, his son, who totally destroyed Jerusalem In his reign Mihtar 'ĪSĀ [Jesus Christ] was born Shāpūr reigned 60 years. IV GUDARZ-I-AKBAR, son of Shāpūr Reigned 10 years. V. GUDARZ-I-ASGHAR, his son, reigned 21 years. VI NARSĪ-UL-ASHGHĀNĪ, who reigned 40 years VII KISRĀ-UL-ASHGHĀNĪ, son of Narsī He is styled also, ARDAWĀN-I-AKBAR, and reigned 44 years VIII. BALĀS-UL-ASH-GHĀNĪ, who reigned 24 years IX ARDAWĀN-I-AṢGHAR, who reigned 13 years

FOURTH DYNASTY THE SĀSĀNĪĀN

I. ARDA-SHER-UL-JĀMI' or BĀBAKĀN, son of Bābak, son of Sāsān, descended from Kai-Luhrāsib He rose to power 266 years after Iskandar, some say 270, but the Christians, 550 years after He reigned 14 [40 ?] years and 6 months II SHĀPŪR, his son, reigned 30 years. III HURMUZ [HURMAZ or AORMAZD], who reigned 1 year and 10 months IV BAHRĀM, his son, reigned 3 years. V. BAHRĀM, son of Bahrām, who assumed the title of Shāh-an-Shāh [King of Kings] He reigned 4 months Tabarī says, 4 years VI NARSĪ, son of the elder Bahrām, succeeded his brother, and reigned 9 years VII HURMUZ, son of Narsī, who reigned 7 years and 5 months He left one of his wives pregnant, who, after six months, gave birth to Shāpūr. VIII SHĀPŪR-I-ZŪ-L-AKTĀF, so called because, when at war with the 'Arabs, he had the shoulder-blades of all those who fell into his hands removed. He defeated and took prisoner the Ḳaiṣar of Rūm Shāpūr

reigned 72 years. IX. ARDA-SHER, son of Hurmuz, Shāpūr's brother, a great tyrant; and after 4 years he was dethroned. X. SHĀPŪR, son of Shāpūr-i-Zū-l-Aktāf, who was put to death by his troops after reigning 5 years and 2 months. XI. BAHRĀM, son of Shāpūr, styled Kirmān-Shāh before his accession. He was slain by his troops after reigning 11 years, but Tabarī says 15 years. XII. YAZDAJIRD-UL-ASIM [Evil-doer], also styled KĀW-KHASH [morose] Killed, after reigning 21 years, by the kick of a mysterious horse, which suddenly appeared, and as quickly vanished again. XIII. BAHRĀM, his son, styled BAHRĀM-I-GOR, so called from having, when hunting, discharged an arrow at a lion which was about to tear a wild ass, and pierced both through He reigned 60 years. XIV. YAZDAJIRD, his son, who reigned 18 years, 4 months, and 18 days XV. FĪRŪZ, son of Yazdajird, who reigned 27 years XVI BALĀSH, son of Fīrūz, reigned 4 years. XVII. ḲUBĀD, his son, was dethroned by his brother, Jamāsib, but recovered the sovereignty again Reigned 42 years.

FIFTH DYNASTY THE AKĀSIRAH

I. NŪSHĪRWĀN, son of Ḳubād, famous for his justice and equity. Reigned 47 years, in the 40th year of which the Prophet, Muhammad, was born II HURMUZ, his son, reigned 11 years and 7 months, and was deposed III KHUSRAU PARWĪZ, son of Hurmuz, was one of the most magnificent monarchs of I-rān, and reigned 38 years, when he was put to death by his son. In the 20th year of his reign, Muḥammad began to propagate his religion, and, in the 30th, fled from Makkah to Madīnah, which year is called the Hijrah or Flight IV SHERWAIAH, son of Khusrau Parwīz, who died of poison 6 months after putting his father to death V ARDA-SHER, his son, a mere child, succeeded, who was put to death by his Wazīr, Shahr-ārāe, after he had been 1 year and 6 months on the throne. VI. SHAHR-ĀRĀE [or Shahr-yār] usurped the throne, but was assassinated after 1 month VII TURĀN-DUKHT, daughter of Khusrau Parwīz, was raised to the throne. She sent back to Rūm *the Cross*, which her father had

carried away She died after reigning 1 year and 6 months VIII ĀRZŪMAND-DUKHT, another daughter of Khusrau Parwiz, succeeded, but was cruelly murdered after reigning 6 months IX KISRĀ, son of MIHR-JAISH, a descendant of Arda-Sher, Bābakān, was then set up, but was soon after dethroned and put to death X JUNAID, a descendant of NŪSHĪRWĀN'S, was then raised to the throne, but immediately after dethroned XI. FARRUKH-ZĀD, son of Khusrau Parwiz, who was deposed and put to death after 6 months' reign XII YAZDAJIRD-I-SHAHR-YĀR, son of Khusrau Parwiz, who, after a nominal reign of 20 years, was assassinated by a peasant of Marw, in the 21st year of the Hijrah [A D 642] In his reign the Musalmāns overthrew the Ī-rānī empire, and with Yazdajird the dynasty terminated

SECTION VI.

THE TUBBĀ YAWA', AND MALIKS OF YAMAN

The author states that he copies the account of the kings contained in this Section from the Tārīkh-i-Mukaddasi, and from Tabarī

After Kahtān, son of 'Ābir, son of Shālikh, son of Ar-fakhshad, son of Sām, son of Nūh, came into Yaman, Y'rab, his son, became king, and he was the first who used the 'Arabic language Fifteen kings are said to have reigned for a great number of years, up to the time of Ḥāris-ur-Rāyish, who is the first of the Tubbā-yawa' dynasty.

I. ḤĀRIS-UR-RĀYISH He was contemporary with Manū-chihr, sovereign of 'Ajam, and was subject to him. He reigned 120 years.

II. ABRAHAH-I-ZŪ-L-MANĀR, son of Ḥāris. He was subject to Manū-chihr, and reigned 180 years

III. AFRĪKĪS, son of Abrahah He also was subject to Manū-chihr, and reigned 164 years

IV MUNDAZ, styled ZŪ-L-ADGHĀR, son of Abrahah. He was subject to Manū-chihr, and reigned 25 years.

V HAILĀD, son of Sarakhīl, grandson of Ḥāriṣ He was cousin of Mundaz, and son of Balkīs [Queen of Sabā], but

by some he is said to have espoused the daughter of the king of the Jinn, and that Balkîs was their daughter.

VI BALKÎS, daughter of Hailād, became sovereign of Yaman and Maghrab She reigned 40 years

VII. UN-NĀSHIR-UN-NA'AM, son of 'Umaro, son of Sarakhīl. He reigned 75 years.

VIII. SHAMAR, son of Afrîkîs, son of Abrahah, styled Ra'ash—the Palsied He was a great king, contemporary with Gushtāsib and Bahman. He reigned 137 years.

IX. AKRĀN, son of Shamar. He reigned 53 years

X. TUBBA', son of Akrān, or Tubba'-i-Akbar. He reigned 160 years

XI. MALKÎRAB, son of Tubba'. He reigned 35 years.

XII TUBBA'-UL-AUSAT [the Medium] He was put to death by his soldiery after reigning 160 years

XIII ḤASSĀN, son of Tubba,' surnamed Ẕū-Ḥassān. He was put to death by his brother 'Umaro after a reign of 5 years

XIV 'UMARO, son of Tubba' He reigned 23 years

XV 'ABD-UL-KULĀL, son of Marṣad. In his reign 'ISĀ [Jesus Christ] lived, and 'Abd-ul-Kulāl believed in him. He reigned 74 years

XVI TUBBA'-UL-ASGHAR [the Younger], son of Ḥassān. He made great slaughter among the Banī-Isrā'îl of Madînah on account of their crimes, and slew fifty of their Mihtars He reigned 78 years.

XVII. MARSAD, son of 'Abd-ul-Kulāl He reigned 41 years; and, after him, the dominions of Ḥimyar and the Tubbā-yawa' became restricted to Yaman

XVIII WALTA'AB, son of Marsad. He reigned 37 years.

XIX ḤASSĀN, son of Ḥassān. He reigned justly for 70 years.

XX. ẔŪ-SHANATAR. He did not belong to the family of the Tubbā-yawa'. How long he reigned is unknown.

XXI ẔŪ-L-NAWĀSH,[1] son of Ḥassān, son of Ḥassān Ṭabarî calls him Zar'ab With him the Tubbā-yawa' dynasty ended, which from the time of Ḥāriṣ up to this period lasted 1360 years.

XXII. ABRAHAH-UL-ASHRAM [The Scarred in the Lip],

[1] Ṭabarî calls him Ẕū-l-Nawās He was a Jew

Ṣāhib-ul-Fīl, son of Ḥasan-us-Ṣabbāh. He endeavoured to destroy the *ka'bah* of Makkah, but perished with his whole army. The period of his reign and the reigns of his two sons, Yagsūm [Bagsūm] and Masrūk, when this Ḥabashah dynasty terminated, was 73 years, and in the last year the Prophet, Muhammad, was born.

XXIII. YAGSŪM, son of Abrahah, who reigned 4 years.

XXIV. MASRŪK, son of Abrahah. He was dethroned by Saif, the son of his mother by an 'Arab husband, aided by some criminals set at liberty for the purpose by command of Nūshīrwān, to whom Saif had complained.

XXV. SAIF, son of Zī-Yazan. He reigned a considerable time, and was subsequently slain by a Habashī left behind, who had entered his service.

XXVI. HARIZ [or DAHRIZ], the 'Ajamī, who had accompanied Saif, son of Zī-Yazan, from 'Ajam, by command of Nushīrwān, became ruler. He reigned 4 years.

XXVII. THE MARZABĀN, son of Hariz [or Dahriz], the 'Ajamī. He succeeded his father by Nūshīrwān's command, and reigned over Yaman a long time. At his death his son, Sajān [Abū-Shajān ?], succeeded, and, at his death, Khur-Khusrau became king of Yaman. The reign of Nūshīrwān had terminated, and Hurmuz had succeeded, and Khur-Khusrau, having rebelled, was removed.

XXVIII. BĀZĀN, the Muslim Malik. He became king and ruled over Yaman up to the rise of Muhammad, the Prophet. He embraced the new faith, and Yaman passed under the rule of the Musalmāns.

THE ṬABAḲĀT-I-NĀṢIRĪ.

SECTION VII.

THE DYNASTY OF THE ṬĀHIRĪ MUḤAMMADAN MALIKS IN 'AJAM

MINHĀJ-I-SARĀJ, JŪRJĀNĪ, the humblest of the servants of the Almighty's Court, gives, in the following pages, an account of the Ṭāhirī Maliks [kings], whose descent, in some histories, is traced to Manūchihr Al-Malik, sovereign of 'Ajam, and, according to which, the first of them who rose to power, was Ṭāhir [1], son of Al-Ḥusain, son of Muṣ-'ab, son of Zarnik, son of As'ad, son of Bādān, son of Māe Khusrau, son of Bahrām Māe Khusrau was the first who embraced the faith of Islām, having been converted by 'Alī—May God reward him!—and received the name of As'ad This Bahrām was son of Razān Mūrit, son of Rustam, son of As-Saddīd, son of Dostān, son of Barsān, son of Jūrak, son of Gusht-āsp, son of Ashraṭ, son of Is-ham, son of Ṭūrak, son of Anshar, son of Shaid-āsp, son of Azar-sab, son of Tūḥ, son of Rū-shed, son of Manūchihr Al-Malik

The Ṭāhirī Maliks were remarkable for their virtues and equity; and they first rose to power in Khurāsān, in the time of the Amīr-ul-Mūminīn [Commander of the Faithful], Māmūn, and in the following manner Between the Khalīfah, Muhammad Amīn, who was at

[1] The Tārīkh-i-Yāfa'ī, which is a rare and most valuable work, and highly esteemed by the early chroniclers, gives a different account According to it the following is the genealogy of the family —"Abū-Ṭaiyib-i-Ṭāhir, called Ẕū-l-Yamanain, son of Ḥusain, son of Ruzaiḳ [giving the vowel points], son of Māhān-i-Khazā'ī, son of As'ad, son of Rādwīah, and, according to another tradition, As'ad, son of Rādān, and, according to another, Muṣ'ab, son of Ṭalḥah Ṭāhir's ancestor, Ruzaiḳ, was a servant of Ṭalḥah-i-Ṭalaḥāt, who was renowned for his generosity and beneficence."

Baghdād, and his brother Māmūn, who was in Khurāsān, ill-feeling arose Upon this, Amīn despatched 'Alī 'Īsā-i-Māhān [2] from Baghdād into Khurāsān to reduce Māmūn to obedience, and, in one of the months of the year 195 of the Hijrah, he reached Hamadān with a warlike army. Māmūn appointed Harsamah [3], son of A'yan, to the command of a force to oppose 'Alī 'Īsā, and Ṭāhir, son of Ḥusain, was nominated to command the van of Harṣamah's army

By the advice of Fazl [4], son of Sahl, who was Māmūn's Wazīr, Māmūn bestowed a standard upon Ṭāhir, saying unto him at the same time, that he had bent for him a standard which for thirty years should lead to victory, and so it turned out, for the sway of the Ṭāhirīs lasted for upwards of thirty odd years [5] Within two leagues of Rai, with 14 or 15,000 horse [6], he encountered 'Alī, son of 'Īsā, son of Māhān, who had brought 50,000 horse with him, defeated, and slew him [7], and sent his head to Māmūn He then subdued the whole of the mountain tracts of 'Irāk, and took Wāsit and Ahwāz, and appeared before the gates of Baghdād

After carrying on hostilities for the space of a year, Ṭāhir captured Muhammad Amīn, put him to death [8], and despatched his head to Māmūn, his brother,

[2] His right name is Abū Yaḥyā-i-'Alī, son of 'Īsā, son of Māhān His two sons were also sent to serve under him, and his army amounted to 50,000 men

[3] Tabarī says Ṭāhir was alone appointed, but, subsequently, when he asked for reinforcements, on marching from the Ḥulwān Pass to Baghdād, then Harṣamah was sent with another army

[4] Other chroniclers of undoubted authority state that 'Alī, son of Abī Khālid, was the minister in question

[5] Most writers give a greater number of years than this Their dynasty is said to have continued nearly fifty-four years One of the poets has brought together the names of the Ṭāhirīan rulers in these two couplets —

"In Khurāsān, of the race of Muṣ'ab Shāh,
Were Ṭāhir, and Talḥah, and 'Abd-ullah
Then a second Ṭāhir, and a Muhammad, who,
Gave up unto Ya'ḳūb, the throne and crown"

[6] Ṭabarī says 20,000 men

[7] 'Alī, son of 'Īsā, was slain, it is said, by Dā'ūd-i-Siyāh, or the Black Most writers state that Ṭāhir himself slew him

[8] The author of the Mujmal-i-Faṣīḥ-ī states, that a slave of Ṭāhir's, Firdaus by name, slew Muḥammad Amīn on the 5th of Muḥarram, 198 H The author of the Tārīkh-i-Yāfa'ī gives the 6th of Safar as the date

together with his mantle, his rod of office, and his seal, by the hand of his uncle's son, Muḥammad, son of Al-Ḥasan, son of Muṣ'ab This event happened, and this victory was gained, on the 25th of the month Muḥarram, in the year 198 H.

I. ṬĀHIR-I-ZŪ-L-YAMANAIN [9]

Ibn Haiṣam, the chronicler, and author of the work entitled "Ḳaṣaṣ-i-Sānī," whose patronymic appellation was Abū-l-Ḥasan, and his name Haiṣam, son of Muhammad, Al-Bākī [Nābī ?] states, that, when the Commander of the Faithful, Māmūn, removed Ghassān [1], son of 'Ubbād, from the government of Khurāsān, he conferred it, together with the government of 'Ajam, upon Amīr Ṭāhir, and that As'ad, the grandfather [2] of Ṭāhir, before his conversion to the Muhammadan religion, bore the name of Farrukh He was converted to the faith by Ṭalhah [3], who gave him the name of As'ad, and he had a son whom he named Muṣ'ab; and he, Muṣ'ab, became resident at Fūshanj [4].

When the claims of the family of 'Abbās to the Khilāfat were put forward, this same Muṣ'ab became one of the principal men and partisan leaders of that dynasty Muṣ'ab had a son, Ḥusain by name, which Ḥusain, for a considerable time, administered the affairs of Fūshanj, and was its Wālī [governor] [5], and Ṭāhir [Ẓū-l-Yamanain] was his son, and these successes, which have been mentioned, were gained by this same Ṭāhir

When Māmūn came to Baghdād, to assume the Khilāfat,

[9] Of the two right hands Ṭāhir had also lost an eye, which our author does not seem to have known The reasons why he obtained the name of Ẓū-l-Yamanain are differently related One is, that, when engaged in battle against 'Alī, son of 'Īsā, he struck another antagonist with his left hand, with the other sword he carried, with such force as to cleave him in twain The other, that, when about to give his hand in token of allegiance to the Imām Riẓā, at Māmūn's command, he gave the left Riẓā asked the reason Ṭāhir replied, "I swore fealty to Māmūn with my right hand" Riẓā replied, "Your left will do just the same"

[1] Only one copy of the different MSS collated contains this name correctly

[2] جد means ancestor also According to the genealogical tree previously given, Ṭāhir was third in descent from As'ad

[3] Ṭālḥah, son of 'Abd-ullah, one of the Prophet's companions

[4] According to the Tārīkh-i-Yāfa'ī, above quoted, the grandfather of Ṭāhir held the government of Fūshanj and Hirāt Fūshanj or Būshanj (it is written both ways) "is the name of a city of Khurāsān near Hirāt"

[5] As considerable difference exists in some of these terms, I have thought it best to add, occasionally, the signification which the author means to convey.

e despatched Ṭāhir to Rakk'ah[6], to carry on hostilities gainst Naṣr-i-Shīs[7]. Subsequently to this he came into Ḵhurāsān; and, in 207 H[8], he died, having nominated his on Ṭalhah, son of Tāhir, his Khalīfah or successor

The chronicler relates, that on the Friday he read the Ḵhutbah[9], and either forgot to mention the name of Māmūn, or omitted it purposely After he had returned o his residence at night, and had retired to rest, at day-reak of Saturday morning he was found in his bed asleep n death, and it was never known how[1], or from what, his eath originated[2]

II TALHAH, SON OF ṬĀHIR I-ZŪ L-YAMANAIN

When the Khalīfah, Māmūn, became aware of the death f Tāhir, he sent letters patent to Talhah, confirming him n the government of Khurāsān, together with a robe of onour[3] He held the government until 213 H[4], and, hen the end of his life drew near, he bequeathed the overnment of Khurāsān to Muhammad, son of Al-Ḥasan, on of Muṣ'ab, At-Ṭāhirī, who was Ṭalhah's paternal uncle, nd soon after died

During his [Talhah's] lifetime, the Khārijī or heretic, Ḥamzah, broke out into rebellion in Sijistān[5], and Talḥah

[6] In two MSS written Rakah, which is not correct Tāhir's father, Ḥusain, son of Muṣ'ab, son of Ruzaik, died at Hirāt of Khurāsān in 199 H At this time Tāhir was at Rakk'ah, and the Khalīfah, Māmūn, was present at his funeral, and prayed over him, and the Wazīr Faẓl, son of Sahl, placed the body in the grave

[7] Abu Nasr i-Shīs, son of Rabī'ī (ربيع) the Khārijī, or Schismatic

[8] He died at Marw, according to Yāfa'ī, 23rd of Jamādī ul Ākhir, 207 H, or, according to the computation of the Musalmāns, the night being reckoned before the day, on the night of the 24th

[9] As the word Khuṭbah will occur frequently in these pages, it will be well to explain, that it is an oration delivered after the service on the Muhammadan Sabbath, in which the deliverer of it—the ruler or governor of the province properly—blesses Muḥammad, his successors, and the reigning Khalīfah or the Sovereign In ancient times, the Khalīfah, or his heir apparent, pronounced it, at the capital, in the principal Mosque

[1] He is said to have been poisoned The account is to be found in detail in several histories

[2] His death took place in the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal

[3] The Mujmal-i-Fasiḥ-ī states, that, in 210 H, the Khalīfah, Māmūn, despatched 'Abd ullah, son of Tāhir, to the assistance of his brother Talhah, that, in concert, they might proceed into Mawar-un-Nahr to carry on hostilities against Rāfī', son of Hāsham

[4] He died at the end of 212 H

[5] Also called Nīm-roz.

carried on hostilities against him for a considerable period; and what he did in Khurāsān, during the Khilāfat of Māmūn, was the cause of his name being remembered with gratitude in that country, where numerous proofs of his goodness remained.

III. 'ABD-ULLAH, SON OF ṬAHIR

On the decease of Ṭalhah, the Commander of the Faithful, Māmūn, summoned to his presence Abd-ullah, the son of Tāhir, who had become Amīr [governor] of Miṣr[6] 'Abd-ullah had been brought up at the Court of the Khilāfat, and under the patronage, and under the eye, of the Khalīfah himself, and had become greatly accomplished In his seventeenth year, Māmūn had entrusted him with the command of his forces; and he had so conducted himself, that, in his twenty-seventh year[7], 'Abd-ullah had become renowned among men for his manliness, his vigour, his intrepidity, and his virtues and talents. At this period the Khalīfah appointed him to the government of Khurāsān, and directed that 'Alī[8], son of Ṭāhir, brother of 'Abd-ullah, should act as his brother's Khalīfah, or Lieutenant, in the command of the troops of the Dār-ul-Khilāfat [the capital], in repressing the seditious and rebellious, and in the extermination of heretic Khārijis, and, likewise, in carrying out the affairs of state, and all such other duties as appertained unto 'Abd-ullah to perform and attend to

At the time the Khalīfah's mandate to proceed into Khurāsān and assume the government reached him, 'Abd-ullah[9] was at Dīnawr engaged in suppressing Bābak-i-Khurramī When he reached Nishāpūr, rain, which had not fallen for a considerable time, began to descend and

[6] Any large city Egypt, and its capital

[7] Some copies of the original mention "his twentieth year," but I prefer the other reading

[8] Other writers state, that 'Alī succeeded his father in the government of Khurāsān, and that he was killed in battle fighting against the Khārijīs, in the vicinity of Nīshāpūr, and, that 'Abd-ullah was at Abīward when he received the intelligence of his brother's death

[9] Tabarī makes no mention of 'Abd ullah, son of Tāhir, as having been employed against Bābak, but says that Is ḥāķ, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Mu'ṣab —who would be thus cousin of 'Abd ullah's father—was That author states, that 'Abd-ullah seized Bābak's brother in Khurāsān, and, that he sent that heretic to Is-ḥāķ, at Baghdād, to be dealt with as Bābak had already been.

to refresh the parched ground on the very same day, and the people took it as a good omen. He founded palaces for himself, and his followers and dependents, at Shād-yākh[1] of Nīshāpūr. He suppressed the Khārijīs, and punished them with severity, and ruled with the utmost equity and justice, and introduced many good and wise regulations.

He was also a great patron of learning, and to such a degree, that he requested the Imām 'Abd-ul-Ḳāsim[2], son of Sallām, to write a commentary for him on the work entitled "Gharīb-ul-Ḥadīs," and, in recompense for so doing, sent him a present of 100,000 silver *dirams*, and a valuable dress of honour.

The Lord of the Faithful, Al-Māmūn, had entrusted 'Abd-ullah with the government of the whole of the territory of 'Ajam[3], and, when that Khalīfah died, his successor, Al-Mutasim B'illah, confirmed him, as his father had done before, in the government of the whole of the territory of 'Ajam, which 'Abd-ullah retained until the year 230 H., in the reign of Al-Wāsik B'illah, when he died. He had exercised sovereignty over the territories of 'Ajam for a period of seventeen years, and, when he died, he had attained the age of forty-eight, the same age as his father. When his death drew near, he nominated his son Ṭāhir as his successor over Khurāsān.[4]

IV. ṬĀHIR, SON OF 'ABD-ULLAH

When the account of the decease of 'Abd-ullah reached the Khalīfah, Al-Wāsik, he despatched, from the Dār-ul-Khilāfat of Baghdād, letters patent and a standard, confirming him as his father's successor.

His brothers[5] solicited from Ṭāhir the grant of the pro

[1] In the Persian translation of the Arabic work entitled Aṣār ul Bilād, by Muḥammad Murād, son of 'Abd ur-Rahmān, Shād-yākh is described as "a city of Khurāsān near unto Nīshāpūr," but it appears to have been a fortified suburb, where the royal palace, arsenal, and gardens were situated. The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar states that the capital of the Ṭāhirīs was called Kar-shākh!

[2] Some copies have Abū-l-Ḳāsim. [3] 'Ajam—countries not Arabian. Persia.

[4] 'Abd ullah, son of Ṭāhir, had a son called 'Abd-ullah, who was born 223 H., and another son, Muhammad, who was his father's deputy at Baghdād, died in 226 H.

[5] In all the copies of the original the word *brothers* is used, but only one brother is mentioned afterwards.

vince of Khurāsān, and its government; and he bestowed on his brother, Amīr Muṣ'ab, the government of Nishāpūr[6]. The Khalīfah, Al-Wāsik, died in the month Ẕū-l-Ḥijjah, 232 H, and Al-Mutawakkil assumed the Khilāfat

He confirmed Ṭāhir in the government of 'Ajam. After a period of fourteen years and nine months, at which time the Khalīfah, Al-Mutawakkil, was martyred[7] by the Turks, he was succeeded by Al-Mustanṣir

Six months subsequently to that event, in the year 248 H[8], Al-Musta'īn succeeded him He sent letters patent and a standard, and confirmed Ṭāhir, son of 'Abd-ullah, in his government, as before, and, in that same year, Amīr Tāhir died, having previously nominated his son Muḥammad as his successor over Khurāsān[9]

V MUḤAMMAD, SON OF ṬĀHIR

Amīr Muḥammad-i-Ṭāhir[1] was endowed with good breeding, the gift of poetry, and many other accomplishments, but was greatly addicted to pleasure and amusement.

He had entrusted the government of Tabaristān to his uncle Sulīmān, son of 'Abd-ullah-i-Tāhir, but, in 251 H, Amīr Ḥasan, son of Zaid-ul-'Alawī, broke out into rebellion in that country He was a Sayyid, and a well-bred and learned person, and a poet He subdued the territories of Dīlam, and Gīlān, which were in the possession of infidels, and the people of those parts were converted to the Muhammadan faith by him From thence he entered Ṭabaristān with a large army; and Sulīmān, son of 'Abd-ullah-i-Ṭāhir, uncle of Amīr Muḥammad, was defeated by him, and retreated

[6] In 231 H, Hasan, son of Al Husain, brother of Tāhir-i Zū-l-Yumanain, died in Ṭabaristān, and, in 235 H Is-ḥāk, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Zū-l-Yamanain's brother, Ḥasan, died at Baghdād. He had held the Shurṭ, or district of Baghdād, under three Khalīfahs

[7] Middle of the month of Shawwāl, 247 H

[8] According to our author, in his account of the Khalīfahs, on the 4th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 248 H

[9] Succession to the government of Khurāsān seems to have been considered hereditary, but to that of 'Ajam, at the pleasure of the Khalīfah

[1] His name is given differently by Ḥamd-ullah i Mustaufī in his history. He styles him Muḥammad, son of Ahmad, son of Tāhir, son of 'Abd ullah, son of Ṭāhir-i Ẕū-l-Yamanain In the Mujmal i Faṣīḥ-ī he is called Muhammad, son of Ṭāhir-i-Ẕū-l-Yamanain

to Rai[2], and subsequently retired to Baghdād. On his arrival at the latter place, he was made Ḳā'id [governor] of the district of Baghdād.

At this period, Ya'kūb, son of Lais, had risen in rebellion in Sīstān, and had subdued some portion of Jarūm[3], and of Zāwulistān, and had acquired considerable power in Khurāsān. In 259 H., Ya'kūb determined to attack Amīr Muhammad. The reason of this was, that his enemies, Ahmad and Fazl, the brothers of 'Abd-ullah-i-Sālih, Sijizī, had fled from the territory of Nīm-roz, and had sought the protection of Muhammad, son of Tāhir. Ya'kūb continued repeatedly to demand them at the hands of Amīr Muhammad-i-Tāhir, but he had always refused to give them up. On this Ya'kūb determined to march against Nishāpūr[4], and, when he had arrived within a short distance of it, Ahmad and Fazl came to the entrance of the palace, where Amīr Muhammad was at the time, to acquaint him with the news of Ya'kūb's approach. The Ḥājib [chamberlain] of the Amīr told them that his master was asleep, and that he had no leisure to receive them. They observed to each other that it was necessary that some one should awaken the Amīr, and, thus saying, they retired and went to their brother 'Abd-ullah-i-Ṣālih, Sijizī, and told him what had occurred. He was well aware that Amīr Muhammad was entirely sunk in carelessness, and that his dynasty was near its fall; so he retired to Rai, and sent his brothers, Ahmad and Fazl, to the Wālī [governor] of Rai, but went himself into Tabaristān to Amīr Ḥasan, son of Zaid-ul-'Alawī.

When Ya'kūb, son of Lais, reached a place called Farhād-gurd[5], a short distance from Nishāpūr, Amīr Muhammad despatched an agent to Ya'kūb, named Ibrāhīm-i-Ṣālih,

[2] *Re* is not the correct pronunciation for the name of this city, but *Rai*. It is written thus in the original Persian—رَيْ

[3] Jarūm is described as being the district of Garmsīr, which latter word is written in various ways by those who fancy that Oriental proper names, as well as other words, may be written according to *their* fancy, such as Gurmsehl, Gurmseer, and the like.

[4] The capital of Khurāsān. As stated, previously, the Tāhirī rulers held their court at Shād-yākh, a short distance from that city.

[5] The name of this place is not quite certain. It is written—امرما كرد ,وربادكود and even اسپا كرد in the different copies of the MSS. collated. The above name is the most probable one.

Marwazī [or native of Marw], with a message demanding whither he was going without the command of the Lord of the Faithful, and that, in case he had a commission, he should show it, in order that he, Muḥammad, might obey it, and observe its provisions. When the agent reached Ya'kūb's presence, and delivered his message, Ya'kūb put his hand under his prayer-carpet and drew forth his sword, and, placing it before the envoy, said: "This is my pass and authority."

When the envoy, Ibrāhīm-i-Ṣāliḥ, returned with this reply, all the people of Nīshāpūr entered into communication with Ya'ḳūb; and they delivered Muhammad-i-Ṭāhir into his hands, and the dynasty of the Ṭāhirīs came to an end[6] This event happened on Sunday, the 3rd of the month of Shawwāl, 259 H Respecting the generosity and munificence of Muḥammad-i-Ṭāhir, one of the learned, whose statement may be depended on, relates the following

ANECDOTE.

There was a person dwelling at Nīshāpūr, one of the most excellent men of his day, named Mahmūd-i-Warrāk[7] He possessed a female slave, who played exceedingly well upon the *barbat*—a kind of lute—and of such grace and beauty as cannot be described.

The fame of the loveliness of this slave-girl, and of her amiability and accomplishments, having reached the ear of Muhammad-i-Ṭāhir, to the effect that she improvised ghazals, or odes, sang them, and accompanied them on the *barbat*, the heart of Muhammad-i-Ṭāhir desired, beyond measure, to obtain possession of her He had repeatedly asked Mahmūd-i-Warrāk to part with her, and had offered to give a very high price for her, but all his offers were rejected, and he could not obtain possession of her, for her master himself was deeply enamoured of his beautiful slave, Rātibah, as she was named

After some time had elapsed, however, and Mahmūd-i-Warrāk had expended all his property and possessions in pleasure and expense on her account, and nothing remained to him, he despatched a person with a message to the

[6] These events are fully detailed in the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, and several other histories. See note [7], page 22.

[7] Warrāḳ means a writer, a cutter and folder of paper, also a monied man

presence of Muḥammad-i-Tāhir soliciting that the Amīr would honour him with a visit, in order that he might dispose of his beautiful slave to him

When Muhammad-i-Tāhir received this message he was delighted beyond measure, and directed that four *badrahs*[*] of silver should be brought and handed over to the domestic who brought the message, while the Amīr arose, and proceeded, by way of his own private residence to that of Mahmūd-i-Warrāk When the Amīr had sat down, and the silver was placed before the eyes of Maḥmūd-i-Warrāk, he, seeing the state of affairs, went out, and directed Rātibah, saying "Don your best apparel, Rātibah, and prepare to present yourself before the Amīr, as I am going to sell you to him" When the slave-girl heard these words she burst into a flood of tears, and, such was the paroxysm of her grief, that the sounds reached the ears of the Amīr, who was in another apartment He heard Mahmūd say to her · "Wherefore all this grief and lamentation, O Rātibah?" to which she replied "O my master! is this the end of our connexion, that at last you separate me from you?" Mahmūd replied · "All this I do out of love and affection for you, now that I possess nothing, and am a beggar, and, that you may continue to live in ease and affluence for the rest of your life, I send you to the *haram* of the Amīr" Rātibah replied "If you merely act thus on my account, refrain from doing so, for I undertake to work for the rest of my days, and, by industry befitting a woman, by weaving coifs and mantles, earn sufficient means for your subsistence and my own, but do not separate me from you" Mahmūd-i-Warrāk rejoined. "If such be the case, O Rātibah, I now pronounce you free, and fix your dowry at nineteen *dīnārs* and a half, and make you my wife"

Muhammad-i-Tāhir, hearing this loving and affectionate dialogue between Mahmūd-i-Warrāk and his slave, arose, and, gathering his garments about him, said to Mahmūd. "The whole of the four *badrahs* of silver are thine, I make thee a present of it pass the rest of thy life in ease and affluence!" Thus saying, he went his way, and the fame of his generosity still remains.

[*] A weight equal to 10,000 *dirams*, also a bag made of leather or lamb's skin

SECTION VIII.

THE ṢUFFĀRĪŪN DYNASTY

THE author, Minhāj-i-Sarāj Jūrjānī, makes a short extract from the Tārīkh or chronicle of Ibn Haiṣam-i-Sānī, respecting the dynasty of the Ṣuffārīūn. That chronicler and annalist relates, that Ya'kūb-i-Lais, and 'Umro, 'Alī, and Mu'addil-i-Lais, were four brothers, sons of Lais, the Ṣuffār or worker in brass, who was head of the braziers of Sijistān[1]. [At this time] Ibrāhīm, son of Al-Ḥusain[2], was the Wālī [governor] of Sijistān on the part of Muhammad, son of Ṭāhir, the last of the Ṭāhirīs, who was the Amīr of Khurāsān. This Ibrāhīm had appointed a deputy or lieutenant of his own to govern in Sijistān in his name, who was called Ṣāliḥ, son of Un-Nasr. This Lais the brazier was a restless and refractory fellow, and had a great number of assistants, servants, and followers.

[1] Other historians greatly differ here, as to the origin and rise of the Ṣuffārīān. One says that Laiṣ, the brazier, was in the service of Ṣāliḥ, son of Nasr, Kanānī, and another, quoting the History of Khurāsān of Moulānā Mu'īn-ud-Dīn, Sabzawārī, states, that the latter author had traced the descent of this family to Nūshīrwan the Just, the celebrated ruler of Irān. Again, another author states, that Ya'kūb, son of Lais, after the death of Darhim [sic], son of Un-Naṣr, revolted against his sons Ṣāliḥ and Nasr, in 237 H., and managed to gain possession of some portion of the territory of Sijistān. His affairs prospered, and, the principal men among the partisans of Darhim's family having combined with him from time to time, in 253 H., he acquired the whole of Sijistān. Darhim's sons fled to the king of Kābul.

[2] In three copies of the MSS. compared, and also in the Tārīkh-i Fanākatī, this name is written "Haṣīn," [حصين] which signifies a fortification. A few words, respecting the Tārīkh-i Fanākatī, may not be amiss here. Abū Sulīmān-i-Dā'ud, the author of that work, surnamed Fakhr-ud-dīn, was a native of Fanākat—also written Banākat, according to the rule by which 'Arabs change Persian *f* into *b*—in Māwar-un-Nahr; hence he is known as Al-Fanākatī, and Al Banākatī, and his work as the Tārīkh-i-Fanākatī or Banākatī, but not by the absurd name that some persons have bestowed upon it, apparently through ignorance of the existence of this place, such as "Binā-Gety," and "Bina-i Geti." They probably supposed the meaning to be a "History of the Foundation of the World," which *Binā-i-Getī* would signify.

I YA'ḲŪB, SON OF LAIS, ṢUFFĀRĪ.

The author of these pages, in the year 613 H., arrived in Sijistān, during the rule of the Malik of Nīm-roz, Shāh-i-Ghāzī, Yamīn-ud-dīn, Bahrām Shāh, son of Malik-i-Kabīr, Tāj-ud-dīn, Ḥarab, son of I'zz-ul-Mulūk, Muhammad There I noticed a place[1], on the south of the city of Sijistān, which they call by the name of Dar-i-Ṭa'ām, outside the city, at a spot called Reg-i-Gunjān In the vicinity of this latter place, on a height or rising ground, there is a palace in ruins, and a number of trustworthy persons informed me, that Ya'kūb, son of Lais, and his brothers, with their dependents and servants, were in the habit of coming thither one day in each week, as is the custom among young men, to divert themselves by sports and fun

They used on these occasions to choose an Amīr, or king of the sports, and a Wazīr, or minister One day, according to their usual custom, they had come to the wonted place of meeting, and Ya'kūb had been chosen Amīr for the day's sports, and, to each and every one of his brothers, his kinsmen, and dependents, he had assigned

[1] "There I noticed a place," &c This sudden change to the first person is found in the original, and is not unusual in Oriental works The whole of the MSS compared here appear hopelessly corrupt, the place to the south of Sijistān having, apparently, two names, and yet either of them is named, as though it were a principal distinguishing designation But, as the Bodleian and some other MSS omit the relative in the last clause, it has been adopted in the text of the translation Since the above has been in type I find, from "MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK"—the original MS, not a translation—that Dar-i-Ṭa'ām was the name of one of the thirteen gates of the suburbs of the then extensive city of Zaranj, the capital of Sijistan, founded after the city of Rām Shahr became uninhabitable The city was surrounded by a high wall and a ditch, and had five gates, which were of iron. The walls of the suburbs were probably not so strong, and the gates seem to have been of wood The author says "The palace of Ya'ḳūb, son of Lais, is situated between the gates called Dar-i Ṭa'ām, and Darwāzah-i-Bārs [Fārs], and the palace of 'Umro, son of Lais, is the residence of the ruler" The copy of the above work which I have used is, from the style of writing, very ancient, and, from various events mentioned in it, appears to have been compiled previous to the time of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn I have translated a considerable portion of it Our author's journey to Sijistān took place some centuries after this work was written, at which period, from his remarks, the extensive suburbs had almost disappeared, and the names only of some of the gates appear to have survived From the mention of the Reg [sand] of Gunjān, the suburbs had evidently been partially, if not altogether, buried in the sands, which, in after-times, reduced a once well-cultivated tract into a desert. See Section XIV. on the Kings of Nīm-roz and Sijistān

the name of some one of the nobles and grandees of the country. Unexpectedly, the deputy of the Amīr of Sijistān, Ṣāliḥ, son of Naṣr, himself, on his return home from the chase, arrived at this place, attended by his usual small suite. Perceiving this assemblage of people collected on the mound in question, he directed one of his attendants to go and make inquiry who they were.

When the man sent reached the party, and noticed what was going on, he was much astonished, and, a bevy of youths having come forward to receive him, the messenger was forced to dismount from his horse, because it was necessary to present himself before the Amīr of the sports on foot. The servant of Ṣāliḥ, accordingly, was under the necessity of complying, and he made his obeisance, and returned, and related to his master, Ṣāliḥ, son of Naṣr, what had passed and what he had seen

Ṣāliḥ, whose disposition was inclined to pleasantry, said, "We will go and see what this party of youths are about," and rode up and came to the spot where they were. Ya'kūb-i-Lāiṣ never moved from his seat, and he directed, that Amīr Ṣāliḥ should be brought forward to pay his obeisance The youths, as commanded, advanced to meet him, and they made Ṣāliḥ dismount from his horse, and compelled him to make his obeisance to Ya'kūb

As the day of his fortune and the period of his age had reached the evening of their termination, and the morning of the prosperity of the Ṣuffāriūn had dawned, Ya'kūb made a sign to the effect that it was necessary to put an end to Amīr Ṣāliḥ's career, and forthwith they put him to death Ya'ḳūb, without delay, mounted a horse, and the party with him armed themselves, and, with the utmost expedition, they set out for the city, and proceeded to the palace of the ruler, and there Ya'kūb took up his quarters

This event took place at the time of early forenoon, and by the time of meridian prayer the territory of Sijistān was in the hands of Ya'kūb-i-Laiṣ, and all the people submitted to his rule, like as if the Almighty God had pre-ordained that he should follow his own way Ya'kūb directed that the Khuṭbah should be read for him; and these events, and this success, took place in the year 251 H

After this, Ya'kūb led an army towards Bust and Zāwulistān, and the territory of Dāwar [Zamīn-i-Dāwar]

and Ghaznīn, and subdued the whole of them. From thence he advanced into Tukhāristān[4] and Balkh, and subdued them, and then returned and marched towards Kābul[5] This success took place in 256 H, and, subsequently, he returned to Sijistān, and afterwards advanced to Hirāt, which, after much fighting, he gained possession of After this he took Bādghais, Būshanj [or Fūshanj], Jām, and Bākhurz, and returned to Sijistān again

After a short time Ya'kūb again put his forces in motion, and marched against Nīshāpūr, which he gained possession of without opposition in 259 H, and seized upon Muhammad-i-Tāhir, son of Ḥusain[6], together with his treasures, and his dependents, and followers He then marched towards Gurgān and Tabaristān, and, after having extorted tribute, again retired He made his brother, U'mro-i-Lais, Wālī [governor] of Hirāt and, in 261 H, a person—one of the Amīrs of Muhammad-i-Ṭāhir—revolted, and set Muhammad-i-Ṭāhir at liberty[7], who retired to the Court of the Khalīfah, Al-Wāsik B'illah Ya'kūb-i-Lais again marched an army into 'Irāk, and, on his return from thence, he reached a place which was called Khandah-i-Shāpūr[8], and there he departed this life, in the year 265 H, of colic, after a reign of fourteen years

[4] The ancient name of *one* of the *districts* of the territory of Balkh, and of which Tāe ķān – Tāl-kan by moderns, but not correct, I think—is the largest town, the authority of "Hwen [Houen ?] Thsang," and its extent of "*ten day's journey by thirty days,*" and "*twenty-seven states,*" notwithstanding See J Ro As Soc, vol vi p 94

[5] As stated in a former note, the sons of Darhim, Naṣr and Ṣāliḥ, had fled to Kābul, and had sought shelter with the "Shāh," as he is styled, of that territory, whose name was Ratbel or Rantbel, but this seems to have been a surname merely, for the opponent of the first Mussalmāns bore this very title

[6] The name here is not correct the last of the Tāhirīs is Muḥammad, son of Tāhir, son of 'Abd ullah, son of Ṭāhir-i Zū-l-Yamanain See page 15

[7] The author says not one word respecting Ya'ķūb's overthrow near Hulwān by Muwaffiķ, the brother of the Khalīfah Mu'tamid, in 262 H On that occasion the baggage and effects of Ya'ķūb fell into the hands of the victors, among which were the chests containing his treasures, clothes, &c. On opening one of the chests, they found reclining therein the Amīr Muhammad, son of Uṭ-Tāhir, whom Ya'ķūb had made captive, when he gained possession of Nīshāpūr, and overthrew the Tāhirī dynasty Muwaffiķ set him at liberty, and sent him to Baghdād He died there in 266 H, and, at that time, and with him, other authors consider the Tāhirī dynasty to have ended

[8] The Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh calls this place by the name of "Jand-i-Shāpūr, a town of Ahwāz," and states that the date of his death was the 14th of Shawwāl, 265 H It is also called "Jande-Shāpūr" Ya'kub was buried there

II 'UMRO, SON OF LAIS, ṢUFFĀRĪ.

When Ya'ḳūb-i-Laiṣ was removed from this transitory life, his brother, 'Umro, Ṣuffārī, sent a written petition to the Lord of the Faithful, the Khalīfah, Al-Muwaffik B'illah[9], tendering his obedience and submission, and soliciting that he should be confirmed in the possession of the greater part of Fārs, Gurgān, Sijistān, and Khurāsān. His request was acceded to by the Khalīfah, and 'Umro retired from the mountain tracts of 'Irāk with his own forces and those of his brother, and returned towards Sijistān again From thence he moved towards Hirāt, and arrived there in the year 266 H. From Hirāt he marched to Nishāpūr, and Khujistān[1], who was one of the Amīrs of Muhammad, son of Ṭāhir [the last of the Ṭāhirī dynasty], who had released his master from the hands of the Ṣuffārīs, and who was at this period in Gurgān, marched to Nishāpūr against 'Umro, and there he was joined by Rāfi', son of Harsamah, from Marw

They fought a battle with 'Umro before the gate of Nishāpur, and 'Umro was defeated and put to the rout He retreated to Hirāt, and the Khalīfah, Al-Mawaffik B'illah[2], deposed

[9] There was no Khalīfah of this name The author must refer to the Khalīfah Mu'tamid's brother, Muwaffik, who was made Wālī over the eastern parts of Islām, and declared heir, after the death of Mu'tamid's son Ja'far, but he did not succeed to the Khilāfat Mu'taẓid, son of Muwaffiḳ, who died before his brother, Mu'tamid, succeeded his father, Al-Muwaffiḳ, in his capacity as ruler of the eastern parts of the Khilāfat, and he conferred the investiture of Khurāsān, Fārs, Iṣfahān, Sijistān, Kirmān, and *Sind*, upon 'Umro in 265 H, after the death of Ya'ḳub, and, in 266 H, 'Umro appointed 'Ubaid-ullah, the son of Ṭāhir, to the district of Baghdād, as his deputy Mu'tamid was the Khalīfah who excommunicated 'Umro, son of Laiṣ, from the pulpit, at Baghdad, in 265 H 'Umro had despatched an agent to offer his submission and obedience, which the Khalīfah refused to accept, and he cursed him

Under the events of the year 278 H, the Mujmal-i-Faṣiḥ ī also mentions, that "Amīr Ismā'īl, Sāmānī, overcame 'Umro, son of Laiṣ, the Suffār," and, under the events of the following year, 279 H, I find the Khalīfah, Al Mu'taẓid, presenting a standard to 'Umro, with the government of Khurāsān, at 'Umro's request, and that "Umro hoisted the standard over his Sarāe or palace, and kept it flying there for three days The Khalīfah also conferred upon 'Umro's envoy, who brought the request for a standard, a dress of honour, and a present" Our author sadly confounds the dates of events, and jumbles them into a very short space

[1] This is an error, although seven copies of the text give the same name Other authors state, that Ya'kūb was defeated by Ahmad, son of 'Abd-ullah, Khujistānī, i e a native of Khujistān, which, the author of the Mujmal-i-Faṣiḥ ī says, is a dependency of Badghais, in the highlands of Hirat

[2] See preceding note[9], on this subject

'Umro-i-Laiṡ from the government of Khurāsān in the year 271 H., and the whole of the territories and places which had been annexed by him were given [back] to Muhammad, son of Ṭāhir, son of 'Abd-ullah.

Muhammad was, at that time, at the Dār-ul-Khilāfat of Baghdād, and Rāfi', son of Harsamah, was directed to act as his deputy and lieutenant in the government of Khurāsān. The government of Māwar-un-Nahr — the territory trans Jīhūn—was conferred upon Ahmad, Sāmānī, as the deputy likewise of Muhammad, son of Ṭāhir. Between 'Umro-i-Lais and Rāfi', son of Harsamah, many battles and conflicts took place up to the period that Rāfi'-i-Harsamah himself rebelled against the authority of the Khalīfah.

In the year 284 H., in an encounter which took place between him and 'Umro-i-Lais, Rāfi' was slain[3]. 'Umro sent the head of Rāfi' to the Court of Baghdād, at which time the *masnad* [throne] of the Khilāfat had devolved upon Al-Mu'tazid B'illah, and 'Umro-i-Lais made a request to him that the government of Māwar-un-Nahr, Khurāsān, Nīm-roz[4], Fārs, Kirmān, and Ahwāz, together with the Nakābat[5], or guardianship of the entrance to the palace of the Khalīfah, and of the district of Baghdād, should be made over to him. More than this, he solicited that the name 'Umro should be inscribed on the canopies[6] which every chief had in his residence [which would signify that he was above them all], and that his name should be mentioned in the Khutbah, and on the coins of Makkah and Madīnah and of Ḥijāz. All his demands were acceded to by the Khalīfah's Court, and were duly carried out, and numerous dresses of honour, and countless marks of favour and distinction, were conferred upon him.

The letters patent, acceding to his demands, having reached 'Umro from his Majesty the Khalīfah, he made

[3] Other authors state that Rāfi' was taken prisoner by 'Umro, and sent to Baghdād, where he died in confinement, which former proceeding so pleased the Khalīfah that he restored 'Umro to the government of Khurāsān, Māwar-un-Nahr, Kirmān, &c., again. The Jāmi'-ut Tawārīkh, and Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah, however, state that Rāfi' sought shelter with the ruler of Khwārazm, who put him to death, and sent his head to 'Umro. The latter's report to the Khalīfah, in the Mujmal-i-Faṣīḥ-ī, confirms this.

[4] Sijistān.

[5] Nakābat, the office of a Naḳīb, a leader, &c.

[6] The word is rather doubtful—سرهای. One MS. has سرهائی another سرهای.

preparation for proceeding and taking possession of Māwar-un-Nahr; and Muḥammad Bashīr, who was his Ḥājib [chamberlain], was despatched with a force from 'Umro's army in advance

Amīr Ismā'īl-i-Aḥmad[7], Sāmānī, marched from Bukhārā towards Khurāsān, crossed the river Jīḥūn[8], and defeated the [advanced] force of 'Umro under Muhammad Bashīr, who was slain in the engagement, together with a great number of his troops Upon this 'Umro-i-Laiṣ proceeded towards Māwar-un-Nahr with a numerous army, for it included 70,000 horsemen armed with spears, besides other troops. Amīr Ismā'īl-i-Aḥmad crossed[9] the Jīḥūn, and fought a battle with 'Umro-i-Lais before the walls of Balkh, defeated him, and took him prisoner, and sent him to the court of Baghdād[1], and then Ismā'īl returned to Bukhārā. In the year 288 H, the Khalīfah, Al-Mu'taẓid, directed that 'Umro should be cast into prison, and in it he died, and the dynasty of the Ṣuffārīūn terminated[2]

[7] Ismā'īl's army is said to have consisted of 12,000 horse, but the accounts of other writers differ considerably in their statements from this one

[8] The Oxus, also called Bakhtrus, and Amūīah

[9] According to the author's own statement above, Ismā īl with his army was already across

[1] See note [6], page 31, for a full account of 'Umro's fate

[2] The Tārīkh i Ibrahāmī, and others, state, that after the downfall of 'Umro his descendants contented themselves with the sovereignty of Sijistān, subject, however, to the Sāmānīs This is also proved from the subsequent accounts given by our author himself When the people of Sijistān became aware of 'Umro's capture they set up Tāhir, who, according to the Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah, Niẓām-ut-Tawārīkh, Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh, and other works, was not 'Umro's brother, but his grandson, Tāḥir, son of Muḥammad, son of 'Umro Ismā'īl, Sāmānī, overcame him, but after a time conferred the government of Sijistān upon Nasr, son of Aḥmad, Ṭāḥir's son His descendants continued to possess it until the year 643 H 'Umro, son of Laiṣ, founded the 'Atīk Masjid at Shīrāz

SECTION IX

THE DYNASTY OF THE SĀMĀNĪS

THE humblest of the servants of the Almighty, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Jūrjānī, states that, after the mention of the Maliks of Yaman, and the Suffārīūn Amīrs, he has considered it preferable to insert here the section in which it is proposed to give an account of the race of Sāmān, and the Maliks of that dynasty, and therefore this portion of the work was made, in its arrangements, antecedent to that treating of the genealogy of the Mahmūdī, and Nāsirī Maliks[1] Although the history of the Maliks of Yaman ought, properly, to have been first in the arrangement of the book, still, as they were not among the number of Maliks of Islām, he did not consider it right to place them before the Khalīfahs, and therefore they have received this much precedence[2]

This section has been taken from the Tārīkh or Chronicle of Ibn Haisam, in order that those under whose inspection it falls may place perfect confidence in its correctness

The chronicler relates that the ancestor of the Sāmānīs was named Sāmān, but, according to some others, his name was different from this, and, moreover, that Sāmān is the name of one of the districts of the Sughd of Samrkand, and that the ancestor of the Sāmānīs was the Ra'īs [chief] of that place, and that he used to be styled Sāmān-i-Khaddāt[3], but, for sake of brevity, the name of Sāmān was

[1] The Ghaznawī dynasty, and the Turkish Slave dynasty (not *Patāns*), of which Nāsir ud dīn, the ruler of Dihlī, to whom the author dedicated his work, was one

[2] These remarks would have been better prefixed to the notice of the kings of Yaman, or the Tāhirīs, and are rather out of place here

[3] The Tārīkh i-Jahān Ārā states that he was chiefly known by the name of Sāmān i Khadāh, which signifies the master or possessor of *samān* or effects, chattels, &c Sāmān likewise, quoting the "Muajjam-ul Baladīn," is the name of a village of Māwar un-Nahr, but others consider it to be the name of a place in the territory of Balkh The Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh also agrees with this statement

adopted, and it became the name by which he was generally known. He was of the posterity of Bahrām Shūbīn[4].

This Sāmān-i-Khaddāt had a son who was named Asad, who had four sons—named, respectively, Nūḥ, Yahyā, Ilyās, and Aḥmad. They became Princes and Lords of great dignity and power, able, and experienced, and endowed with considerable promptness and vigour. At length, when their family had attained the pinnacle of greatness and power, Alb-Tigin[5], the Amīr of Ghaznīn, and Sabuk-Tigīn, were among the slaves and servants of their descendants All the Sāmānīs left numerous proofs of their goodness in Khurāsān and Māwar un-Nahr, and may the Almighty reward them by bestowing upon them exalted stations in the courts of Paradise

ASAD, SON OF SĀMĀN-I-KHADDĀT

He had four sons, Yahyā, who held the territory of Shāsh and Isfanjāb, and their dependencies, Ilyās, who held the government of the province of Hirāt and parts adjacent, Ahmad, the third son, who held Samrkand and Farghānah, and their dependencies, and Nūh, the fourth, who at first held the government of Samrkand, which, however, was subsequently conferred upon Ahmad

The Lord of the Faithful, Māmūn, when he came to Marw, remarked the talents and capabilities, bravery, and innate nobility of mind of the sons of Asad, son of Sāmān, and he treated them with great distinction, and conferred great favours upon them, and raised them to high rank and position.

When the Khalīfah, Māmūn, returned to Baghdād, his capital, he directed Ghassān[6], the son of 'Ubbād, to

[4] The noble, who, in the reign of Hurmuz, son of Nūshīrwān, overthrew the son of the Khākān of Turkistān, with an immense army, before the walls of Balkh, but was insulted by Hurmuz, and he rebelled and dethroned him, and set up another in his stead The word is sometimes written Chūbīn, sometimes Shūbīn.

[5] See note [2], page 37.

[6] In the year 204 H., Ghassān, son of 'Ubbād, was appointed to the government of Khurāsān He conferred Samrkand upon Nuḥ, son of Asad, Sāmānī. Aḥmad, Ilyās, and Yahyā, the other sons of Asad, received, respectively, the investiture of Farghānah, Shāsh, Isrushtah, or Sīrushtah, and Hirāt Soon after, Ṭāhir i-Ẓū-l-Yamanain became Wālī of Khurāsān, Nūh died, and the former bestowed the territory held by Nūḥ on his brothers, Yaḥyā and Aḥmad. When Ilyās, another brother, died, Ṭāhir gave his territory of Hirāt to his own son, 'Abd-ullah. After this the family of the Sāmānīs rose to great power in Khurāsān and Māwar un-Nahr See note [1], page 11, note [8], page 28

assume the government of Khurāsān, and added thereunto the whole of it as far as Māwar-un-Nahr. Ghassān, son of 'Ubbād, made each of the sons of Asad the Amīr [ruler] of a territory, and conferred certain cities upon them, as the table given at the end of this Section shows. These governments were first conferred upon them in the year 204 H., and, when his Majesty, the Khalīfah, nominated Amīr Tāhir-i-Zū-l-Yamanain, son of Al-Ḥusain, to the government of Khurāsān, the whole four Sāmānī Amīrs, who [as already stated] were four brothers, were confirmed by him in the territories and cities they were then holding.

When the sovereignty passed from Amīr Ṭāhir to his son, 'Abd-ullah-i-Tāhir[7], he confirmed the Sāmānīs in their governments as his father had done, and made no change with respect to them.

I. AHMAD, SON OF ASAD, SON OF SĀMĀN.

Each of the sons of Sāmān-i-Khaddāt rose to great rank and power, and they each held a tract of territory in Māwar-un-Nahr, Farghānah, or Khurāsān, as will be mentioned in the succeeding pages.

Nūh, son of Asad, who was a person of excellent qualities and disposition, and of great energy and high courage, was invested with the government of the territory of Samrkand. Yahyā, another son, held the territory of Shāsh, and Isfanjāb[8], and their dependencies. He was a man of undaunted spirit and energy, and possessed great talent for government, and left many proofs of his goodness in those parts. Ilyās held the government of the province of Hirāt and its dependencies, and the parts adjacent. He also was a person of energy and great experience; but Ahmad was the greatest, the most intrepid, energetic, and sagacious of

[7] It passed to his son, Talhah, first, and afterwards to 'Abd-ullah, and also by the author's own account.

[8] Shīsh is the name of a territory, river, and city of Māwar-un-Nahr, on the Sīhūn or Jaxartes, on the frontier of the Turks. It was also called Fanākat, and is now known as Tāshkand. According to the Asār-ul-Bilād, and Masālik wa Mamālik, it was also called Chāj and Jāj. Ibn Haukal [the translation] first states that *Seket* is the capital, and immediately after says Chāj is. Its inhabitants were Musalmāns of the tribes of Ghuzz and Khalj. Isfanjāb, also written Sfanjāb, is a town or city of Māwar-un-Nahr, towards Turkistān. These names are generally carelessly written in the various copies of the text.

the whole of the brothers, and held charge of the territory of Samrḳand.

Nūḥ, at first, was placed in charge of the affairs of Farghānah, but, subsequently, it came into the hands of Ahmad, with the whole of Kāṣghar, and Turkistān, to the frontier of Chīn He was renowned for his courage, and valour, and experience, which were celebrated throughout Irān and Tūrān, and his descendants, one after the other, occupied the throne, and governed God's people liberally and beneficently. Of those of his descendants who attained to sovereignty, one of the learned men has spoken, in verse, in the following quatrain.—

"Nine persons there were of the race of Sāmān, renowned,
Who as rulers became famous in Khurāsān,
A Ismā'īl, a Aḥmad, and a Nasr,
Two Nūḥs, two 'Abd-ul-Maliks, two Manṣūrs"

Amīr Ahmad had nine sons. Naṣr, Ismā'īl, Is-hāk, Manṣūr, Asad, Ya'kūb, Ḥamīd, Yaḥyā, and Ibrāhīm. The mention of their descent was found, as has been entered herein—Sāmān, son of Jashmān, son of Tamghān, son of Nosher, son of Noshed, son of Bahrām, son of Shūbīn [Chūbīn]

II NAṢR, SON OF AḤMAD, SĀMĀNĪ

When Ahmad son of Asad, son of Sāmān, died at Samrḳand, he nominated his son, Naṣr[9], as his successor; and, during the sway of the Tāhirīs, the territory, which Naṣr s father had held, was confirmed to him, and his brother Ismā'īl served under him, and acknowledged in him, as his suzerain, his superiority

In 261 H Naṣr conferred the government of the territory of Bukhārā upon Ismā'īl, who established himself therein. Naṣr performed great deeds, and was endowed with many virtues. He governed with strict regard to the rules of equity and justice until the end of his days, when death overtook him in the month of Jamādī-ul-Akhir, in the year 279 H.[1]

[9] The Tārīkh i-Guzīdah and others state, that, after the death of Aḥmad in 261 H, the Khalīfah, Al-Mu'tamid B'illah, placed the whole of those territories under the government of one person—Naṣr, son of Aḥmad, the most upright and best prince of the Sāmānī dynasty

[1] According to the I. O. L. MS, No 1952, and the R A S MS, which

When his brother, Ismā'īl, had become established in the government of the Bukhārā territory, several designing and evil-intentioned persons managed to come between him and his brother Naṣr, his sovereign, and began to resort to calumny and falsehood [to effect their designs], until the disposition of Naṣr became completely changed towards his brother, and he determined to reduce Ismā'īl by force, and overthrow him entirely

Amīr Nasr accordingly moved from Samrkand towards Bukhārā with a large army Amīr Ismā'īl despatched a trusty agent to Rāfi', son of Harsamah, son of A'yan, who was Amīr of Khurāsān[2], and acquainted him with the state of affairs between himself and his brother, Amīr Naṣr, and solicited assistance from that ruler

Rāfi', son of Harsamah assembled a warlike army, numerous and well-equipped in every way, and marched towards the scene of expected hostility, but he, out of benevolence, kindness, and humanity, interposed between the brothers, and brought about an accommodation between them, and retired into his own territory again

Amīr Nasr returned to Samrkand, and Amīr Ismā'īl proceeded to Bukhārā As soon as Nasr heard of this, still nourishing that antagonism against his brother which had taken possession of his heart, he advanced towards Bukhārā with a warlike army Ismā'īl came out of the city to encounter him, and a fierce and obstinate battle took place between them, attended with great carnage, in the year 275 H Ismā'īl was victorious over his brother, whose forces were defeated and put to the rout, and Amīr Naṣr was himself taken prisoner He was taken to the presence of Ismā'īl, who, seeing that he was being brought forward, immediately dismounted from his horse, and rendered homage to his captive brother, and kissed him on the breast, and paid him the utmost honour and respect. He then induced Amīr Naṣr to return to Samrkand, and returned himself to Bukhārā, which he continued to retain as the lieutenant of his brother Naṣr, son of Ahmad, ruled for a period of eighteen years

of course agrees, Naṣr assumed the government in 269 H, and reigned eighteen years This is quite wrong The correct date is 261 H, as in the other MSS, which date other histories confirm

[2] Subordinate to the Khalīfahs.

III. ISMĀ'ĪL[3], SON OF AḤMAD, SĀMĀNĪ.

On the death of Amīr Naṣr, the Khalīfah, Al-Mu'taẓid B'illah, conferred upon Amīr Ismā'īl the government of the territory of Māwar-un-Nahr, and also all the territory which his brother, Naṣr, had held, and sent him a commission and a standard He became a great and powerful ruler, and the whole of those territories submitted to his sway[4], and all men, chiefs, and grandees, and the common people, became obedient to his authority.

He was a just man, and endowed with wisdom, and many great deeds were performed by him, for when 'Umro, son of Laiṣ, determined to make war upon Ismā'īl, and set out with a vast army to attack him—according to the author of the Tārīkh of Ibn Haiṣam—on the day that 'Umro, son of Laiṣ, set out to enter upon hostilities with Amīr Ismā'īl, he had seventy thousand horsemen armed with spears under his standard, without counting archers, swordsmen, and other armed men besides Amīr Ismā'īl crossed the river Jīhūn, and encountered 'Umro, son of Lais, at Balkh, and the Almighty bestowed the victory upon Ismā'īl The army of 'Umro was defeated and put to the rout, and 'Umro was himself taken prisoner Ismā'īl sent his captive to the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Mu'taẓid-B'illah, to dispose of as he might deem fit[5].

[3] Abū Sulīmān-i-Dā'ūd, author of the Tārīkh-i-Fanākatī, considers Ismā'īl, Sāmānī, very properly, as the first of the dynasty who is entitled to be considered a sovereign prince The Tārīkh i-Ibrāhīmī, Jahān-Ārā, and several other histories, also confirm it, as does Ibn Ḥauḳal likewise The Mujmal-i-Faṣīḥ-ī also agrees in this. Under the events of the year 287 H it is stated, that from that year *commenced* the sovereignty of the Sāmānīān, who were nine persons, who reigned 103 years, 9 months, and 11 days, and, that Ismā'īl, Sāmānī, had risen, and had subdued, during that same year, Māwar-un-Nahr, Khurāsān, Fārs, Kirmān, 'Irāḳ, Sijistān, and some parts of Hindūstān. At this period, it must be remembered, the territory of Kābul was considered a part of "Hind," and this, doubtless, is what is referred to here In the same year, the Khalīfah, Al-Mu'taẓid B'illah, sent Ismā'īl the investiture of Khurāsān, Ṭabaristān, and Jurjān, together with a rich dress of honour, and the sum of "ten times a thousand thousand *dirams*" [ten millions of *dirams*], and the affairs of Ismā'īl began to prosper greatly

[4] In 280 H, Ismā'īl made an expedition into the territory of the Turks, and made holy war upon them The chief town was taken, and booty and captives beyond compute carried off, together with their Malik [king] and his wife. Each horseman present on this expedition received a thousand *dirams* for his share of the booty.

[5] Respecting the subsequent fate of 'Umro, son of Laiṣ, it appears, on

The Khalīfah bestowed a commission on Amīr Ismā'īl, with the investiture of the territory of Khurāsān, together with the whole of 'Ajam; and Amīr Ismā'īl's power and grandeur increased accordingly

Subsequently, the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Mu'taẓid, despatched a commission to him, with directions to free the countries of Ṭabaristān and Gurgān from the sway of Amīr Muḥammad-i-Zaid-ul-'Alawī [6], who had possessed himself of them Amīr Ismā'īl appointed Aḥmad-i-Hārūn [7] to the command of the van of his army, and sent him on in advance with that portion of his forces, and, between Amīr Muḥammad-i-Zaid-ul-'Alawī and Amīr Ismā'īl, very severe fighting took place, and the Amīr Muhammad-i-Zaid was slain His son, Zaid, also, was taken prisoner and brought before Amīr Ismā'īl, who sent him to Bukhārā, with orders that, on the way thither, due respect should be paid to him, and that he should be provided with suitable accommodation, and he treated him with such honour and attention as kindness and magnanimity could devise

trustworthy authority, that Amīr Ismā'īl sent 'Umro to Baghdād at his ['Umro's] own request Arrived there, he was, by the Khalīfah's orders, paraded on a camel's back through the streets of Baghdād, and afterwards thrown into prison This was in 287 H In the year 289 'Umro died in confinement It is said that the Khalīfah, Mu'taẓid, whilst in his last struggles, expressed a desire that 'Umro should be put to death, but, that he was entirely forgotten in his prison, and neither food nor drink was brought to him, and he died of starvation and thirst Another account is, that Mu'taẓid gave orders to Ṣāfī to put him to death, and that he delayed carrying the sentence into execution When Al Muktafī succeeded to the Khilāfat, he inquired of Ṣāfī respecting 'Umro, whether he was still alive He replied that he was Muktafī said "I will act generously towards him, for, during the time of Mu'taẓid, he continually sent me presents, and was always very attentive to me" Ḳāsim, son of 'Abd-ullah, however, feared 'Umro, and, when he heard this speech of the Khalīfah's, he gave directions to put 'Umro to death in his prison More respecting the Ṣuffārīs will be found at page 183 I hope, very shortly, however, to give a detailed account of the rise of the different Muḥammadan dynasties to the public.

[6] In the Mir'āt-ul-'Ālam and other works, he is styled "Muḥammad, son of Zaid-ul-'Alawī, who bore the surname of Ud-Dāī'-alā-l-Ḥaḳ" In the Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah, he is styled "Al-Bāḳirī," instead of 'Alawī, but the meaning of these two titles is much the same He was a descendant of the Khalīfah, 'Alī, and Bāḳir was the surname of Abū Ja'far-i-Muḥammad, son of 'Alī, son of Ḥusain, son of 'Alī, the fourth Khalīfah.

[7] Muḥammad, son of Hārūn, seems to be the correct name of this officer He had been deputy to Rāfi', and had entered the service of Amīr Ismā'īl

At this time, the Khalīfah Al-Mu'taẓid B'illah died, and his son, Al-Muktafī B'illah, succeeded to the throne of the Khilāfat. He despatched a commission and a standard to Amīr Ismā'īl, and conferred upon him the territories of 'Irāḳ, Rai, and Ṣafahān[8], and the provinces of Ṭabaristān, and Gurgān, the whole of which were incorporated with Khurāsān. Amīr Ismā'īl gave the government of Rai to his nephew, named Abū Ṣāliḥ, son of Manṣūr, son of Is-ḥāk[9], Sāmānī, and to his own son, Aḥmad by name, that of Gurgān.

On the night of Tuesday, the 14th of the month Ṣafar, in the year 295 H., he died, and his title became Amīr-i-Māẓī, or the Past or Late Amīr[1]. He had reigned for a period of eight years[2].

IV. ABŪ NAṢR-I-AḤMAD[3], SON OF ISMĀ'ĪL.

This ruler had four sons, named Naṣr, Manṣūr, Ibrāhīm, and Yahyā, whose surnames were, respectively, Abū Sāliḥ, Abū Muhammad, Abū Is-hāk, and Abū Ẓakrīā.

Abū Naṣr-i-Ahmad was a severe and energetic ruler, and put to death several of his slaves for some misconduct. The rest of the slaves, who were their comrades, sought opportunity to revenge them, and to assassinate Amīr Ahmad; but he had a lion[4], which had been trained, and he was in the habit of securing the animal near his sleeping-apartment, in the night-time, in order that, through fear of this creature, no one should approach his place of repose.

This animal used to keep guard over his master at night, until, on one occasion, when the Amīr had gone on a hunting excursion, and set out, on his return from thence, at an untimely hour. The halting-place was at a considerable distance, and he was unable to reach the station fixed upon, and had to stop at another place for the night. The slaves

[8] Iṣfahān. [9] A son of Aḥmad is so named. See page 29.

[1] Amīr Ismā'īl made the celebrated Abū-l-Faẓl, Al-Bal'amī, his Wazīr. He continued to act in that office up to the time of Amīr Nūḥ, son of Manṣūr, by whose command he translated the Tārīkh-i-Ṭabarī from 'Arabic into Persian.

[2] Computing from the commencement of his reign in 287 H.

[3] Abū Naṣr-i-Aḥmad signifies Aḥmad, the *father* of Naṣr.

[4] The word شیر is used both for lion and tiger.

now found the opportunity they had been seeking, and they assassinated Amīr Ahmad. This event happened on the night of Thursday, the 23rd of the month Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 301 H.[5] They then took his body, and conveyed it to Bukhārā; and, after this occurrence, Amīr Ahmad was designated the Amīr-i-Shahīd, or the Martyred Amīr.

In the outset of his career, after his father had departed this life, and an assemblage of the heads of the army, the grandees, and principal men of the country had pledged their allegiance to him, Abū Nasr-i-Ahmad, son of Ismā'īl, he sent a distinguished person, as envoy to the Court of the Khalīfah, and from thence, the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Muktafī B'illah, sent him a commission and a standard; and his reign gave regularity and order to the affairs of the Empire. In Sijistān[6], however, Mu'addil, son of 'Alī, son of Laiṣ, Ṣuffārī, brother's son of Ya'kūb and 'Umro, had broken out into rebellion, and caused great disturbance and disorder. An army had been appointed to proceed into that quarter, and Mu'addil had been reduced, and rendered powerless; and he was made captive, and put in durance.

The government of Sijistān was then conferred by Amīr Aḥmad upon his uncle's son[7], in whom he placed confidence, Abū Ṣāliḥ-i-Manṣūr, son of Is-hāk, son of Ahmad, Sāmānī. Subsequently the people of Sijistān revolted, and seized the person of Abū Sāliḥ, and confined him in the fortress of Ark[8], and gave their allegiance to 'Umro, son of Ya'kūb-

[5] Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah, Khulāṣat-ul-Akhbār, Mujmal-i-Faṣīḥ-ī, and other works, say this event occurred 23rd Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 300 H. Faṣīḥ-ī gives his reign as 5 years and 3 months.

[6] Our author seems to have had a very imperfect and confused idea of the state of Sijistān at this period. He makes no mention of the doings of Sijizī, the slave—*the* Sigizī [سکزی], or Sijzī [سجزی] slave probably—of 'Umro, son of Laiṣ; his having, at last, taken to the fortress of Bam, in Kirmān, and his subsequent flight into the desert of Khurāsān; nor of Ṭāhir and Ya'kūb, 'Umro's sons, nor of Laiṣ, son of 'Alī, of the same family, all three of whom were, at different times, taken captive and sent to Baghdād. In 297 H. Muḥammad, son of 'Alī, brother of Ya'kūb and 'Umro, sons of Laiṣ, Ṣuffārī, was made prisoner along with Sigizī, by Amīr Aḥmad, Sāmānī, who subdued Sijistān. He sent them to Baghdād, at the Khalīfah's request. In 299 H., Lais, son of 'Alī, died in Fārs; and Mu'addil, his son, died the same year.

[7] The same Abū-Ṣāliḥ, who was son of Manṣūr, son of Is-ḥāk, mentioned towards the close of the last reign, which see.

[8] All the copies of the MSS. compared, except one, which has قلعهٔ ارگ, have the words قلعهٔ ارک "*fortress of Ark or Arg*," but I think it *might* be اوک [Ūk], which is the name of a buried town of Sijistān, and, from its ruins, Afghāns and

i-Laiṣ[9]. On this, Amīr Abū Naṣr-ī-Aḥmad, son of Ismā'īl, nominated a well appointed army [well equipped in all things] to march into Sijistān for the second time, and Ḥusain 'Alī[1], Marw-ar-Rūdī[2], was made Amīr [commander] of that force. This army had entered Sijistān in the year 300 H., and had invested 'Umro [son of Muḥammad], son of Ya'ḳūb, for a period of seven months[3], when he begged for quarter, and came out and surrendered Sijistān was then made over to the charge of Simjūr-i-Dowātī[4]

It was at this period that the Amīr, having been unable to reach his appointed place of rest before nightfall, as already related, was assassinated, after having reigned for a period of six years and three months.

V NAṢR[5], SON OF AḤMAD, SON OF ISMĀ'ĪL.

On the decease of the Amīr-i Shahīd, Aḥmad, son of Ismā'īl, the whole of the Amīrs, and commanders of the troops, and the principal men of the country, in concert with the 'Ulamā—the learned in law and religion—of that period, set up his son, Naṣr, as his successor[6]

Amīr Naṣr at this time was but eight years of age, and according to the statement of the chronicler, at the very

Hindūs of Ḳandahār have brought me coins The fact of قلعه being given as well seems to throw a doubt upon it, for both Arg and Kala' are just the same in meaning, and would have to be read "the fort or castle of [the] citadel," unless Ark be a proper name—"the castle of Ark" Perhaps has been written by mistake for , The Tārīkh-i-Haft Aḳlīm says there is "a place called Uḳ [اوک], in Sijistān, near which is a Reg-i-Rawān [running or flowing sand] situated near Kala'-i-Kāh, or Gāh, in which vicinity are several holy tombs"

[9] 'Umro, son of Muḥammad, son of Ya'ḳūb-i-Laiṣ, is correct.

[1] Other writers say Ḥusain, son of 'Alī

[2] That is, he was a native of Marw-ar-Rūd

[3] Others give nine months as the period

[4] Tārīkh-i-Ibrahāmī says Aḥmad-i-Simjūr—also written Sīmjūr-i-Dowātī. Dowātī is from *dowāt*, a pen-case, or ink holder

[5] His proper designation, according to the Mujmal-i-Fasiḥ-ī, Tārīkh-i-Jahān-Arā, the Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhamī, and Tārīkh-i-Fanākatī, is Abū-l-Ḥasan-i-Naṣr, &c

[6] Among the events of the year 301 H, the Mujmal-i Faṣiḥ-ī mentions, the "arrival of the news at Baghdād, that the slaves of Amīr Aḥmad, son of Ismā'īl, son of Aḥmad, Sāmānī, had put him to death, on the banks of the Jīḥūn of Balkh, [referring to what was mentioned under 300 H] and that his son, Abū-l-Ḥasan-i-Naṣr, had succeeded him Upon this, the Khalīfah Muḳtadir, despatched to him a commission confirming him in the government of Māwar-un-Naḥr, and added thereunto that of Khurāsān"

time that they brought him forth from the Ḥaram to place him upon the throne, being of such tender years, he was completely overcome with fear and began to cry, and was saying, "Where are you taking me to? Do you desire to put me to death, in the same way as you put my father? Let me alone, I beg of you!"

After they had placed him on the throne, Abū 'Abd-ullah Muhammad, son of Ahmad, Al-Jihānī, was appointed his Nāyab [lieutenant]. He was a man of sagacity, and wise in counsel, and he entered upon the administration of the government in accordance with the rules of strict justice, and with a firm hand, but based upon moderation and beneficence; but, as the Amīr was himself so young in years, the governors and great nobles on the confines showed a refractory spirit.

The first to revolt against his authority was his father's uncle, Is-hāḳ, son of Ahmad, Sāmānī, and his son Ilyās, at Samrkand. They made ready their forces, and marched towards Bukhārā. Ḥamzah, son of 'Alī, who was one of the chiefs of Amīr Naṣr's forces, pushed forward to meet them with a large following, put them to the rout, and pursued them as far as the gates of Samrkand. Amīr Is-hāk sought for mercy, and became ashamed of his conduct, and he was forgiven.

Subsequently to this, Amīr Naṣr's uncle's son, Manṣūr, son of Is-hāk, revolted against him in 302 H. in Khurāsān and Nīshāpūr, and Ḥusain 'Alī[7], who was Wālī [governor] of Hirāt, joined him in his rebellion. The Sipah-sālār, [general-in-chief] of Amīr Naṣr's forces, Ḥamawiyah[8], marched against them from Bukhārā, but, before he came up with them, Mansūr had died at Nīshāpūr, and Ḥusain 'Alī returned to Hirāt, but still continued in a state of revolt. He engaged in many conflicts, and gave battle on several occasions, until, at length, he was taken prisoner.[9] He likewise, being clothed in a dress of

[7] Husain, son of 'Alī.

[8] حمویه

[9] In 309 H. Abū Manṣūr-i-Jihānī, was appointed to the government of Hirāt, Fūshanj, and Bādghais, and arrived at the former city to take up his appointment. In 311 H. Shāh-Malik, son of Ya'ḳūb, son of Laiṣ, the Ṣuffārī, and a body of Sanjarīs appeared before Hirāt. Sīmjūr was at Hirāt at this time, and Shāh Malik and his party invested Hirāt four months, but could effect nothing, and had to retire. Changes continually took place there for

pardon[1], was forgiven, through the intercession of Muḥammad, son of Aḥmad, Al-Jīhānī, the Nāyab of the Empire; indeed, during the reign of Amīr Naṣr, whoever revolted against his authority, was either put to death, or, on expressing penitence for his conduct, was pardoned.

His sovereignty continued during the reigns of the Khalīfahs, Al-Muḳtadir B'illah, Al-Ḳāhir B'illah, Ar-Rāẓī B'illah, up to that of Al-Muttaḳī B'illah, and he continued to pay fealty to them, and to render them submission and obedience; and, from each of those Khalīfahs likewise, he received a commission and a standard. He continued to reign, until the month of Rajab, in the year 331 H[2], when he died[3]. He was spoken of by the title, or surname, of the Amīr-i-Sa'īd, or the August Amīr, and his reign extended to a period of thirty years. He had three sons,

some years. In 319 H. Abū Ẕakrīā-i Yaḥyā, son of Aḥmad, son of Ismā'īl, Sāmānī, appeared before Hirāt, ousted Shabāsī, who had seized the government, burnt some of the gates, and threw down part of the walls, and left Ḳarā-Tigīn, a slave of Abū Ibrāhīm, Sāmānī, in possession. He then departed towards Samrḳand, but, the following day, Amīr Naṣr himself reached Hirāt, stayed one day, and set out by way of Karūkh, after Abū Ẕakrīā, leaving Sīmjūr again governor of the province. In 321 H., Manṣūr, son of 'Alī, was appointed. He died there in 324 H., having been Wālī [governor] for three years. The appointment was then conferred upon Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan, son of Is-ḥāḳ. Soon after, in the same year, Abū-l-'Abbās, Muḥammad, son of Al-Jarrāḥ, marched against Hirāt, took Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan, captive, and sent him, in bonds, to Jurjān to Balkā Tigīn. In 326 H. the office of Wazīr was conferred upon Muḥammad, son of Muḥammad, Al-Jīhānī, by Amīr Naṣr.

Our author generally leaves out the principal events, or most of them, so does not say anything of Mākān, son of Kākī, Dilamī, his attempt on Khurāsān, or the events which led to his death. He was slain by Amīr 'Alī, son of Ilyās, who was one of the Umrā-i-Juyūsh [Commanders of the Forces] of Amīr Naṣr. Amīr Naṣr sent a Dabīr [Secretary] along with Amīr 'Alī, with directions to transmit him a brief account of what took place, and send it by a carrier-pigeon. He did so in the following words—اما ماكان صار كاسمه containing a play upon the first part of his name, Mākān [ماكان] "was not," which interpreted is—"'*Was not' has become like his name*."

In this same year, 329 H., Balkā-Tigīn was removed from the government of Hirāt, and it was again conferred upon Abū Manṣūr-i-Karā-Tigīn.

[1] A winding-sheet, with a sword hung round his neck, probably, as was the custom until very lately.

[2] It was in Amīr Naṣr's reign that Alb-Tigīn is first mentioned as being one of his *mamlūks* or slaves, but it was only in the subsequent reign that he rose to the rank of Amīr [lord]. See page 40, and note [4].

[3] The Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah, Tārīkh-i-Faṣiḥ-ī, Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī, and other histories, state that Amīr-Naṣr was slain by his own slaves, 12th of Ramaẓān, 330 H., but some say it took place in 331 H.

Nūḥ, Ismā'īl, and Muḥammad, and the first succeeded him.

VI. NŪḤ, SON OF NAṢR, SON OF AḤMAD, SĀMĀNĪ

Amīr Nūh, son of the Amīr-i-Sa'īd, ascended the throne of the dominion of 'Ajam, on the 5th of the month of Sha'bān, in the year 331 H[4], and he reigned for a period of twelve years and three months He had two sons, 'Abd-ul-Malik and Manṣūr The Lord of the Faithful, Al-Muttakī B'illah, sent Amīr Nūh a standard, with the deed of investiture, confirming him in the government of the whole of the territories of 'Ajam and Khurāsān, which had been held by his father He appointed the Imām, Shams-ul-A'immah, Abī-ul-Fazl, Muhammad, son of Al-Ḥākim, Sarakhsī, the author of the work entitled "Mukh-taṣar-i-Kāfī," to the office of Wazīr, and made him his Nāyab, and entrusted to him the administration of his affairs[5]

Having entered upon his office, the Imām began to conduct the affairs of the country according to the precepts of wisdom and knowledge, the rules of justice, and the canons of the orthodox law and usage, and, in such a manner, that he left not the least thing neglected. Matters went on in this way until Amīr Nūh, through the rebellion of 'Abd-ullah, son of Ashkān[6], Khwārazm Shāh, proceeded to Marw[7] in 332 H, and brought that important matter to a successful issue. In the year 335 H., his

[4] In 330 H, according to others, as stated previously

[5] Nūḥ first appointed Ḥākim Abū-l-Faẓl, Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, to the office of Wazīr in 330 H, when he succeeded his father In the same year I find Amīr Nūḥ giving orders to put the Wazīr Abū-l-Faẓl, Al-Bal'amī, to death. This is not the Wazīr, Al-Bal'amī, who translated the Tārīkh-i-Ṭabarī, but of the same family

[6] The Mujmal-i-Faṣiḥ-ī mentions among the events of the year 332 H., that 'Abd ullah, son of Ashkām, manifested hostility towards Amīr Nūḥ, but where, is not stated. The Khwārazm Shāhīs are not mentioned by our author until a long period after this time. The name of this person is written Ashkān, Ashkāb, and Askāb, in as many different copies of the MS In 331 H Ḳarā-Tigīn had been removed from the government of Hirāt, and it was conferred upon Ibrāhīm, son of Sīmjūr, who, in the following year, sent thither Abū-l-Faẓl-i-'Azīz, son of Muḥammad, the Sijzī, to act as his deputy, until he came himself, and directed that the gateways should be destroyed and the walls of the city thrown down.

[7] Neither "Meru" nor "Merve" is the correct pronunciation.

uncle, Is-ḥāḳ[8], who had fled to Baghdād, had managed to obtain from the Khalīfah, Al-Muktafi B'illah, the investiture of Khurāsān. He, accordingly, entered those parts, and seized upon the territory of Jibāl[9] and Khurāsān.

Amīr Nūḥ had proceeded to Marw to expel him, but the whole of his nobles, his retinue, and the soldiery were disaffected. They had become annoyed and irritated at the enlightenment displayed, and the just administration of Shams-ul-A'immah, and had become quite sated with his ministry, because he had entirely fettered the hands of tyrants and oppressors, and restrained their extortionate demands and exactions, so that that party were unable to succeed in acquiring what their ambition and tyranny suggested.

Amīr Nūh, was in urgent need of his army's services, to enable him to oppose his uncle, Amīr Is-ḥāk, whilst the troops began to show a rebellious spirit towards him, and an inclination to take the side of his uncle A party of the officers of his army, tyrants and enemies to progress and good government, proceeded to the presence of Amīr Nūh, and stated that all the dissatisfaction and discontent among his retinue and troops, the confusion in the country, and division in the state, was caused by the Wazīr, Shams-ul-A'immah[1] "Give him," they demanded, "over into our hands, or otherwise we will all join your uncle." Amīr Nūḥ was constrained by necessity to deliver the Imām into the hands of those tyrants, and they brought him forth. At the entrance of the royal residence there stood two tall white poplar-trees. These they bent downwards, and, fastening each of that unfortunate minister's feet to a branch of either tree which was nearest it, let the trees spring back again into their upright

[8] Other authors mention hostilities between Amīr Nūḥ and his uncle Ibrāhīm.

[9] Jibāl, or the Highlands of 'Irāḳ, is meant here.

[1] Faṣiḥ-ī, under the events of the year 335 H, mentions that Abū 'Alī-i-Sīmjūr became hostile towards Amīr Nūḥ, son of Naṣr, and that the troops demanded of him the Wazīr, Ḥākim Abū-l-Faẓl, son of Muḥammad, and that the Amīr had to comply, whether he liked it or not, and that they put the Wazīr to death, after he had held that office four years. After his being thus put to death, Amīr Nūḥ conferred the office of Wazīr upon Shams-ul-A'immah, so it seems from this, that our author has confused the two ministers into one.

position, and that great man was thus torn asunder. This occurrence took place in the year 335 H.

Amīr Nūḥ, son of Naṣr, died in 343 H., and he was styled by the title of Amīr-i-Ḥamīd, or the Laudable Amīr.

VII 'ABD'-UL-MALIK, SON OF NŪḤ, SĀMĀNĪ.

On the decease of Amīr Nūh, the son of Naṣr, the whole of the great nobles and principal commanders of the troops agreed together to give their allegiance to his son, Abū-l-Fawāris-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, and they accordingly placed him on the throne. The Wazīr's office was given to Abū Manṣūr, Muhammad, son of Al-'Azīz[2], and the commander over the Amīr's troops was Abū Sa'īd-i-Bakir, son of Al-Malik, Al-Farghānī.

Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik based the administration of the government of his dominions upon the rules of justice and rigour, and placed Wālīs [governors] in different parts, while others of the great nobles were retained by him in authority near his own person. An arrangement was entered into with Abū-l-Ḥasan, son of Buwiah respecting his territory, for the sum of 200,000 *ruknī dirams*[3]. This treaty was concluded, in accordance with the mandate of the Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik, by Abū Sa'īd-i-Bakir, son of Al-Malik, Al-Farghānī, before mentioned, who was the general of his troops; but Abū Sa'īd being suspected of partiality in this matter towards the Dīlamān and the family of Buwiah, Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik put him to death. He also imprisoned the Wazīr, and subsequently put him to death likewise, as both he and Abū Sa'īd had become tainted with the doctrine of the Ḳarāmitah sect of heretics. The command of his troops was entrusted to Alb-Tagīn[4], the Ḥājib [chamberlain],

[2] Amīr 'Abd-ul Malik made Abū Ja'far, ul-'Uṭbā his Wazīr, according to other authors.

[3] See the dynasty of the Dīālamah, page 55.

[4] In Faṣīḥ-ī, Alb-Tagīn is first mentioned in the year 267 H. in the following words:—"Birth of Alb-Tagīn, the freedman (آزاد) of Naṣr, son of Aḥmad, Sāmānī." According to the same excellent authority in 346 H., Abū Manṣūr, son of 'Abd ur-Razzāḳ, who had been made Wālī [ruler] of Hirāt [which appears to have always formed a province of itself, from its constant separate mention], that same year left it, and retired to Tūs, thus throwing up his command.

until the year 350 H.[*], when Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik, having gone one evening to the Maidan or Course to amuse himself in playing Chaugān[6], fell from his horse and was killed[7], after having reigned for a period of little over seven years

VIII MANṢŪR, SON OF NŪḤ[8], SĀMĀNĪ

On the decease of Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik, the commanders of the troops, and the heads and elders of the religious bodies and the law, at the capital [Bukhārā], met together,

Great agitation and commotion took place at Hirāt in consequence, and the government was bestowed upon the Ḥājib, or chamberlain, Alb Tigīn The latter sent his deputy, Abū Is ḥāḳ-i-Ṭāhirī, thither, but in the same year Abū Is-ḥāḳ was seized and bound and removed, and Husain, son of Rībāl, came to Hirāt as Alb-Tigīn's deputy * * * In 350 H Hirāt was given to Abū-l-Hasan-i-Sīmjūr This Alb-Tigīn is the Turkish slave who was master of Sabuk-Tigīn, who was also a Turkish slave, and father of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn. Some persons, who appear to have been unable to read Persian for themselves, have called him by all sorts of names in their so-called "Histories of India," and in professed translations, such as "Alputtekein," "Abistageen," "Abistagy," "Abistagn," "Alepteggin," and the like, from Dow down to Marshman, and his "Samanides" and "Aluptugeen," who "rose through the gradations of office to the government of Candahar [which is never once mentioned by any writer of that period] *or* Ghuzni"—he is not quite sure which

* Abū Sulīmān-i-Dā'ūd, Al-Fanākatī, says in 351 H Manṣūr succeeded in 349 H

6 Chaugān is a game somewhat resembling tennis, but played on horseback, and with a stick with one end bent, instead of a bat The Turks were passionately fond of it Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik, Sāmānī, was riding at full speed after the ball, when he fell from his horse, and was so injured thereby that he died. Ḳuṭb-ud-dīn, Ī-bak, the first of the Turkish slave-kings of Dihlī was also killed from a fall while playing at this same game

7 Faṣiḥ-Ī says, "This occurred in the year 348 H, although some say in 351 H," and, that "it happened either whilst playing at Chaugān, or whilst hunting" He had reigned seven years, six months, and eleven days

8 There is great discrepancy here between our author and others The Tārīkh i Guzīdah, Nusakh i Jahān-Ārā, Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh, Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, Khulāṣat-ul Akhbār, Tārīkh i-Yāfa'ī, and last, and not the least trustworthy history, the Mujmal i-Faṣiḥ ī, all say that Abū-Ṣāliḥ, son of 'Abd ul Malik, son of Nūḥ, surnamed Us Sadīd, the *son*, not the brother of the late Amīr 'Abd ul-Malik, succeeded his father The first event mentioned in the latter work, under the year 349 H, is "Accession to the throne of Manṣūr, son of 'Abd-ul Malik, son of Nūḥ, son of Naṣr, son of Aḥmad, son of Ismā'īl, Sāmānī" What is most strange in our author's statement is that he only mentions *one* name of the two, and therefore I suspect he has confused them All the copies of the MS., however, are alike on this point.

and held consultation whether they should raise to the throne Abū Ṣālih-i-Manṣūr, son of Nūh, the late Amīr's brother, or the latter's son

At this juncture Alb-Tigīn, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib [Lord-Chamberlain], was absent in Khurāsān, and the Wazīr of the late Amīr was 'Alī Al-Bal'amī [9], between whom and the Amīr-i-Ḥājib great unanimity and concord existed. The Wazīr wrote to Alb-Tigīn to consult with him on this matter, and have his advice, to which Amīr Alb-Tigīn wrote in reply that the son's right to succeed his father to the throne was greater than that of the father's brother [1], but, before Alb-Tigīn's reply had time to arrive, the whole of the soldiery, the great nobles, and the heads of religion and law, had agreed to place Amīr Manṣūr, son of Nūh, on the throne, and had already installed him thereon When the news reached Alb-Tigīn respecting Amīr Manṣūr's elevation to the sovereignty, he despatched messengers and agents in order to stop by the way, those bearing his letter of reply, and to bring it back, but they did not succeed in finding the kāṣids, or couriers, who bore it

Amīr Alb-Tigīn [at this period] held the government of the province of Nīshāpūr from the Sāmānī Court [2], but it was [now] conferred upon Ibn 'Abd-ur-Razzāk [3]

[9] His name is not correctly given by our author His right name is Abū 'Alī, son of 'Abd-ullah, Muhammad, Al Bal'amī, and on the authority of the Āṣār ul-Nuzarā, Tārīkh-i Ya'a'ī, and other works, Abū 'Alī was the translator of the Tārīkh of Imām Muhammad Jarīr ut Ṭabarī, as stated in the preface to that translation See note [4], page 44.

[1] Other writers state quite contrary to this, and say that Alb-Tigīn, having risen so as to be considered one of the greatest Amīrs, was written to, and asked which of the two named he preferred being raised to the throne He wrote in reply that the uncle was the best of the two, but, before his reply came, the nobles and great men had raised Mansūr, son of the late 'Abd ul Malik, to the throne On this account Manṣūr cherished enmity towards him, or at least Alb-Tigīn thought so. Faṣīḥ-ī says nothing whatever respecting the letter to the Wazīr, or his advice as to the succession Had Alb-Tigīn written what our author states he did, it was entirely in favour of the son, and therefore if Manṣūr was the son he could have no cause to entertain enmity against him, but, if the uncle, the case would be different I have been very careful to give the exact words here

[2] See note [4], page 40

[3] It was conferred upon Abū-l-Ḥasan-i-Sīmjūr in 351 H, he having become Ṣāḥib-ul-Jaish, or commander of the troops, and proceeded to Nīshāpūr; and the government of Hirāt was conferred upon Abū-l Ḥasan, son of 'Umro Al-Fāryābī After four months it was bestowed upon Talḥah, son of Muḥammad, Un-Nisā'ī In 352 H Alb-Tigīn died

Alb-Tigīn was filled with wonder and astonishment, and he determined to proceed from Nīshāpūr to the court of Bukhārā [4]; but, when he had reached Balkh, on the way thither, having been informed respecting the change in the heart of Amīr Manṣūr towards him, on account of the letter he had despatched [which had fallen into Manṣūr's hands], on reaching Balkh, he turned aside, and proceeded towards Ghaznīn Amīr Manṣūr despatched a commission after him, and pacified his mind [5] [by assuring him of his favour].

In this reign, Ḥasan, son of Buwīah, died [6]; and his son, Fanā Khusrau, removed his father's treasures, and proceeded to Baghdād, overcame his uncle, Bakhtyār, and possessed himself of 'Irāk. The 'Ulamā and the Ḳāzīs he now put forward, and solicited an accommodation from Amīr Manṣūr, under the agreement that he, Fanā Khusrau, should retain possession of the territories of 'Irāk, Rai, Gūrgān, and Tabaristān, in fief, on payment of a tribute, at the rate of one thousand gold dīnārs daily [7]

During the reign of Amīr Manṣūr, in Farghānah, Sijistān, and 'Irāk, the whole of the great nobles were continually revolting from his authority, but the Almighty was pleased to bestow victory upon the Amīr's nobles and

[4] This too is quite contrary to other writers, who give much greater details of these matters An army was sent by Manṣūr against Alb-Tigīn, who defeated it, and then marched against Ghaznīn, and gained possession of it Upon this Manṣūr proposed to move against him in person, but instead, he sent a still larger force than before against him, but did not succeed in reducing him The details of these events are far too long for insertion here I may mention, however, that "when Alb-Tigīn appeared before Ghaznīn, the Ṣāḥib, or lord of Ghaznīn, refused to admit him, on which he invested it until it was reduced to such straits that the city was surrendered to him, and *he put the Bādshāh of Ghaznīn to death*" On this Amīr Manṣūr sent 30,000 horse against him, but he suddenly fell upon them with a force of 6000, and defeated them On this Manṣūr gave up the contest Our author says nothing more respecting Alb-Tigīn until the middle of the next reign, and then, that he "had died at Ghaznīn" The Mujmal-i Faṣīḥ ī, which is quite silent on the hostility between Manṣūr and his slave, and the cause of it, states, under the year 352 H, that "Alb Tigīn, Turk, died at Ghaznīn in this year," and that "Is ḥāḳ, son of Alb Tigīn, assumed the government" See note on this subject at page 71 Our author is entirely silent on the affairs of Khalaf, son of Aḥmad, in Sijistān, and of his proceeding to the court of Bukhārā to obtain aid from Manṣūr See notes to Section XIV

[5] The investiture of Ghaznīn he means, no doubt

[6] See account of the Buwīahs farther on, and note [8] to page 63

[7] The I. O L MS, the Bod MS, and the R A S MS, say "three thousand gold dīnārs," but the other MSS give the amount as above

troops, until the whole of the rebels were reduced to submission

Amīr Manṣūr died on Tuesday, the 11th of the month of Shawwāl, 365 H [8], after a reign of seventeen years, six months, and eleven days He went by the surname of the Amīr-i-Sadīd, or the Steadfast Amīr.

IX NŪH, SON OF MANṢŪR, SON OF NŪH, SĀMĀNĪ

His sons were Mansūr, 'Abd-ul-Malik, and Muhammad [9]

On the departure from this world of Amīr Manṣūr, son of Nūh, they [the people] gave their allegiance to his son, Amīr Abū-l-Kāsim-i-Nūh, and raised him to his father's throne The Lord of the Faithful, Ut-Tā'ī'u-L'illah, sent him a patent of investiture and a standard

The new ruler directed Fāyik-i-Khāṣah [1], and Tāsh [2], the Ḥājib [chamberlain], to assume the command of his troops and the direction of military affairs Abū-l-Ḥasan-i-Simjūr, who was the son of a slave of this dynasty, and ruled, in the name of Amīr Nūh, over parts of Khurāsān, such as Hirāt and Nīshāpūr, and over the territory of Māwar un-Nahr [3], received the title of Nāṣir-ud-Daulah from the Amīr, and the territory of Tūs was added to the territories already held by him

The office of Wazīr was conferred upon Abī-ul-Ḥasan-i-'Abd-ullah, son of Ahmad Al-'Utbā [4], and Tāsh, the Ḥājib, was made head of the army, or commander-in-chief, with the title of Ḥisām-ud-Daulah Ḳābūs, son of Washm-gīr, was made Wālī [governor] of Gurgān,

[8] Five years previous to this event, in *360 H*, Mahmūd, son of Sabuk-Tigīn, was born

[9] The author's arrangement of his work is by no means uniform, he sometimes mentions the sons of rulers, and at times leaves them out altogether This too is often the case with respect to their titles. The title of Nuh was Ar-Riẓā, and other authors style him Nūh, son of Manṣūr, *son of 'Abd-ul-Malik*, son of Nūḥ, son of Naṣr, &c

[1] From one meaning of this word, Fāyiḳ appears to have been a secretary The Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī calls him Fayiḳ-i-Bak Tūzūn

[2] His right name is Abū-l 'Abbās-i-Tāsh [3] So in all copies of the text

[4] The author of the Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī was of this family The name has been sometimes written 'Utbī Guzīdah, and other most trustworthy works state that Abū 'Alī, son of 'Abd-ullah-i-Muḥammad, son of Bal'amī, translator of the Tārīkh-i-Tabarī, was his Wazīr In the preface to that translation Mansūr is styled son of Nūḥ

and he and other nobles were despatched along with Tāsh into 'Irāḳ, in order to carry on hostilities against Buwiah[4], son of Al-Ḥasan, son of Buwiah. They fought a battle before the gate of Gurgān and were defeated, and Tāsh, the Ḥājib, was overthrown and had to retreat.

After some time Tāsh and Abū-l-Ḥasan-i-Sīmjūr, both of them, revolted, but, after some struggles, and victory[6] over the Dīālamah of the family of Buwiah, they both returned to their allegiance[7], and the command of Amīr Nūh's forces, after some time, fell to Abī 'Alī, son of Sīmjūr, and Nīshāpūr was made over to him, and he received the title of 'Imād-ud-Daulah

In this reign likewise, Amīr Abū Mūsā-i-Hārūn, Ī-lak[8] Khān, determined to attack Bukhārā, and Amīr Nūh fled to Āmul[9], and kept in retirement Abī 'Alī, son of Sīmjūr, now began to act in a rebellious manner Ī-lak Khān, after having succeeded in gaining possession of the country [Bukhārā] and overthrowing the government, became greatly afflicted with hæmorrhoids, and determined to retire into his own territory again He sent for Amīr 'Abd-ul-'Azīz, son of Nūh, son of Naṣr, who was an uncle of Amīr Nūh's, and presented him with a robe of honour, and made over the territory to him, after which he retired towards Turkistān. Amīr Nūh, son of Manṣūr, brought assistance from the Turkmāns, and set out in pursuit of Ī-lāk Khān until he came up with him, but I'lak Khān faced about, and inflicted a defeat upon his pursuers before the gate of Samrkand, and on his way back to Turkistān the Khān died

Amīr Nūḥ returned again to Bukhārā, and once more

[4] So in the original, but it was against the forces of 'Uẓd ud-Daulah, Abū Shujā'-i-Fanā Khusrau, the Dīlamī, that Amīr Nūḥ's forces were sent The details are very long

[6] Our author's account here is very confused The details would occupy more space than I can spare

[7] Abū-l-'Abbās-i Tāsh, surnamed Ḥisām-ud Daulah, died in 379 H., at Jurjān Some copies of the text have وطات for وطا

[8] This is incorrect, it was Bughrā Khān, ruler of Turkistān, *not* Ī-lak, who was his son and successor, as mentioned farther on by our author himself. According to Guzīdah and other histories, Abū 'Alī-i-Sīmjūr contemplated assuming independent sovereignty, and sought support from Bughrā Khān to aid him in doing so Bughrā Khān's coming was *after* Nūḥ and Sabuk-Tigīn proceeded to Hirat to attack Abū 'Alī-i-Sīmjūr See note [4] to page 46.

[9] In Māzandarān

acquired strength, but, through the rebellion of Abū 'Alī-i-Sīmjūr, the affairs of Khurāsān had fallen into great disorder, and [to make matters worse] Amīr Alb-Tigīn had likewise died at Ghaznīn, and Sabuk-Tigīn[1] had succeeded him[2] there, and become very powerful.

The people of Balkh, on account of the weak state of the Sāmānī ruler's power, implored aid from Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn from the tyranny of Fāyik-i-Khāṣah, and he had marched thither. Amīr Nūh sent a sagacious person to him, and great graciousness and courtesy passed between them, and compacts were entered into. Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn came to Kash[3] and Nakhshab, and Amīr Nūh came out of Bukhārā [to meet him], and they united [their forces], and afterwards marched into Khurāsān to crush Abī 'Alī-i-Sīmjūr[4]. When they reached the confines of Tāl-kān, the agents and instigators of the Karāmitah and Mulāhidah schismatics had arrived in that territory, and a great number of the people of those parts had listened to and accepted their doctrine. Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn laid hands upon the whole of them, and made holy war, as by orthodox institutes prescribed, [upon them], and obtained the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn.

When Bū 'Alī-i-Sīmjūr became aware that Amīr Nūh and Sabuk-Tigīn had set out towards Hirāt, he left Nishā-

[1] The only correct way of spelling his name as given with the vowel points—s followed by the short vowel a, silent b followed by the short vowel u, and silent k = Sabuk, t with the short vowel i, and silent g, the long vowel ī, and silent n = Tigīn — سبکتکین — (Sabuk-Tigīn). Neither "Sebektekein," nor "Sabak Tagīn," "Subuktugeen," "Sebekteghin," "Subuktagi," &c.

[2] Sabuk-Tigīn had certainly succeeded, but between his accession and Alb-Tigīn's death sixteen years had intervened, and three other persons had administered the government.

[3] "Kesh," as this place has been styled in some works, is an impossible word. The Persian is کش and by any change of the vowel points it cannot be made Kesh. It must be either Kash, Kish, or Kush, but the first is correct.

[4] Fasih-ī says, under 382 H., "Amīr Nūh, son of Mansūr, Sāmānī, and Amīr Nāsir-ud-dīn, Sabuk-Tigīn along with him, came to Hirāt, and fought a battle with Abū 'Alī-i-Sīmjūr, and overthrew him." It was in the following year, 383 H., that Bughrā Khān advanced against Bukhārā. Our author has put this event previously to Nuh and Sabuk-Tigīn joining against Abū 'Alī-i-Sīmjūr, not only confusing the order of events, but also giving Bughrā Khān a wrong name. His title and name was Shihāb-ud-Daulah, Hārūn, son of Sulimān, son of I-lak Khān, surnamed Bughra Khān, the Turk, and he held the tract of territory from Kāshghar to the Jīḥūn. His son, Ī-lak Khān, succeeded him. In 384 H. Amīr Nūh gave the government of Khurāsān to Sabuk-Tigīn.

pūr and proceeded thither. Amir Nūḥ, on the day of the engagement between the two armies, gave up the command of the troops to Amir Sabuk-Tigin. When their forces encountered each other before the gate of Hirāt, and, during the engagement, Dārā, son of Ḳābūs, son of Washm-gir, who was on the side of Abū 'Ali, deserted[5], and went over to the other side, and Abū 'Ali was overthrown, through the misfortune of his having acceded, as well as most of the chief men of that territory, and his army also, to the exhortations of the Ḳarāmitahs, and having become contaminated with that heresy He had founded a Masjid-i-Jāmi'[6], or great masjid, at Nishāpūr, intending, when it should be completely finished, that the Khuṭbah should be read there for Muṣtanṣir-i-Miṣri[7]. This victory was gained by Amir Nūḥ, son of Manṣūr, in the middle of the month of Ramazān, in the year 384 H[8], and, after this success, the affairs of the province of Hirāt were arranged by Amir Nūh, and he proceeded to the territory of Nishāpūr.

Abū'Alī-i-Simjūr now sought for peace, but, on his request not being acceded to, he left Nishāpūr, and set out towards Rai, and sent his son to Abū-l-Ḥaṣan, son of Buwiah. Amir Nūḥ was now left to return [to his capital]; and Sabuk-Tigin and his son, Amir[9] Mahmūd, were stationed at Nishāpūr, but, as Amir Nūh paused at Ṭūs, Sabuk-Tigin despatched his son, Amir Maḥmūd, to the Court; and he was nominated to the command of the troops, and the title of Saif-ud-Daulah was conferred upon him, together with the government of Nishāpūr. Subsequently to this, Amir Nūḥ, son of Manṣūr, returned to Bukhārā, leaving Balkh, Hirāt, Nishāpūr, and the territory of Khurāsān[1], under the care of Amir Sabuk-Tigin and his son, Amir Maḥmūd, the latter of whom took up his quarters at Nishāpūr.

[5] With a body of troops

[6] The great masjid, in which the Khuṭbah is read on Fridays, is called by his name.

[7] The rival Khalifah, whose seat was in Miṣr, and who was head of the Ḳarāmiṭah sect at this period, was Ul-'Aziz B'illah, Manṣūr-i-Nizār, who died in 386 H

[8] Faṣiḥ-i says Nūḥ defeated Abū 'Ali-i Simjūr at Nishāpūr, and that Abū Ali fled

[9] He was not "Amir" Maḥmūd then, and the author's intention here is merely to call him by the title he subsequently acquired

[1] So in the original

In the month of Rabī'-ul-awwal, 385 H., Abū 'Alī-i-Sīmjūr came out of Gurgān, and advanced to Nīshāpūr, with the intention of compelling Maḥmūd to relinquish it, and the people of the city espoused his cause. Maḥmūd, after much opposition and hard fighting, was defeated, for he had but a small force with him, and retired again to Hirāt. Abū 'Alī-i-Sīmjūr again gained possession of Nīshāpūr, and continued there until Sabuk-Tigīn, with a large army, advanced towards that place Abū 'Alī moved forward towards Ṭūs to oppose his advance, and there they encountered each other, and a severe and sanguinary battle ensued. Amīr Mahmūd made an attack upon the rear of Abū 'Alī's army, and broke through his ranks, and overthrew Fāyiḳ, who was with him, and completed the defeat of Abū 'Alī's army. Fāyiḳ retired to Bukhārā, and there was thrown into confinement, and died[2], Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn proceeded to Balkh, and took up his quarters there[3], and Amīr Maḥmūd returned again to Nīshāpūr.

At length, on Friday, the 13th of the month of Rajab, 387 H., Amīr Nūḥ, son of Manṣūr, departed this life[4] His reign extended over a period of twenty-one years and nine months, and in this same year Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn also died.

X MANṢŪR, SON OF NŪḤ, SON OF MANṢŪR.

The late Amīr Nūḥ had nominated his son, Amīr Manṣūr, as his heir and successor, and, when the former died, his son ascended his father's throne. He entrusted the command of his forces to Fāyik-i-Khāṣah ; and Abū Manṣūr-i-'Azīz[5], who, through fear of Amīr Mahmūd, son

[2] Other writers say that Fāyiḳ, after this defeat, separated from Abū 'Alī, and feared to return to Amīr Nūḥ, although he had permission to do so He went, therefore, and joined Ī lak Khān, son of Bughrā Khān, and obtained high rank in his service

[3] Hostility arose between Amīr Nūḥ and Sabuk-Tigīn in 386 H

[4] Some state that Abū 'Alī and Fāyiḳ sent a force of slaves and had him put to death, others, that it was supposed he was assassinated at the instigation of the Ṣāḥib, Ibn-i-'Ubbād, the Wazīr of Fakhr ud Daulah, Abū-l Ḥasan-i-Buwīah, by the Karāmiṭah schismatics Faṣiḥ-ī says, "Amīr Ar Rāẓī-i-Nūḥ, died at Nīshāpūr, 13th of Rajab 387 H, and, in the same year, Sabuk-Tigīn, the slave of the house of Sāmānī, also died"

[5] He has not been mentioned before, and who or what he was, the author does not say, but Faṣiḥ-ī mentions that the Wazīr, Abū Manṣūr-i-'Azīz, was removed from that office in 388 H, on account of disagreement with Fāyiḳ, the Ḥājib

of Sabuk-Tigīn, had fled, and retired to Isfanjāb[6], was brought back again. At the time of returning he had implored help from Ī-laḳ Khān, soliciting that he would take vengeance upon the enemies and opponents of Amīr Manṣūr. When Abū Manṣūr, son of 'Azīz, reached the gate of Samrḳand he seized him, and at this period Fāyiḳ-i-Khāṣah was at Samrḳand Ī-laḳ Khān summoned Fāyiḳ to his presence, and despatched him to Bukhārā with an army; and, on Amīr Manṣūr becoming aware of it, he left Bukhārā, and retired to Āmul.

When Fāyiḳ reached Bukhārā, and approached the gate of the palace of the Sāmānī princes, he showed great emotion, and became greatly agitated, and went and joined Manṣūr [Amīr Manṣūr, son of Nūḥ], and asked of him why he had left the government, and abandoned the capital. Manṣūr, on this, returned to Bukhārā again, and left the office of commander of the troops [there, as previously stated,] to Fāyik, and in Khurāsān the command over the troops was given to Bak-Tūzūn[7], as Amīr Maḥmūd had proceeded to Ghaznīn, in order to take possession of the territory of his father, Sabuk Tigīn [who was now dead], and he left Bak-Tūzūn the command over the forces in Khurāsān[8].

At this period Bak-Tūzūn slew Abū-l-Ḳāsim-i-Sīmjūr, and took up his residence at Nishāpūr; and, on this, Amīr Maḥmūd marched an army from Ghaznīn towards Khurāsān[9].

[6] Also written Sifanjāb,

[7] In every copy of our author which I have compared, except one, the first letter of this word is *m*, and the other letters also differ, but from other histories it is fully proved that the name of this personage is Bak-Tūzūn A similar name occurs in the history of the Dīālamah and sometimes the Bak is omitted, as in the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh Guzīdah also has Bak-Tūzūn The word, Bak, (بك) is quite a distinct word from Beg (بيك). The Shams-ul-Lughat describes it as written with Arabic *kāf* [i e not *gāf*], and short *a* —Bak, signifying "a lord," "a great man" It is a title or surname, like Bak in Bak-Taghdī, Alb in Alb-Tigīn, and Balkā in Balkā-Tigīn, &c. The Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī calls him Fāyiḳ i Bak-Tūzūn

[8] The command of the troops, and the government which he had held, when the late Amīr died Other authors state that Manṣūr would not confirm Maḥmūd in that appointment, and that he became hostile in consequence

[9] A great deal of detail is wanted here to elucidate these transactions In the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 388 H, Abū-l-Ḳāsim, the commander of the Sīmjūrī forces, was defeated by Bak-Tūzūn, on which he retired to Fūshanj Bak-Tūzūn again assembled a force, and advanced to Fūshanj against Abū-l-Ḳāsim; but an agreement was arrived at between them. I have not space to give further details.

Bak-Tūzūn, being aware that he could not cope with Máhmūd, evacuated Nīshāpūr, and set off for the presence of Amīr Mansūr The latter had left Bukhārā, and had arrived at Marw, and Fāyik was with him; but, when Bak-Tūzūn joined him, Amīr Manṣūr had reached Sarakhs Fāyik-i-Khāṣah and Bak-Tūzūn now conspired together to dethrone Amīr Manṣūr, and, on the night of the 12th of the month of Safar[1], 389 H, they removed him from the sovereignty, after which they left Sarakhs, and went back to Marw again There they agreed together to place Abū-l-Fawāris-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, son of Nūh, on his brother's throne This they carried out, and they deprived Amīr Abū-l-Ḥirs[2]-i-Manṣūr, son of Nūh, of his sight, after he had reigned one year and eight months.

XI ABŪ-L-FAWĀRIS I-'ABD UL MALIK, SON OF NŪḤ

By the time that Fāyik-i-Khāṣah and Bak-Tūzūn had placed Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik upon the throne, Amīr Mahmūd[3] had arrived at Balkh, and, on being made acquainted with this occurrence, he advanced to the gates of Marw in order to revenge the treatment which Amīr Manṣūr had suffered at their hands[4] They, however, sent an agent to negotiate with Mahmūd, and an arrangement was entered into between them and him, whereby it was agreed that Hirāt and Balkh should be held by Mahmūd. and Marw and Nīshāpūr by them Amīr Mahmūd, after this arrangement, again retired, and this was on Tuesday, the 26th of the month of Jamādī-ul-awwal, in the year 389 H.

[1] Faṣih-ī says, on the 8th of Ṣafar, and that they then deprived Amīr Manṣūr of his sight His reign, according to the same authority, was one year and nine months

[2] According to some, Abū l-Hāriṣ was his title, but Abū-l-Ḥirṣ is correct The whole of the Sāmānī rulers had titles of this kind, but the author does not always give them I have supplied them

[3] He had dethroned his own brother Ismā'īl, and had assumed the Ghaznīn throne, a short time previous to the accession of Abū-l-Fawāris-i-'Abd-ul-Malik

[4] Maḥmūd fought a battle against 'Abd-ul-Malik, son of Nūḥ, who fled, along with Fāyiḳ and Bak Tūzūn, the two former retired to Bukhārā, and the latter to Nīshāpūr Abū l Kāsim i-Sīmjūr retired to Kuhistān, and Khurāsān was left in Mahmūd's possession About this time, Mahmūd gave the command of his troops to his brother Nasr, and made Balkh the capital of his dominions See notes to Mahmud's reign

At this period, Dārā, son of Ḳābūs-i-Washm-gīr, was Wālī [governor] of Gurgān, and incited a party of the slaves[5] of the Sāmānī kings [who appear to have taken refuge with him], to follow the forces of Amīr Mahmūd, with the object of plundering his retinue; and they set out in pursuit of them[6]. Amīr Naṣr, son of Sabuk-Tigīn, the brother of Mahmūd, had charge of the rear [column] of his brother's forces, and joined battle with the body of pursuers, and also despatched a messenger to Maḥmūd to inform him of the state of affairs. Amīr Maḥmūd turned back, and proceeded to the scene of action, but previously to his reaching it, Amīr Naṣr had already defeated the assailants, and put them to the rout.

When the party of nobles, at Marw, became aware that Mahmūd had made a retrograde movement in that direction, they evacuated it, and retired to Bukhārā. Fāyik shortly after these events took place, died in the month of Shā'bān, of this same year. He had deeply regretted and heartily repented of the acts he had committed, but all was now of no avail, and his contrition came too late and all the adherents of the Sāmānī dynasty became separated and dispersed.

After the death of Fāyik, Amīr Abū-l-Ḥasan, Ī-lak[7]-i

[5] Styled nobles in following paragraph, and refer to slaves such as Alb-Tigīn and Sabuk-Tigīn, who were some of the chief men in the state.

[6] Maḥmūd having succeeded his father in 389 H., by the dethronement of his brother Ismā'īl, appointed his brother Naṣr commander of his army in Khurāsān, and made Balkh the capital of his dominions. At this period Amīr Abū Ibrāhīm-i-Ismā'īl, son of Nūḥ, the last of the Sāmānīs, was struggling to recover the dominions of his ancestors, after having escaped from Bukhārā when Ī-lak-i Naṣr, son of Bughrā Khān, entered it, and had, just before this period, succeeded in reaching Khwārazm. At this time he had come to Bukhārā again, from whence he went to Abīward, and from thence to Nīshāpūr. Naṣr, brother of Maḥmūd, on this, evacuated Nīshāpūr with all despatch, and retreated precipitately towards Hirāt. Subsequently, Maḥmūd advanced to Nīshāpūr, upon which Abū Ibrāhīm fled therefrom, and took shelter with Shams ul-Ma'ālī, Ḳābūs, son of Washm-gīr. This must have been the time, when, according to our author, Amīr Naṣr had charge of the rear [column] of his brother's army, but he has related these events in his usual confused manner, and has not mentioned even the name of Abū Ibrāhīm-i-Ismā'īl. See note [1], page 52.

[7] Other authors state that Amīr Maḥmūd, son of Sabuk-Tigīn, marched against Bak-Tūzūn and Fāyiḳ, who had conspired against their sovereign, dethroned him, and deprived him of his sight, drove them out of Khurāsān, and possessed himself of that territory, and that Bak-Tūzūn and Fāyiḳ fled

Naṣr, son of 'Alī, brother of the Khān-i-Buzurg, or the Great Khān, advanced from Farghānah, and appeared before the gates of Bukhārā, in the month of Ẕī-Ḳa'dah, in the year 389 H. He pretended to the people that he had come to render aid to Amīr Abū-l-Fawāris-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, son of Nūh. Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik despatched the nobles and principal officers still remaining in his service to receive him; but, as soon as they approached, he gave orders to seize the whole of them; and, on the 10th of Ẕī-Ḳa'dah of that same year, he entered Bukhārā. Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik concealed himself; but Ī-lak-i-Naṣr asked him to return, and succeeded in getting the Sāmānī prince into his power[8], after which he sent him to Ūrjand[9], and the dominion of the Sāmānīs terminated[1]. The dynasty,

into Māwar-un-Nahr, and once more conspired with Ī-lak Khān, who, under pretence of aiding Amīr 'Abd ul-Malik, whom they had set up, marched out of Kāshghar, and appeared before Bukhārā.

[8] Ī lak, son of Bughrā Khān, took Bukhārā, 10th of Zī Ḳa'dah, 389 H. The blind Amīr Manṣūr, 'Abd-ul-Malik, Ibrahīm, and Ya'ḳūb, the four sons of Nūḥ, were made captive at the same time.

[9] One copy has Ūzjand, but other writers give Ūzgand, and the fortress of Ūzgand, and state that there he was confined till his death, which took place in 389 H. It was the capital of Khwārazm, and the name of a province the 'Arabs called it Jurjānīah. It is the present Ūrganj.

[1] Other most trustworthy historians, some of whose works I have been quoting from, give an account of the reign, or rather struggles, of another prince of this dynasty, brother of Mansūr and 'Abd-ul Malik, which, in a condensed form, is as follows:—

"ABŪ IBRĀHĪM-I ISMĀ'ĪL, SON OF NŪḤ.

"He was known by the title of Muntaṣir, one of the significations of which word is 'extricating one's self from any calamity or misfortune,' which may have reference to the following circumstances. During the uproar and confusion which ensued upon the seizure of 'Abd ul-Malik by Ī lak-i-Naṣr, Abū Ismā'īl, having covered himself with the mantle of a slave-girl, succeeded, by means of that disguise, in getting out of the throng. For three days he lay concealed in the dwelling of an old woman, after which time he managed to effect his escape from the place in the dress of a common soldier, and reached the territory of Khwārazm. Some of the nobles and soldiery of the Sāmānī dynasty, on becoming aware of his escape, hastened there to join him. Muntaṣir by this means acquired some strength, and he began to prepare his followers to make an effort to regain the territory of his ancestors. For several years he carried on a desultory warfare on the confines of Khurāsān and Māwar un-Nahr. He encountered the troops of Ī lak Khān [I-lak i-Naṣr], and the governor of Khurāsān, on several occasions, with various success. At length, in the month of Rabī-ul Awwal 395 H., while in the encampment of a

from the commencement of the reign of Ismā'īl up to this time, had continued for a period of one hundred and eight years[2].

The following table gives the genealogical tree of the race and dynasty of the Sāmānīs[3].—

MĪ-DĀD میداد [میلاد], father of

KAR-KĪN[4] کرکین [کرکی and کدکی and کرکسیتی], father of

BAHRĀM JASH-NASH بهرام جشنش [جش and حوش and حمر], father of

BAHRĀM CHŪBĪN بهرام چوبین [شوبین], father of

NŪSHAD نوشد [وشید and نوشیا and نوشد], father of

NŪSHIR[5] نوشر [نوشرد and یوشید], father of

TAMGHĀN طمغان [طمغاث and طرغان and طمغاد], father of

JASHMĀN حشمان [حمان and حسمان and جتیمان], father of

SĀMĀN-I-KHADDĀT[6] سامان حداة [حداه], father of

ASAD, who had four sons, Nūḥ, Aḥmad, Yaḥyā, Ilyas.

nomad tribe, in whose tents he had sought shelter, in the neighbourhood of Bukhārā, he was put to death by Māh-Rue [moon-faced], the chief of the tribe. The Mujmal-i-Faṣiḥ-ī states that Māh Rūe was 'Āmil or subordinate governor of the district in the vicinity of Ūzgand, on the part of Sulṭan Maḥmūd, and that Maḥmūd put Māh-Rūe to death for his treatment of Amīr Abū Ibrāhīm. Thus ended the dynasty of the Sāmānīs, none of the race being left, after having lasted one hundred and three years, nine months, and eleven days." The account given by Abū-Sulīmān-i-Dā'ūd, Al-Fanākatī, is slightly different from this.

[2] The I. O. L. MS., No. 1952, and its prototype the R. A. S. MS., for they seem, as far as errors go, to be copies of each other, give one hundred and *eighty* years as the period during which this dynasty continued. Guzīdah says one hundred and two years, six months, and twenty days.

[3] To make it more intelligible I have reversed it, as the author begins with the *last* ruler. It must be also borne in mind that, as such great difference exists in all the MSS. as to the names before Sāmān, and that no vowel points are given, they cannot be *absolutely* depended upon. I give the variations within brackets, and also mention the result of my comparison with other writers.

[4] This word of course may possibly be read Gargīn, &c., as in Persian, ك may be *k* or *g*.

[5] No doubt Nūshir is correct.

[6] Faṣiḥ-ī gives the following names:—Sāmān-i-Khaddāt, son of حمان son of طغاث son of نوشرد son of Bahrām Chūbīn, son of Bahrām Hashnush, who is said to have been stationed at Rai and Ahwāz, as Walī of Āzarbāījān on the part of Hurmuz, son of Nūshīrwān.

NAMES OF RULERS	PERIOD OF REIGN	SONS
AḤMAD, son of Asad,	Eighteen years	Naṣr, Ismā'īl, Is-ḥāḳ, Manṣūr, Asad, Ya'ḳūb, Hamīd, Yaḥyā, Ibrāhīm
NAṢR, son of Aḥmad,	Eighteen years	Ahmad, Nūh, Ilyās, Yahyā
ISMĀ'ĪL, son of Aḥmad,	Eight years[7]	Nasr, Manṣūr, Ibrāhīm, Yahyā
ABŪ NAṢR-I-AHMAD, son of Ismā'īl,	Six years and three months	Ya'ḳūb, Asad
NAṢR, son of Aḥmad,	Thirty years	Nūh, Ismā'īl, Manṣūr
NŪḤ, son of Naṣr,	Twelve years and three months[8]	'Abd-ul Malik, Abū Ṣāliḥ-i Manṣūr
'ABD-UL-MALIK, son of Nūḥ,	Little over eight years[9]	
ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ-I-MANṢŪR, son of Nūḥ,	Seventeen years, six months, and eleven days[1]	
NŪH, son of Abū Ṣāliḥ-i-Manṣūr,	Twenty one years and nine months	Manṣūr, 'Abd ul Malik, Muḥammad[2]
MANṢŪR, son of Nūḥ,	One year and six months	
'ABD-UL-MALIK, son of Nūḥ,	Between nine and ten months	

[7] From the period he acquired sole rule. Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah gives seven years and ten months.

[8] One MS. gives twelve years and nine months, another eleven years and nine months.

[9] Two copies have eight years.

[1] One MS. has seventeen years; another seventeen years, six months, and eleven days; two others, eighteen; but, as he assumed power in 350 H., and died in Shawwāl, 365 H., the above is correct.

[2] There were other sons besides these. See note [8] page 52.

SECTION X.

THE DYNASTY OF THE DĪALAMAH MALIKS AT THE DAR-UL-KHILĀFAT OF BAGHDAD, AND IN 'IRĀĶ.

THE first person of the family of the Dīālamah, who rose to power, was Mākān, son of Kākī, Dīlamī [1], who was

[1] Mākān, son of Kākī, was certainly a native of Dīlam, but he was not of the same family as the Buwīahs, and belonged to an entirely different dynasty, called the Āl i Ziyār

According to the most trustworthy writers, the first of the family of Buwīah, who attained to sovereign power, was 'Imād-ud-Daulah, Abū l-Ḥasan-i-'Alī, who afterwards received the title of 'Imād-ud Daulah, the son of Buwīah, son of Fanā Khusrau, Dīlamī 'Imād-ud-Daulah's father is said to have been a fisherman Abū l Hasan-i-'Alī was an officer in the service of Mardāwanj, as he had previously been in that of Mākān, son of Kākī, whom Mardāwanj had succeeded, when Mākān retired, and entered the service of the Sāmānīans Mardāwanj had conferred some territory upon Abū-l Hasan, who, in 321 H, considered himself sufficiently powerful to endeavour to gain possession of Iṣfahān and the territory of 'Irāķ for himself Abū-l-Ḥasan accordingly marched against Iṣfahān, and defeated Muẓaffar, son of Yākūt, a slave of the 'Abbāsī dynasty, who was governor of Fārs for the Khalīfah Muẓaffar was defeated, and retired to Shīrāz, which was his father's head-quarters Mardāwanj did not approve of this movement on the part of Abū-l Ḥasan, and he determined to march to Isfahān and oust him Abū-l Hasan was not sufficiently strong to oppose Mardāwanj, and was advised to turn his arms against Fārs. This he acted upon, and Yākūt, who came out of Shīrāz, the capital of Fārs, to oppose him, was overthrown Abū-l Hasan took possession of it, and made it his capital This was in 321 H, and he now assumed sovereignty, and read the Khuṭbah for himself, and coined money In 323 H, on the death of Mardāwanj, at Isfahān, he determined to extend his conquests, and he gained possession of Iṣfahān, Rai, Ḥulwān, and other territories He now made his eldest brother, Abū 'Alī-i-Hasan, afterwards entitled Rukn-ud-Daulah, ruler of 'Irāķ, and sent the youngest, Abū-l-Husain-i-Aḥmad, afterwards Mu'izz-ud-Daulah, to Kirmān In 326 H, 'Imād-ud Daulah, Abū-l-Ḥasan-i-Alī, sent an envoy to Baghdād to the Khalīfah-Ar-Rāẓī B'illah, and asked to be confirmed in the possession of his territory, which was granted, and, in the same year, 'Imād ud-Daulah left his brother, Mu'izẓ-ud-Daulah, as his representative at Baghdād In 330 H 'Imād ud-Daulah died, after a reign of nearly seventeen years, leaving no sons. Rukn-ud-Daulah, his eldest brother, succeeded him at Shīrāz, while Mu'izz ud-Daulah, the youngest, remained at Baghdād as previously, but, in the course of that same year, Mu'izz-ud-Daulah set out on an expedition towards Misr and Shām In 333 H the Khalīfah, Al-Muttaķī B'illah, was blinded by Tūzūn, son of Abū-l-Wafā,

Wālī [sovereign] of Gurgān until the reign of Abū 'Alī [2], Sāmānī, who succeeded in wresting Gurgān from him, after considerable fighting. Mākān retired towards Rai, and sought shelter from Sham-gīr [Washm-gīr], son of Ayāz. Abū 'Alī went in pursuit of him, and fought an engagement with both of them, slew Mākān, son of Kākī, and became powerful in that part.

Amīr Buwīah, Dīlamī, was with Mākān's force; and he had a great number of followers and dependents, and grown-up sons, who were endowed with wisdom and valour, and great talent and ability. All of them rose to greatness and renown, and became sovereign princes, and for a considerable time they held the supreme authority and dominion at the Dār-ul-Khilāfat of Baghdād.

Notwithstanding the author made much search for information on this subject in the Tārīkh-i-Ibn Haiṣam-i-Sānī [3], but little was to be found respecting them and their actions in those chronicles, on account of some confusion as to which preceded, which followed the other. The author, therefore, has written a short account of them, somewhat based on supposition and conjecture [4]. If any errors have been made, he hopes he may be excused, since it is known that no mention is made of them in the histories of 'Ajam and Khurāsān, except very briefly.

a Turk, the Amīr-ul-Umrā [see note [1], page 58], who set up his son, Al-Mustakfī. We now come to the first ruler mentioned by our author, who, certainly appears to have had a very superficial knowledge of this dynasty. He takes little or no notice of the other two dynasties of Fārs and 'Irāḳ, and confines his account to those who ruled at Baghdād. It is the most meagre and incorrect notice of these princes, that I am acquainted with, and, although the dynasty only terminated in 459 H., he ends his history of them in 388 H. Ample materials for a history of this dynasty are available, and I have been obliged to burden the translation with this long note to make the author's account intelligible.

[2] So stated in all the copies of the work examined, but erroneously; for it refers to Abū 'Alī, son of Ilyās, Sipah-sālār, or general of the forces of Amīr Naṣr, son of Aḥmad, Sāmānī, who overthrew Mākān, son of Kākī, as subsequently shown. See latter part of note [9], pages 36, 37.

[3] The I. O. L. MS., No. 1952, and of course the R. A. S. MS., have "and in Yamīnī" after the word Ṣānī, but not the other MSS. The word Ṣānī at this place, in four of them, is doubtful, and, in two, another word follows. I think "Ibn Haiṣam-i-Fāryābī" [native of Fāryāb] is the correct name of this author.

[4] A novel way of writing history, and our author's account of this and other dynasties shows what such history is.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE DIĀLAMAH PRINCES OF THE DYNASTY OF BUWĪAH, DĪLAMĪ[5]

- **BUWĪAH**
  - Mu'izz-ud Daulah, Abū-l Ḥasan[6]-i-Aḥmad
    - ['Izz-ud-Dīn], Bakhtyār.
  - Fakhr ud Daulah wa ud-Dīn[7], Abū-l-Ḥasan [-i-'Alī]
  - Rukn-ud-Daulah, Abū 'Alī-i-Ḥasan
    - Fakhr ud-Daulah
    - Muayyid-ud-Daulah, Buwīah.
    - 'Uẓd-ud-Daulah wa ud Dīn, Fanā Khusrau
      - Bahā ud Daulah, [Khusrau Fīrūz]
      - Sharaf-ud-Daulah, Abū-l Fawāris-i-Mākān[8]
      - Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah, Marzabān.

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[5] The whole of the MSS compared do not contain this Tree, and, in those that do contain it, it is arranged in such a manner as to be almost unintelligible without reference to the different princes in the body of the work, besides being incorrect The names within brackets I have added The author mentions the names of ten out of eighteen persons, and gives an account of *six* only

[6] Abū l Husain is correct.

[7] His title was 'Imād-ud-Daulah

[8] His correct title and name was Sharaf-ud-Daulah-i-Shīr-Zail

I ABŪ-L ḤASAN, SON OF BUWĪAH, UD-DĪLAMĪ

He bore the title of Fakhr-ud-Daulah [9], and he, first rose to power and dominion, from the time that he was Amīr [lord] of Āhwāz, when the Turks of Baghdād, whose chief and commander was Tūzūn, seized the person of the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Muttakī B'illah, and deprived him of his sight, set him aside, and fixed a stipend for his support Having done this, Tūzūn set up the dethroned Khalīfah's son, Al-Mustakfī B'illah, in his stead, while Tūzūn himself became Amir-ul-Umrā [1], and assumed the direction of the whole of the affairs of the Khilafat

Abū-l-Ḥasan, son of Buwīah, assembled the troops of Dilam, and marched towards Baghdād, and for a period of four months carried on hostilities with the Turks, at the expiration of which time the Turks were defeated, and put to flight Abu-l-Ḥasan took possession of Baghdād, and his commands were obeyed in all matters respecting the government of the territory, and the Khilāfat A party of spies informed him, however, that the Khalīfah, Al-Mustakfī, meditated treachery towards him, in order to get him into his power, and intended to put him to death if he succeeded in doing so Abū-l-Ḥasan, however, determined to be beforehand and to anticipate his intention, and seized the person of the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Mustakfī B'illah, blinded him, and set up the Khalīfah, Al-Mutī'u-L'illah [2], in his stead According to the historian Uṭ-Tabrī [3], he gave himself the title of Mu'izz-ud-Daulah, and took the whole power in the State into his own hands, so

[9] He bore no such title it was Mu'izz ud Daulah His name also, as given by our author, is not correct It was Abū l Husain-i-Aḥmad For his first rise to power see note [1], page 55 His elder brother, 'Imād ud Daulah, ought to have been the first mentioned here

[1] Lord of Lords a title adopted by the ministers, or rather tyrants, of the Khalīfahs, in the decline of their power This title was also often conferred upon the chief commander of an army—a captain general

[2] Faṣih-i, among the events of the year 334 H, mentions the succession of Al-Mutī u L'illah, and that he had no territory, and was agreeable to a stipend being allowed him

[3] As these events occurred in 334 H, and Muḥammad, son of Jarīr-uṭ-Tabarī, died at Baghdād, in 310 H, although some say in 311 H, our author must refer to the continuation of Ṭabarī's Chronicle by the Wazīr, Al-Bal'amī

that Al-Mutī'u-L'illah was Khalīfah only in name, while he ruled the country, issued his mandates, and exercised the supreme authority over the Khilāfat

Abū-l-Ḥasan, son of Buwiah, instituted many excellent regulations which he carried out, and he caused the whole of the depopulated and dilapidated parts of Baghdād to be restored and rendered habitable He also abolished a custom whereby each quarter of the city possessed a separate prison of its own, and had them all demolished On the son of Abū-l-Hayjā [4] he conferred the fief of Mūṣil, and to his brother, 'Alī, son of Buwiah, he gave the title of 'Imād-ud-Daulah, and to another brother, Ḥasan, that of Rukn-ud-Daulah, and day by day the sovereignty of the family of Buwiah began to prosper uninterruptedly

II AL-HASAN[5], SON OF BUWĪAH, UD-DĪLAMĪ

He was Amīr of Hamadān and Rai, and was a person of great manliness and generosity, and he entertained a large number of troops in his pay, and possessed great military resources The whole of the men of Dīlam, both high and low, were obedient to his authority He had several[6] talented and warlike sons grown up, the name of one of whom was Fakhr-ud-Daulah, 'Alī, son of Al Ḥasan, and of the second, Muayyid-ud-Daulah, Buwiah Fakhr-ud-Daulah, 'Alī, was Amīr of 'Irāk, to whom Shams-ul-Ma'ālī, Ḳābūs-i-Washm-gir, went for protection, and sought his assistance, and Fakhr-ud-Daulah accordingly marched to Nīshāpūr for that purpose, and Muayyid-ud-Daulah had

[4] Only two copies of the MSS collated are altogether free from a great blunder, contained in the text here 'Imād-ud-Daulah whom our author styles Fakhr-ud-Daulah, the first sovereign prince of the dynasty, had no offspring, hence he could not have conferred the government of Mūṣil on "*his*" son, Abū-l-Hayjā," as the R A S MS and I O L MS No 1952 have. Other writers, very properly, state that these titles were conferred by the Khalīfahs. Abū-l Hayjā is a totally distinct person

[5] His correct name is Abū l-Husain-i-Aḥmad, and his title was Mu'izz-ud-Daulah His elder brother was called Abū l Hasan-i- Alī, as previously stated

[6] Only two sons are mentioned by our author The I O L MS No 1952, and the R A S MS also, contains but *one* name 'Uẓd-ud-Daulah, Abū Shujā'-i-Fanā Khusrau, the eldest of the sons, who was accounted "the cream" of the Buwīah family, is not mentioned here An account of his reign, however, is given at page 61

several engagements with them, the events of which Ṣābī has mentioned in his History.

III BAKHTYĀR, SON OF AL-ḤASAN[8], SON OF BUWĪAH, DĪLAMĪ

On the death of his father he took possession of Baghdād and directed the affairs of government after the manner o his father, and acquired great power and dominion

As soon as he had become firmly established in hi authority, the Khalīfah, Al-Mutī'u-L'illah, preferred a re quest to him respecting the sedition and discord caused by the Karāmitah sect of schismatics, which had assumed great proportions throughout the empire of Islām, and urged him to assemble forces and suppress them, and uproot them utterly Bakhtyār, however, did not pay attention to the solicitations of the Khalīfah, and, consequently, enmity arose between them Matters assumed such an aspect that Bakhtyār was not safe from the designs of Al-Mutī'u-L'illah, and the informers of Bakhtyār warned him that the Khalīfah meditated treachery towards him Bakhtyār sought his opportunity, according to the statement contained in the History of Ibn-Haiṣam, and assembled together all the Ḳāzīs and 'Ulamā—judges,

[7] The oldest MS has Zīā yī, but one of the others has Ṣābī, and another Ṣāfī, which is one and the same thing, and I also find Guzīdah quotes, as one of its authorities, the Kitāb-i Nājī of Ṣābī-i Dabīr, or Sābī, the secretary, and, among the events recorded in Faṣiḥ-ī in the year 365 H, is the death of Ṣābit, son of Sinān, son of Sābit, son of Ḳurrah, surnamed Abū Kurrah, *us-Sābi*, in the month of Zī-Ka'dah, the *author* of the Ṣannafah ut Tārīkh, containing a history of events between the years 195 H, and 343 H This, no doubt, is the author referred to by the Tārīkh i-Guzīdah, and our author

[8] As before stated, the father of Bakhtyār was named Abū-l Husain-i-Aḥmad, son of Buwīah, and his title was Mu'izz-ud-Daulah Bakhtyār's title was 'Izz-ud Daulah, Abū Manṣūr i Bakhtyār Mu'izz-ud-Daulah, the father of Bakht-yār, died at Baghdād, of which he was ruler on the part of his nephew, Amīr 'Uẓd-ud-Daulah, the head of the dynasty, on the 1st of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 356 H, but, according to other writers, on the 16th of that month. He was known by the name of Ikṭa', having lost his left hand, and the fingers of his right, in an affair with the Kurds of Kirmān according to the Tārīkh-i-Yāfa'ī, but other writers say, with the Kūch and Baluch, a nomad tribe [two tribes] then inhabiting a portion of Kirmān, according to the Burhān Ḳāṭi', and from whom the present Balūchīs are descended Kūch in Persian, among other meanings, signifies a *nomad*, and in the Afghān language, Kochaey, which some persons, who know no better, imagine to be the name of an Afghān tribe, signifies "pastoral" or "nomad."

lawyers, and ecclesiastics—and transferred the office of Khalîfah * to the son of Al-Muṭî'u-L'illah whose name was Abū-Bikr-i-'Abd-ul-Ḳarîm, and gave him the title of Uṭ-Ṭā-î'u-L'illah. As soon as he was installed in the Khilāfat, he gave his daughter [1] in marriage to Bakhtyār, Buwîah, and he became the chamberlain and lieutenant of the Khilāfat.

Soon after this dignity was conferred upon Bakhtyār, he set out for Āhwāz in order to levy the revenues and taxes. Sabuk-Tigîn, Chāshnî-gîr, [cup-bearer or taster] who was Bakhtyār's deputy, began to act insubordinately towards his master, and took the power out of his hands [2].

IV. FANĀ KHUSRAU [3], SON OF AL-ḤASAN, SON OF BUWÎAH, DÎLAMÎ

The title borne by Fanā Khusrau was 'Uzd-ud-Daulah [4], and he was a proud and haughty prince, but was, at the same time, endowed with great intellect and valour

The direction of the affairs of the country, and the different forces were left under his control, and the whole of the property and treasure of the dependencies of the Dār-

* The author himself states, in his account of the Khalîfahs, Section IV, that Al-Muṭî'u-L'illah abdicated in favour of his son, in 363 H, on account of his infirmities. Other historians confirm it, but, in Faṣîḥ-î, it is said that he abdicated at the end of Muḥarram, 364 H, having previously been stricken with palsy, and died two months afterwards It must also be remembered that the Buwîah rulers were Shî'ahs, hence probably their severity towards the Khalîfahs.

[1] Her name was Shāh-i-Zamān, and she had a dowry of 100,000 dînārs.

[2] See note *, at page 63

[3] Al-Fanākatî considers Fanā Khusrau third prince of the dynasty

[4] In 366 H, Rukn-ud-Daulah, Abū 'Alî-i-Ḥasan, son of Buwîah, brother of 'Imād ud-Daulah, the founder of the dynasty, died Some say he died in 365 H. He had succeeded his elder brother, 'Imād-ud Daulah, who died without issue, in the sovereignty of Fārs, the sovereign of which was, in that family, considered suzerain over the other two branches, who ruled in 'Irāḳ, and at Baghdād. Rukn-ud-Daulah bequeathed his dominions in the following manner:—To his youngest brother, Mu'izz-ud-Daulah, Aḥmad, he left Kirmān He afterwards became Amîr-ul-Umrā at Baghdād He was the father of Bakhtyār, and our author calls him Al-Ḥasan, and says he was the second prince of the dynasty To 'Uẓd-ud-Daulah, Abū Shujā-'i-Fanā Khusrau, his eldest son, he left the sovereignty of Fārs, and he became the head of the family, and suzerain over all To his second son, Muayyid-ud-Daulah, Abū Naṣr, he left 'Irāḳ and its dependencies, and to his youngest son, Fakhr-ud-Daulah, 'Alî, he bequeathed Rai, Hamadān, Ḳazwîn, and other territory in Āẓarbāîjān

ul-Khilāfat came into his possession The reason of this was, that, when Bakhtyār set out for Āhwāz, to collect the revenue due to the Bait-ul-Māl, or Khalīfah's treasury [5], Sabuk-Tigīn, the Chāshnī-gīr [cup-bearer], who was his deputy at Baghdād, assembled the Turks together, and opposed the authority of Bakhtyār, drove out the Dīlamīs, broke out into open revolt, and began to act in an over-bearing and tyrannical manner They [the Turks and Sabuk-Tigīn] commenced shedding the blood of Musal-māns, and carrying off their females 'Izz-ud-Daulah, Bakhtyār, sent to acquaint his uncle Abū-l-Ḥasan [6], son of Buwīah, who was ruler of Rai, with what had occurred, and to his first cousin, Fanā Khusrau-i-Abū Shujā', who held the government of Fārs, he also gave information, and solicited assistance from both of them A large army was assembled, and Fanā Khusrau came to his aid with the troops of Fārs, and Abū-l-Ḥasan, his uncle, despatched his forces to co-operate with them

The combined troops marched towards Baghdād, and Sabuk-Tigīn, with the Turks and other forces, moved out of Baghdād, and advanced to meet them When Sabuk-Tigīn and his adherents reached the village of 'Ākūl [7], he was taken ill, and died after four days. The Turks were defeated, and they took along with them from Baghdād, the Lord of the Faithful, Ut-Tā-i'u-L'illah, and marched towards Nahrwān, in order again to encounter Fanā Khusrau They were defeated a second time, however, and retired towards Mūsil

Fanā Khusrau entered Baghdād, and found with respect to the affairs of his cousin, Bakhtyār, that he was in the habit of passing his time in gaiety and pleasure, and that he was no longer fit for and capable of directing the affairs of government He therefore seized Bakhtyār, and put him in durance The latter sent a letter of complaint to his uncle, Abū-l-Ḥasan, son of Buwīah, the father of Fanā Khusrau, ruler of Rai, saying "Your son, Fanā Khusrau, has seized me without cause or reason, and has imprisoned me."

[5] Intended, according to the Kur'ān, "For God, His Apostle, his kindred, the orphan, the poor, and travellers"

[6] As before stated, the name of Rukn-ud-Daulah, the uncle of Bakhtyār, was Abū 'Alī-i Hasan

[7] A small town or village in the Mūṣil [not Mosal] territory

The father of Fanā Khusrau issued a mandate to his son, directing him to set Bakhtyār at liberty. This he did, and he [Fanā Khusrau] returned to Fārs, but, when his father died, Fanā Khusrau proceeded to Baghdād, again seized Bakhtyār, and put him to death, after which he took possession of the territory of Baghdād, and the control of the affairs of the Khilāfat [8].

He entered into a compact with the Sāmānī Amīrs for the mountain tracts, or Highlands of 'Irāk, as far as Tabaristān, of which he received the tenure from them, at the rate of one thousand dīnārs per day.

Fanā Khusrau ruled with vigour and energy, and, as before stated, was excessively proud, but of great spirit and resolution He had, however, great dread of death, so much so that not a soul dared to mention before his throne, in any way, the name of the Gor-i-Dashtī, or Wild Ass, because Gor also signifies a grave, and it is stated that he commanded that all graveyards should be enclosed with lofty walls, so that his eyes might not behold a grave. Of his pride and grandeur the following is a specimen After his decease, eight thousand napkins and handkerchiefs, of great price and fineness of fabric, befitting a king, were found, belonging to him, of brocade, linen, and Egyptian *tūzī* [9], threaded and embroidered with gold, and ornamented with jewels, with which he was wont to wipe his mouth and nose, and which fetched the price of 50,000 dīnārs of gold

When his end drew near, he affixed his seal to mandates and decrees, which he gave into the hands of his secretary, directing him to fill them up according to the best of his own ability and judgment, and to issue, and carry them into execution, and not to let people know of his death For a period of four months his decease was kept con-

[8] 'Izz-ud-Daulah, Abū Manṣūr-i-Bakhtyār, is said, by the author of the Mujmal-i-Faṣīḥ-ī, to have ended his days at Baghdād, in 367 H, having been put to death by his nephew, 'Uẓd ud-Daulah, Abū Shujā'-i Fanā Khusrau, after he had ruled there for a period of eleven years and some months, at the age of thirty-six, and Bahā ud Daulah, Khusrau Fīrūz, son of 'Uẓd-ud Daulah, his nephew, succeeded him as ruler of Baghdād

[9] The name of an expensive and fine fabric so called from being the peculiar manufacture of a town or city of that name, now in ruins. It is said to have been manufactured from flax, but *tūz* is also the name of the bark of a tree like the papyrus.

cealed, and they continued to place his corpse upon the throne, so that people, from a distance, could see him, as they supposed, as usual When his end drew near, he directed that ashes should be spread upon the floor, in which he rolled about exclaiming, "What advantageth all my wealth and my sovereignty, since death has overcome me!" until he ceased to be

His death took place in the month of Ramaẓān, in the year 372 H [1] The Almighty alone is eternal.

V AL MARZABAN, SON OF FANĀ KHUSRAU, DĪLAMĪ

On the decease of his father 'Uzd-ud-Daulah, the Khalīfah, Ut-Tā-i'u-L'illah, conferred upon him the title of Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah, and raised him to his father's office [2]

The Khalīfah treated him with great esteem and distinction He embarked on board a vessel on the river Dijlah [Tigris] and proceeded to the palace of Fanā Khusrau, and paid a visit of consolation and condolence to his son, Marzabān, and conferred considerable honours and dignities upon him The Khalīfah left the administration of affairs in his hands, and showed great respect and honour towards

[1] 'Uẓd-ud-Daulah died, it is said, at Shīrāz, his capital, although Guzīdah says, at Baghdād, which is not probable, 15th of Ramaẓān, 372 H He was buried in the Mashhad, or sepulchre, [especially for those killed fighting for their religion] of the Khalīfah 'Alī, and his son Imām Ḥusain, which was one of the buildings founded by him The same illustrious prince also founded the great hospital at Baghdād, and liberally endowed it, and the great embankment over [as the historian from whom I quote says] the river Kur, the like of which there is not in the world, called the Band-i-Āmīr This is the same structure that Mac D Kinneir refers to in his "Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire" He says, "The *river* Bund-Emeer [sic] takes its name from a dyke [in Persian a *bund*] erected by the celebrated Ameer Azad-a-Daulah, Delemi" [!]

Among other great works carried out by him were a town founded opposite Shīrāz, named Sūḳ-i-Amīr [plural of Sāḳ, a market, &c.], the walls of Madīnah, and a splendid Sarāe or palace, at Baghdād, called the Sarāe-i-Sulṭān He was succeeded, in the government of Baghdād, by his son, Ṣamṣām ud Daulah, Al Marzabān, which latter word is derived from *marz*, a boundary, border, &c, and signifies the governor of a frontier, and the like He is also called Abū-Kālinjār, and sometimes Kānjār, the meaning or derivation of which, the Burhān Ḳāṭi', the Farang-i-Jahāngīrī, and other works, do not give Kāljār, in Persian, signifies war, battle, &c

[2] This is absurd, for the Khalīfahs had long before been stripped of all power, and were mere shadows of sovereignty

him. He [Marzabān] exercised the authority at Baghdād until his brother, Abū-l-Fawāris, rose against him [3].

VI ABŪ-L-FAWĀRIS, MĀKĀN [4], SON OF FANĀ KHUSRAU, DĪLAMĪ

He was ruler of Kirmān, and, when he became aware of the death of his father, and heard of the exalted position of his brother at the Dār-ul-Khilāfat, he assembled troops in Kirmān, and entered Fārs, and seized upon that territory. He then advanced to Āhwāz, and possessed himself of that likewise, having expelled from thence his brother Abī-ul-Ḥasan-i-Abī Shujā', son of Fanā Khusrau, and then he pushed on to Baṣrah Having gained possession of that place he marched towards Baghdād.

When the news of his approach, and his designs, reached Baghdād, his brother, Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah, Marzabān, son of Fanā Khusrau, came out and waited on him, in order to show his submission and pay him homage. Abū-l-Fawāris-i-Mākān seized his brother, and deprived him of his sight [5].

Enmity and hostility now arose between the Turks and Dīlamīs, and the Turks of Baghdād overcame their opponents, and of the Dīlamīs about 4000 men were slain by them After a short time, however, Abū-l-Fawāris overthrew them, and entered Baghdād, and assumed the administration of the affairs of the Dār-ul-Khilāfat The Khalīfah, Ut-Ṭā-ī'u-L'illah, conferred upon him the title of Sharaf-ud-Daulah [6]

After him, the author has not found any annals respecting the Dīālamah such as he could write down What

[3] In the year 375 H

[4] His correct titles and name are, Sharaf-ud Daulah, Abū-l-Fawāris-i-Shīr Zail, son of 'Uẓd-ud-Daulah All the copies of the work have "Mākān," but it is not mentioned by any other writer that I am acquainted with

[5] He was imprisoned in the fortress of 'Ummān after being blinded in 375 H, and on the death of Sharaf-ud-Daulah, who had dethroned him, he was again brought forth, blind as he was, and reinstated After about nine months, Shams-ud-Daulah, 'Alī, son of Sharaf-ud-Daulah, rose against him, whom he defeated in 379 H, but Bahā-ud-Daulah now rose against him, and civil contention continued for some time, till, in 380 H, the sons of 'Izz-ud-Daulah, Bakhtyār, put him to death

[6] Sharaf-ud-Daulah, and Zain ul-Millat, in 377 H He died in the month of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 379 H, after reigning seven years over Kirmān, and six months at Baghdād.

was contained in histories, and what came to his hearing, has been entered herein, so that this work may not be without mention of those princes, and he hopes that those who may peruse it will extend pardon and indulgence to the author for any shortcomings[7]

[7] The dynasty of the Buwīahs did not terminate until 459 H., or eighty two years after the date of our author's account of them, when it fell before the power of the Saljūḳs His great mistake throughout has been in not keeping the rulers of Fārs, 'Irāḳ, and Kirmān, separate from those who ruled at Baghdād Al-Fanākatī gives a more accurate account of this dynasty, although a very abridged one The last of the family was Abū 'Alī-i-Kai-khusrau, son of 'Izz ul-Mulūk, who died in 487 H., and who submitted to Alb-Arsalān, and had a small tract of territory assigned to him

SECTION XI.

THE DYNASTY OF THE YAMĪNĪAH[1], AL-MAḤMŪDĪAH SOVEREIGNS OF THE RACE OF SABUK-TIGĪN

THE pages of this section[2] are devoted to the mention of the Maliks and Sultāns of the dynasty of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Sabuk-Tigīn, and of Sulṭān Yamīn-ud-Daulah, Niẓām-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Ḳāsim, Maḥmūd, the Conqueror, and to the description of the events in their lives, to an account of their lineage, to the record of their justice and equity, and the incidents in their reigns, to the vicissitudes and changes in the fortunes, and the dominion of the sovereigns of that family of exalted power and might, from the outset of the career of the Amīr-i-Ghāzī, Sabuk-Tigīn, to the end of the reign of Khusrau Malik, the last of that dynasty of kings, in an abridged and concise form, in order that this Ṭabakāt of kings and nobles may be illumined by the mention of their lineage and their titles, and the pages of this history be adorned and ennobled by the relation of the deeds of those sovereigns of Islām, whom may the light of Almighty God illumine!

Imām Abū-l-Faẓl, Al-Ḥasan-i-Baihaḳī[3], in his chronicle

[1] So called from Maḥmūd's title of Yamīn-ud Daulah

[2] The printed edition of the TABAḲĀT-I NAṢIRĪ, edited by Lieut.-Colonel W N Lees, LL D, and his Maulawīs, commences from this Section It forms No 42—50 of the BIBLIOTHECA INDICA, New Series. I have been unable to make any use of it for a very cogent reason, that not a page of it is correct Whole sentences are often wanting, and, at times, much more, and the names of persons and places are frequently wrongly spelt The work, however, appears to have been printed from the text of the MS No. 1952 of the India Office Library, and the Royal Asiatic Society's MS, to which I have before alluded, both of which are the most defective and incorrect of any I have collated The same errors occur in each, in nearly every instance. To restore the text would be impossible without entirely reprinting the work. I may say, however, that the state of most of the MSS I have collated is such that it would be impossible to give any thing like a correct version without examining the number of copies which I have been so fortunate as to find in different Libraries, and others which have been placed at my disposal through the kindness of their owners, and of the Imperial Russian Government in particular

[3] So called from Baihaḳ, the name of his native town, which is also called Muḳir, in Zāwulistān. His correct name will be found in note [9], page 87 The passage above quoted may have been contained in the first portion of his work, but is not to be found in what has been preserved, as far as we know.

entitled "Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī," relates the following tradition told him by the august Sultān Maḥmūd himself, which the latter had heard from his father, the Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn, [namely] that his [Sabuk-Tigīn's] father used to be called by the name of Ḳarā Baḥ-kam; and that his [proper] name was Ḥūḳ; and that Ghar-ghāū in the Turkish language is called Bah-kam, and that the meaning of Ḳarā Baḥ-kam would be the Black Tātar Bull[4], and every where that the

[4] In eight copies of the text the words قرا عکم occur, and of this number one MS says, that these *Turkish* words mean سياه عشر علو but all the other copies differ. In the very old MS previously referred to, which copy I shall here call No. 1 MS., the passage stands as follows —

No.

1 قرا بحکم کفتدي و نامش حوق بود و غرغاؤ را ترکي عکم خوانند و معني قرا عکم سياه عرغاؤ باشد

2 „ „ . . . . حرق . عشره علو . . . . „ „ سياه عشره علو „

*3 „ „ . . . . . حرق عشر علو . . . . „ „ سياه عشر علو „

†4 „ „ . . . حرق . . عرعاو . . . . . „ „ ساه عشرعاو „

5 „ „ . . حرق . . عرعاو . . . „ „ سياه عرعاو „

6 „ „ . . حوق . „ . . „ „ سياه عوعاو „

7 „ „ . حوق . . عرعاؤ . . . . „ „ سياه عوعا „

8 „ „ . „ . . عروعا . . . . . „ „ قرار بحکم سياه عرعار „

‡9 „ „ قرار عکم . . حوں . . عرعار . . قرا „ „ عرعاً „

The printed text is similar to No. 7, except that it has غوغا in both instances. The I. O. L. MS. No. 1952, the R. A. S. MS., and the St. Petersburg MS. No. 572 Abb., are all alike defective here, being *minus only nine words*. I shall call them Nos. 10, 11, and 12 respectively —

10 قرا عکم کفتدي و معي قرا بحکم ساه عشر علو باشد

11 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ سياه „ „ „

12 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ سياه عژو عاو „

13 The St. Petersburg Imp. Bibl. Pub. MS. is very defective here, and has lost several pages.

* Paris MS. 181 † Paris MS. 182 ‡ St. Petersburg MS. No. 572 Ab.

Turks, in Turkistān, heard his name mentioned, they fled before him on account of his energy and valour.

Imām Muḥammad 'Alī, Abū-l-Ḳāsim, 'Imādī*, in his work, the "Tārīkh-i-Majdūl," states, that Amīr Sabuk-

It will be noticed that four copies say his name was حرق [Ḥarḳ, or Ḥurḳ], which might possibly be read حوق [Ḥūḳ, or Ḥauḳ], as in the two best copies, whilst in two other copies the word is جوق [Jūḳ, or Jauḳ], and in another جون [Jūn]. Then comes the signification of the Turkish word, as it is called, عكم In five copies, it is said to mean قرغاؤ in one غرغار in another هشرفاو in a third هو هاو in three others عشر علو and in one عشره علو The printed text has غوغا The Arabic words قرار عكم contained in two copies of the text—in one of the best and one of the most modern—would be intelligible enough, but we are told that the words, whether قرار or قرا عكم are Turkish, and that they signify قرغاؤ—قرغار— غوغا—عشر عاو [of the printed text], هو علو—عشر هاو and عشره علو whichever we choose to select, and we must presume that these words are intended for the Persian equivalents of the Turkish The word *must* be غوغاو—Ghajz-ghāo—also written غزغا—Ghajz-ghā, and, at times, غزغاو—Ghaz-ghāo, and as غ in the Persian language is permutable to گ the words are, and may be respectively written, گزغاو—گزگاو—گزغ or گزگا signifying a Khiṭā'ī *bull*—the Yāk [Bos Grunniens], found in the vast mountain tracts of Central Asia, north of Hindūstān, the tail of which is fastened to the manes and necks of horses, and as an ornament to Tartar and Turkish standards [hence "a Pachah" of so many "tails"] The author from whom I take this says, "Its real name is Gāo-i-Khiṭā'ī, the Khiṭā'ī bull, and is called κῆτος by the Rūmīs [Greeks], who say it is a '*sea-horse*' It is also called the 'Silk Bull,' as غز and گز also signify silk" The word قرا or, more correctly, قره is, of course, the Turkish for *black*, in Persian سياه In Elliott's INDIA, vol ii, p 266, the passage in question is thus translated "His [Subuktigīn's] father was called *Jauk* [troop], and in Turki they call a troop *bahkam* [on whose authority, I wonder?] so that the meaning of the name *Kará-bahkam* is black troop"

From this it will be seen that the translator has discarded altogether, both عشر علو of MSS 10 and 11, and غوغا of the printed text, and has given the person's Turkish *real* name as the equivalent [the Persian equivalent, it must be supposed] of his Turkish *nick*-name, so according to this theory جوق means troop, and عكم *also* means troop, but what becomes of the Persian translation سياه غوغا &c, the translator sayeth not! Jauḳ, however, is *Arabic* for a party, a troop, &c, but what عكم may mean, remains to be proved I have an idea, however, from the manner in which the word is written, in one place, in one of the MSS, viz عكم—Baj-kam, that حكم—Baḥ kam—is an error of some early copyist [but ج and ح are interchangeable] for چكم—Bach-kam, "*a wolf*," which word is used, but not commonly, in Persian, and probably is Turkish, and it is not impossible that the author quoted may have been under the impression that a Khiṭā'ī bull was the same beast as گرگ—Gurg, *a wolf*, and, therefore, I am inclined to think that the correct interpretation is, that Sabuk-Tigīn's father was called in Turkish, the Black Wolf meaning a soldier of [*black* being expressive of excess, &c] excessive fierceness and daring This reading, as I have said before, is not certain, but I do not think any thing more intelligible can be made of it without Baihaḳī's work to refer to, but that portion does not appear to be in existence

* A few copies have حمادی [Ḥamādī], which is incorrect

Tigīn was a descendant of Yazdijurd-i-Shahryār—the last of the sovereigns of Persia—and, that, at the time that Yazdijurd was murdered in the mill in the territory of Marw, which was during the Khilāfat of the Lord of the Faithful, 'Usmān, the family and dependents of Yazdijurd fled before the troops of Islām into Turkistān, and reached the frontier district of Nakhistān[6] in that territory, and there took up their residence, and intermarried with the people After two or three generations had passed away, they[7] became Turks, and their palaces are still standing in that country[8]

The pedigree of Sabuk-Tigīn is given in the above history after the manner in which it is here entered, in order that it may come under the notice of the king of the world[9]—May the Almighty perpetuate his sovereignty! —and of such others as may peruse this work, viz —Sabuk-Tigīn, son of Ḥūk-i-Ḳarā Bah-kam, son of Ḳarah [Ḳarā ?] Arsalān, son of Ḳarah [Karā ?] Mallat [or Millat], son of Ḳarā Na'mān, son of Fīrūz-i-Bam-sinjān [?], or Barsinjān [?][1], son of Yazdijurd-i-Shahryār, or Yazdijurd, the king

I AMĪR-UL-GHĀZĪ[2], NĀṢIR-UD-DĪN-ULLAH, SABUK-TIGĪN

Imām Abū-l-Fazl-i-Baihakī states that, during the reign of Abd-ul-Malik-i-Nūh, the Sāmānī, there was a merchant named Naṣr, the Ḥājī [pilgrim], who purchased Sabuk-

[6] [illegible] but in three copies [illegible] and in one [illegible] I am not satisfied that this name is correct, still five copies of the work agree in the reading above Both the I O L MS No 1952, the R A S MS, and the Petersburg copy 572 Abb are minus another *nine words* here, and the printed text is the same The place is not mentioned in Masālik wa Mamālik or Aṣār ul-Bilād

[7] Their descendants doubtless

[8] Another writer states that Ḳarā Fīrūz, the fifth ancestor of Sabuk-Tigīn, who was son of Yazdijurd, became ruined during the Khilāfat of 'Uṣmān, left his country, and retired into Turkistān, and there his descendants continued to dwell until 335 H, when Alb-Tigīn made an incursion into that country He carried off from thence three thousand captives, and among them was Sabuk-Tigīn Another author states that Alb-Tigīn purchased Sabuk-Tigīn at Nīshāpūr, when stationed there in command of the Sāmānī forces

[9] "The king of the world," here referred to by the author, is that shadow of a monarch to whom he dedicated his work It is a very slight specimen of his slavish flattery of him, and of others

[1] This name occurs in eight MSS, but none of them are very distinct. one has Bar-sinjā, son of Parwīz, son of Yazdijurd

[2] Ghāzī signifies a conqueror, one who makes war upon infidels

Tigīn and brought him to Bukhārā Perceiving in his countenance evident signs of capacity and energy, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib [Lord Chamberlain], Alb-Tigīn, purchased him[3] He accompanied his master into Ṭukhāristān, when the government of that territory was entrusted to him, and subsequently, when the government of Khurāsān[4] was made over to Amīr Alb-Tigīn, Sabuk-Tigīn attended him thither also After some time had passed away, Alb-Tigīn, through the vicissitudes of fortune, retired towards Ghaznīn, and subdued the territory of Zāwulistān, and wrested Ghaznīn out of the hands of Amīr Abū-Bikr-i-Lawīk[5]

Eight years subsequently to these events Amīr Alb-Tigīn died, and his son, Is-hāk, succeeded to his father's authority. He entered into hostilities against Lawīk, but was defeated, and retired to Bukhārā, to the court of Amīr Manṣūr, son of Nūḥ, Sāmānī, and there continued until

[3] See note [6], page 70

[4] See under the reign of Manṣūr, son of Nūḥ, the eighth sovereign of the Sāmānī dynasty

[5] "In the year 322 H, Alb-Tigīn, the Turk, the slave of the Sāmānī dynasty, took Ghaznīn, and Lawīk, the Wālī [the word here signifies a chief or sovereign, as he does not appear to have been subject to the Sāmānīs] of that territory, fled" Nothing more is mentioned respecting Alb-Tigīn, in the work from which I have extracted these occurrences, until 346 H There had been repeated changes in the government of Hirāt for some time past, and considerable disorder had arisen therein "In 346 H," I find that "Abū Manṣūr, son of 'Abd-ur-Razzāķ, the Wālī of Hirāt and its dependencies, gave up his appointment, and withdrew to Ṭūs again, in consequence of which great agitation and commotion arose at Hirāt." On this becoming known to the Sāmānī court, the Ḥājib, Alb-Tigīn, who appears from this to have administered the affairs of Ghaznīn since 322 H, was entrusted with the government He sent to Hirāt, as his deputy, Is-ḥāķ-i-Ṭāhirī, but he was very shortly removed, and Ḥasan, son of Rībāl, was sent to replace him In 350 H Abū-l-Ḥasan-i-Sīmjūr was sent to govern Hirāt, and, in the following year, having been promoted to the rank of Ṣāḥib-ul-Jaish [Commander-in Chief of an army], he proceeded to Nīshāpūr, and was succeeded, at Hirāt, by Abū-l-Ḥasan, son of 'Umro, Fāryābī After he had held it four months the government was bestowed upon Ṭalḥah, son of Muḥammad, Nisā'ī In the following year, "352 H, Alb-Tigīn, the Turk, died at Ghaznīn, and was succeeded in the government by his son, Is-ḥāķ," subordinate, of course, to the Sāmānī sovereigns, although Mr E Thomas, in his paper "On the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni," in Ro As Soc Journal for 1859, styles them *kings* and speaks of their *reigns*, when they were merely subordinate governors The most astonishing thing, however, is, how our author makes out that Alb-Tigīn died *eight* years after his seizure of Ghaznīn From 322 to 352 H is a period of *thirty* years, but then he generally eschews dates According to Faṣīḥ-ī and others, Alb-Tigīn was born in 267 H, and died in the year above-mentioned

that ruler directed that aid should be afforded to him, when Is-ḥāḳ came back again to Ghaznīn, and regained possession of it. After a year Is-ḥāḳ died[6], when Balkā-

[6] Is-ḥāk succeeded his father in the government in 352 H., and died in 355 H., and so ruled for about *four* years. Among the events of the year 353 H., Faṣiḥ-ī mentions that "Amīr Is-ḥāḳ, son of Alb-Tigīn, attended by Sabuk-Tigīn, his father's slave—who is mentioned for the first time in that work—fled from Ghaznīn, and proceeded to Bukhārā, and obtained the investiture of the government of that province from the Sāmānī sovereign." In the following year, 354 H., the same work states that "Is-ḥāḳ, son of Alb-Tigīn, the Turk, the slave of the house of Sāmānī, returned to Ghaznīn again, and fought against Lawīk [this name is also confirmed by other writers, and there is no doubt of its correctness], who, previously, had been Wālī [sovereign or chief], of Ghaznīn, and had been ousted by Alb-Tigīn. When Is-ḥāḳ retired to Samrḳand, Lawīk returned to Ghaznīn, but now that Is-ḥāḳ had come back again, Lawīk again fled."

Mr. Thomas, in his paper just referred to, trusting implicitly, it would seem, to the I. O. L. MS. No. 1952, and the R. A. S. copy of our author's work, calls *Amīr*, Abū Bikr-i-Lawīk, "*the Anūk*." In those two MSS. *Amīr*, Abū Bikr, is left out altogether, but occurs in the other MSS., although some have اوبك انوك and الوك instead of لويك yet in a note Mr. Thomas says,—"*I propose with but slight hesitation a rectification of the orthography to* لغان *or 'Lumghán,' the Lampagæ of classical writers,*" from a *personal* to a *local* name! Into what mazes of error do not the "classical writers" draw their disciples as regards Oriental history! See note E., Elliott's INDIA, vol. ii., last par., which is quite to the point.

On the death of Is-ḥāḳ, Balkā-Tigīn, the slave of Alb-Tigīn, succeeded to the government of Ghaznīn, by order of Amīr Nūḥ, son of Naṣr, the Sāmānī sovereign. Balkā-Tigīn died in 362 H., after being governor *eight* years. Mr. Thomas, on this passage in our author, in which the latter says Balkā-Tigīn ruled *ten* years, remarks: "Two copies [of the work], out of the three I have at this moment the opportunity of consulting, give *ten* instead of *two* [years], the former, however, is a palpable error." I wonder on which side the error lies really? This is not all. In his remarks on the "coin of Manṣūr, son of Nūḥ, with the name of Balkā-Tigīn under the symbol, on the *obverse*," Mr. Thomas gives a translation of his Excellency, State Counsellor Von Dorn's description, and a woodcut of it, contained in the St. Petersburg Journal. If the translation is correct, of which there can be but little doubt, his Excellency must have been somewhat in the dark respecting the Sāmānīs, and their connexion with Ghaznīn, which formed part of their dominions. What I refer to is this: "History mentions only the conquest of Alp-Tigīn, but is *silent in regard to the rule of the Sámánīs in Ghazna*. We see from our coin that Balká, or Bulká-Tagīn, in the year A.H. 359 was *chief of the Sámání party in this city*. His name appears already on the Balkh coins of A.H. 324. Subsequently *he passed over to Alptegīn's cause* [!] became chamberlain under Abú Isháḳ, and is said to have ascended the throne after the death of the latter in A.H. 365." This is absurd. What sort of *history* can it be that is silent in regard to the rule of "the Sámánīs in Ghaznīn," when it formed an integral part of their empire? Balkā-Tigīn, in 324 H., was governor of the province of which Balkh was the seat of government, hence his name on the coin referred to.

Tigîn, who was the chief or commander of the Turkish troops, was raised to the government. He was a just and pious man, and one of the greatest warriors of his time. He exercised the authority for a period of ten years, and died. Sabuk-Tigîn was in his service.

After the death of Amîr Balkā-Tigîn, Pîrey succeeded to the authority[7]. He was a great villain, and a body of people wrote from Ghaznîn to Abū 'Alî-i-Lawîk, and invited him to come there. Abū 'Alî-i-Lawîk acceded to their request, and brought along with him the son of the Shāh, or king, of Kābul to assist him When they reached the vicinity of Charkh[8], Sabuk-Tigîn, with a body of five hundred Turks, suddenly fell upon them, and defeated them, killed a great number of their followers, took them captive also, and slew them. He also captured ten elephants, and brought them to Ghaznîn.

Such a great success having been gained by Sabuk-Tigîn, and all having become quite sated with the villainies and misdeeds of Pîrey, with one accord, they raised Sabuk-Tigîn to the direction of affairs. On Friday, the 27th of the month of Sha'bān, 366 H.[9], Amîr

[7] Our author is quite correct as to Pîrey, but gives no details or dates. I will furnish them "On the death of Balkā-Tigîn, in 362 H, Pîrey, the slave of Alb-Tigîn [as was his predecessor and successor also], obtained the government In the following year, 363 H, Pîrey, the Wālî of Ghaznîn, with the help of Sabuk-Tigîn, fought a battle with a body of infidels who had advanced out of Hind for the purpose of seizing Ghaznîn, overthrew them, and despoiled them. This event is confirmed from other annals In the year 367 H Pîrey was deposed from the government [as our author records], and the government passed to Sabuk-Tigîn." He was confirmed by the Sāmānî ruler, but soon after, on the decline of their power, became independent in all things, except, perhaps, in name

The "Kitāb," or "Tārîkh-i-Yamînî," which is considered to be a very trustworthy and authentic history, contains, judging from Reynold's version, not one word about Sabuk-Tigîn having been Alb-Tigîn's *slave*, although probably transferred as such to Balkā-Tigîn, and his son Is-ḥāk, and makes no mention of the government of Amîr Pîrey, although he ruled over the province of Ghaznîn for just *five* years

[8] A well known place situated a few miles from the right or east bank of the Lohgar river on one of the routes between Kābul and Ghaznîn Abū-l-Faẓl, the secretary, mentions in the Ā'în-i-Akbarî, that Charkh is so called after a pious man, one Maulānā-i-Charkhî

[9] Faṣiḥ-î says this took place in 367 H., the same year that 'Izz-ud-Daulah, Abū Manṣūr-i-Bakhtyār, Buwîah, was put to death at Baghdād. See page 63 In the same year Sabuk-Tigîn appointed Abū-l-'Abbās, Al-Faẓl-i-Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, Al-Isfarāînî, his Wazîr He had acted

Sabuk-Tigīn, with a scarlet canopy held over him, and attended by a large following with standards, came down from the citadel, and proceeded to the Jāmi' Masjid, or Great Mosque, and the administration of the government and the sovereignty of that province was settled upon him.

Soon after, he put his forces in motion and marched from Ghaznīn towards the adjacent parts, and took possession of the districts of Bust, Zamīn [district] of Dāwar, the Zamīn of Ḳuṣdār, and Bāmīān, all Ṭukhāristān, and Ghūr [1].

On the side of Hind, he overthrew Jai-pāl [2], with numerous elephants and a host of troops, and he rid the Sāmānī family of Bughrā Khān of Kāshghar, and marched to Balkh, and sent back the Amīr of Bukhārā to take re-possession of his throne.

During the time that Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn held the government, great deeds were performed, and he completely put an end to the iniquitous heresy of the Bāṭiniah schismatics in Khurāsān [3].

in the same office to Fāyiḳ-i-Khāṣah, and, after the latter's defeat, Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn took him under his patronage Wazīr does not necessarily mean the minister of a *sovereign* prince *only*, and Sabuk-Tigīn was not yet independent

[1] The mode of spelling the word by its people, and on the authority of the Burhān-i-Ḳāṭi' and other works

[2] "In 369 H, Jai-pāl, 'Bādshāh' of Hind, as he is termed, marched an army towards Ghaznīn to attack Amīr Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Sabuk-Tigīn, but an accommodation was come to, and Jai-pāl again retired" This is quite a different affair from that in which Sabuk-Tigīn assisted Amīr Pīrey, mentioned in a previous note It must be remembered too, that, at this time, the country west of the Indus, between Safid-Koh west, and the Salt-Range on the east, and Hindū-Kush, extending as far west as Kābul, was still under Hindū rule. The Afghāns had not extended northward of the river Kurmah [erroneously called the Kurum and Koorum] at this time

[3] Our author says nothing about the affair of Bust in 370 H, or of Sabuk-Tigīn's raid on the frontier districts of Hind in 376 H, when he carried off many captives and much booty In the same year he took possession of the territory of Kuṣdār In 378 H, Sabuk-Tigīn again encountered Jai-pāl, king of Hind, who was routed, and pursued by him A peace was afterwards concluded, the terms being that "Jai-pāl should cede unto Sabuk-Tigīn *four of the fortresses of Hind on the side of Ghaznīn*, and one hundred elephants" In 380 H, an occurrence took place, which few writers have noticed, namely, the imprisonment of Maḥmūd in the fortress of Ghaznīn, by his father's orders, where he remained until the following year In 382 H Amīr Nūḥ, son of Manṣūr, Sāmānī, reached Hirāt, attended by Sabuk-Tigīn, and marched against Abū 'Alī-i-Sīmjūr, whom they defeated. See page 46, and note. In 384 H Amīr Nūḥ conferred the government of Khurāsān upon Sabuk-Tigīn; and in the same year Amīr Nuḥ defeated Abū-'Alī-i-Sīmjūr at Nīshāpūr. In

In the month of Shawwāl, 384 H., his son, Amír Maḥmūd, was made captain-general of the forces of Khurāsān, and received the title of Saif-ud-Daulah, while Amír Sabuk-Tigín himself received that of Nāṣir-ud-Dín-ullah [4]. Abū-l-Ḥasan-i-Símjūr they defeated and repulsed, and Khurāsān became cleared of their enemies.

Amír Sabuk-Tigín was a man of great valour and intrepidity, just and pious, faithful, true to his word, not avaricious of other men's goods, kind and compassionate to his people, and a discerner between right and wrong; and, in fact, every sign and indication of all such virtues and accomplishments as are desirable in kings and nobles, the Almighty had amply endowed him with. He ruled for a period of twenty years; and was fifty-six years old when he died. His decease took place on the frontier of Balkh, at the village of Madrū-mūe [5], in the year 387 H.

His sons were Ismā'íl [6], Naṣr, Maḥmūd, Ḥusain, Ḥasan, and Yūsuf.

II SULṬĀN-UL-A'ZAM, YAMÍN-UD-DAULAH, NIẒĀM-UD-DÍN, ABŪ-L-ḲĀSIM, MAḤMŪD-I-GHĀZÍ, SON OF SABUK-TIGÍN [7]

Sulṭān Maḥmūd-i-Ghāzí was a great monarch, and was the first among the sovereigns of Islām, who was styled

385 H Sabuk-Tigín defeated Abū 'Alí-i-Símjūr, and Fāyiḳ at Ṭūs. Among the events of the year 387 H. recorded in Faṣiḥ-í, are the deaths of Amír Nūḥ, son of Manṣūr, Sāmāní, and Nāṣir-ud-dín, Sabuk-Tigín, the Mawlā, or manumitted slave of the house of Sāmāní.

[4] From the Sāmāní sovereigns, see page 47 Abū 'Alí, the *son* of Abū Ḥasan-i-Símjūr was the person who defeated · Abū-l-Ḥasan, the father, had died previously See pages 45 and 48.

[5] This name is written in various ways:—Barmal-Madrūe, Madrūe, Madríwí, and, in one MS., Tirmaz. In the translation of Yamíní, p 201, it is said that a palace [!] was erected at the place where he died, and that it was named Sahl-ábád. Baihaḳí says his tomb is at Afghān-Shāl, a place mentioned by Bābar.

[6] Ismā'íl succeeded his father, but our author ignores him as a sovereign, which is not correct, for Ismā'íl was only dethroned in 389 H, two years after the decease of his father, by Maḥmūd, who sent him to the fortress of Kālinjar, "now known as Talwārah," according to Faṣiḥ-í The same authority states · "some say Ismā'íl was confined in the fortress of Jūzjānān." Fanākatí states that Maḥmūd succeeded in 388 H., and that Ismā'íl was sent to a fortress in 389 H.

[7] Baiẓawí considers Maḥmūd to be the first sovereign of this dynasty.

Sulṭān[8] by the Court of the Khalīfahs of Baghdād. He was born on the night of 'Ashūrā, the 10th of the month Muḥarram, in the year 361 H[9], in the seventh year of the government of Amīr Balkā-Tigīn, at Ghaznīn.

About one hour before his being ushered into the world, Sabuk-Tigīn, his father, saw in a dream, that there began to issue from the chafing-dish [used in those countries instead of having fire-places in the wall, and placed in the centre of the apartment] in his room, a tree, which began to grow to such a height that the whole world began to be overshadowed by it. When he awoke from his sleep, he began to ponder in his mind what the interpretation of this dream could be, when a bearer of good news presented himself, bringing intelligence that the Almighty had been pleased to give him a son. At this joyful announcement Sabuk-Tigīn became overjoyed, and said to the messenger: "I have given him the name of Maḥmūd[1]."

The same night also upon which Maḥmūd was born, the idol-temple of Wahand or Bihand [it may also be read Wahind, or Bahind], which was situated on the confines of Barshābūr[2], on the bank of the river Sind, split asunder.

[8] There is a different version given as to how and when Maḥmūd became styled Sulṭān. When Maḥmūd took the fortress of Tāḳ in Sijistān, by assault, and Khalaf was brought before him, the latter addressed Maḥmūd by the title of Sulṭān. This pleased Maḥmūd so much that he gave Khalaf his life. The titles bestowed upon Maḥmūd by the Khalīfah, and also bestowed, according to Baihaḳī, upon Mas'ūd, were as follow: "The right hand of the empire, defender of orthodoxy, the guardian of the true religion and of the true believers, the regulator of the faith, the friend of the Lord of the Faithful." See note[4], page 80.

[9] Faṣiḥ-ī says he was born on that date in 360 H.

[1] The past part. of the Arabic verb حمد used as an adjective, signifying—laudable, praised, worthy, &c.

[2] Out of the thirteen MSS. collated, *four* agree respecting the word Barshābūr, and *three* have Parshāwar. These are meant, probably, for the present Peshāwar. *Six* copies have Nishābūr, and *six* copies say that the idol-temple in question was situated on the bank of the Sudarah [Sudharah سودهره is an old name of the Chināb, see the Sadhūrā—سدهورا farther on], and a *fifth* copy has, the bank of the Āb-i-Shudah [شده]. 'Utbī ['Utbā] quoted in Elliot's INDIA, vol. ii. pp. 27 and 41, makes the "Sīhún" the Indus, and in Reynolds' version of the same work, the Indus is called the "Jíhún!" I need scarcely mention that the first is the Jaxartes, and the last the Oxus. In the last named version, also, we have "Wámund" for "Waihind." The name of the idol-temple is written in three different ways in the various copies of the original collated: ويهند—which may be either Wabhind or Wabhand, in *six* MSS.; بهند—Bahind, or Bahand, or Bihand, in *two*, and ومهند—

He was endowed with great virtues and vast abili-

Wahand, or Wahind, in *two*. In *seven* copies, the relative كه follows this name, but in *three* others we have كى instead of كه which I have certainly seen used for كه but very rarely. The following will show at a glance what I mean. The original sentence, in the very old MSS in my possession [which I call No. 1], stands thus :—

1 بخانه وبهند كي (sic) در حدود برشاور بود در لب آب سنده بشکست

2	,,	سند	,,	برشاور	,,	وبهند كه	,,
3.	,,	سدره	,,	نشاور	,,	,,	,,
4.	,,	سدرة	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
5	,,	سدرة	,,	پرشاور	,,	,,	,,
6.	,,	سدرة	,,	نشابور	,,	وبهند كه	,,
7	,,	سندة	,,	پرشاور	,,	بهند كه	,,
8.	,,	سند	,,	برشاور	,,	بهند كي	,,
9	,,	سند	,,	برشابور	,,	ومهند كي	,,
10	,,	نشاور در لب آب شدة			,,	وبهند كه	,,
11	,,	برشاور در لب آب سند			,,	وبهدكي	,,
12	,,	بيشاور لب آب سدرة			,,	وبهند كه	,,
13	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

The author of the Jāmi'-ut-Tawarīkh, in his account of the river of Kābul and its tributaries, taken from Abū Rihān, Al-Birūnī, says, that, having passed by Lamghān, the united streams "join near the fort of Darūnah, or Darūntah [the only place that can possibly be meant here is Darūnṭhā—درونتها], and fall into the river of Un-Nūr *and* Ḳirāt, or Ḳarāt [لنور و قرات], after which the united waters meet together *opposite* the town [city] of Barshāwar [one MS. compared has برما or بوسا], and become a mighty river called by the name of Lā'īr-wāl. The village of Manhārah [مهارة] lies on the *east* bank of the united waters [another MS has, instead of this sentence, the following :— '*called by the name of Ma'bar, signifying a ford or crossing place,*'] which fall into the Āb-i-Sind in *front* of [or near] the fort of Yitūr, or Yatūr [one MS. has Shetāb—شيتاب], belonging to the town [or city] of GANDHĀR [how Gandhār—كندهار can ever be mistaken for Ḳandahār—قندهار is inexplicable to me], which place [موضع] is called WAHIND [or may be DAHIND]."

This place—Wahind, or Dahind, or whatever it may be *proved* to be—is that which our author refers to, no doubt, and is the same place, probably, as mentioned by Baihaḳī in one or two places in his History, although he does not mention it as being on the bank of the river Sindh I have never seen it written وى هند The printed text, edited by Morley, has ويهند and a MS. in my possession has وبهد Some three years since I carefully compared the whole passage in the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, with the work of Al-Fanākatī, the Arabic copy of a portion of the former work, in the R A S's Library, and other works ; and I am unable to agree either with Sir H. Elliot's first reading of it, in his APPENDIX p 30, or Mr. Dowson's new reading, in Elliot's

ties; and the same predominant star was in the as-

HISTORY OF INDIA, edited by him, vol. i. pp. 47 and 48, both of which differ widely from each other. Neither do I agree in the theory that Ūhand [اوهند not *Ohind*] so many miles above the junction of the Nīl-āb, or river of Kābul with the Abā-Sind, or Indus, is the place indicated, in face of the statement of Abū Rīḥān, which is perfectly plain in the passage referred to, namely, that the river in question falls into the Abā-Sind, "*in front of*" or *opposite* the fort of Yitūr or Wahind.

If the western bank of the Indus *were* the right place to search for this spot, so difficult to trace, there is Mahāban [مهابن—not much unlike بهند and ويهند to look at] together with Oong, Behoh, and Rām-takht, mentioned by Abbott—although, from his mode of rendering Oriental words, it is impossible to tell what the originals may be—in his "*Gradus ad Aornon*," in the Ben. As. Journal for 1854, and Rājah Hoḍaey's castle, as well as "Ohind." There are also extensive ruins of a temple on a hill called Takht-i-Bihī, about fifteen miles north-east of the Kābul river's junction with the Lanḍaey Sind, and some thirty miles north-east of Peshāwār, which I visited in 1849 [see my account of Peshāwar, Bom. Geogr. Journal, vol. x., for 1851-2]. Can this be the idol-temple which fell when Maḥmūd was ushered into the world? In the same vicinity, and within a few miles of each other, are "Kāpir di Girī"—the Infidel's Mount, and "Pratah Minārah"—the Fallen Minār, in Pushto, which names bear a striking resemblance to Baihakī's fortress of "Girī" or "Gīrī," and "Man-Minārah," but both the places I have mentioned are on the *western*, not the eastern bank, and the last lies above Ūhand, which latter name, in all probability, is not ancient, but one of the many new designations given to places in that vicinity by the Yūsufzī Afghāns, when they first conquered those tracts on the Indus. I have made the early history of the Afghāns my especial study for a particular purpose, and I have never met with the name of Wabhand, Wahind, Bahind, or Wahband in the histories containing the account of their conquests in those parts.

Since the above was written, I have looked over vol. ii. of Elliot's INDIA, and find that the author, at page 465, when referring to Maḥmūd's fourteenth expedition into India, says that Farishtah in his work, as well as the "Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī," and "Kanzu-l-Mahpúr," which latter I have not examined, mention "the waters of *Nūr and Kirāt*" as falling into the Kabūl river, precisely as I had read the same words in the passage from Al-Bīrūnī, but the editor, Mr. Dowson, still persists, as he says in a note to the same page, in reading them "Nurokirát." Did he not consider that the second و in the words نور وقرات might be *and*? The *darah* of Nūr is mentioned by Bābar, and is well known still.

To return to the subject of Wahind. From the passage in the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, and our author, 'the fort belonging to the town or city of Gandhār, which place is called Wahind or Bahind, on the banks of the Sind, facing the junction of the Nīl-Āb with the Abā-Sind," must be looked for *east* of the Indus, near Attak-Banāras, in the vicinity of which extensive ruins of an ancient city are mentioned in the account of the building of the former fortress in Akbar's reign. Apollonius of Tyana, in his "Travels," mentions a lofty temple as situated outside the walls of Taxilas, a few miles *east* of the Indus. [See Jour. R. A. S., vol. xvii. p. 76.] These ruins were again noticed in the writings of a Muḥammadan traveller towards the close of the last century. However, under any circumstances, and in whatever manner we may read these names, which want the vowel-points, and are probably incor-

cendant at his birth as appeared at the dawn of Islām

rectly copied, the situation of the rivers, and the number mentioned, will not agree with actual facts. The Muḥammadan traveller I refer to, states, from actual observation "The Kābul river, after flowing through the *darah* of Mandroṛ—called by the same name as the chief town of Lamg͟hān—is joined, to the north of that place, by the Tahkrī [تهکری], generally known as the river of Lamg͟hān, and near the *koh* or mountain of Durūnthā [درونتها] those streams are joined by the Surk͟h-rūd [Red-River], which then flow past Jalalābād on the east, and near the town of Kāmah are joined by the C͟hitrār or C͟hitrāl [also called the Kāmah], and thus united flow on towards Peshāwar On issuing from the K͟haibar mountains at Mic͟hanī [not Michnī], the united streams again separate into three branches, and thus [*not united*] pass by Peshāwar—which is some distance from the nearest branch—for some miles, and do not unite again until just after receiving the Lanḍaey Sind and its tributaries at Nisatah, after which the united waters fall into the Indus a little above, and opposite Attak" The courses of rivers may alter in the lapse of centuries, in a flat country, as they have in the Punjāb, in some instances, but not in such a mountainous tract as the Kābul and its tributaries flow through, on their way to the Indus I cannot but coincide with Abū-l-Faẓl, the secretary [but never "minister"] of Akbar, in his remarks upon the accounts of India, written by early travellers, such as Al-Bīrūnī and others. He says, in the Ā'īn-i-Akbarī [I give the pith of his remarks merely], that "*Fanākatī, Ḥāfiẓ-Abrū, and others, wrote down all the nonsense that was palmed off upon them, and, therefore, what they state is contrary to facts, and not to be depended upon, while other writers have wilfully perverted them How could it be otherwise, when such persons knew nothing of the languages of India, or of its people, or their customs? They could neither make investigations themselves, nor could they obtain efficient interpreters, or reliable information*" See R A S's Journal, vol iv p 356.

Farther investigation, since the above remarks were written, has, I think, enabled me to throw some light upon the situation of what is called Wahind and Bahind, and as to its correct name The Tārīk͟h-i-Mir'āt-i-Jahān Numā, a general history by Muḥammad Baḳā, contains the following respecting Maḥmūd's two first expeditions against Hindūstān. "In 390 H, Mahmūd set out for Hindūstān and captured the fortress of Barjanīd or Barjunīd [برجنيد possibly برجند but this word is not quite certain], and again retired In S͟hawwāl, 391 H, he again set out towards Hindūstān, and reached Pes͟hāwar with 10,000 horse, and defeated Jai-pāl, who, with fifteen brothers and sons, was taken captive. This took place on Saturday, 8th Muharram, 392 H *From* thence, Maḥmūd advanced to the fortress of بهنده [Bahindah], which was the residence of Jai-pāl, and he subdued that territory" In a history of the Rājahs of Jamū, said by its author, a Hindū, to have been compiled from Hindū annals, بتهنده [Bathinḍah] is said to have been Jai-pāl's capital and place of residence, which Maḥmūd captured Mīrzā Mug͟hal Beg, who, about eighty-three years since, made a survey of great part of the North-West Provinces between Dihlī and the Sutlaj, the Punjāb, and great part of Afg͟hān-istān, and the countries on the northern slopes of Hindū-Kus͟h, in his account of the Lakhī jungle, says "Bhatindah [بتهنده], which is also called Whatinḍah [وتهنده] is the name of a territory, with a very ancient stronghold bearing the same name, which was the capital of the C͟hāhil [چاهل] tribe. Lakhī, son of Jūndharah, of the Bhatī tribe, having been converted to the Muḥammadan faith, during an invasion by Sulṭān Maḥmūd of G͟haznīn,

itself[3] In the year 387 H.[4], Maḥmūd proceeded to Balkh[5], and

received the title of Rānā Laknī, and he and his tribe were removed thither. They found there some three hundred and fifty or sixty towns and villages of considerable size, some with large and fine buildings, and began to make inroads into the tracts adjacent, against the infidels." According to traditions quoted by this author, which are also to be found in other works, there were formerly two or three considerable rivers in this now sandy tract of country. In ancient times the Ghaghar flowed past Bhatnīr, and "fell into the Sind [Indus] on the confines of Jasalmīr. One of these rivers is called the Saḍhūrā [see the various readings of the original at the beginning of this note], which falls into the Ghaghar, and in its neighbourhood, at about five miles west, is a sacred pond or small lake, visited by hundreds of thousands of persons, and there is no other place accounted like unto it in sanctity." There is a great deal more about this district, but I have no space for it here. I think it very probable that what has been called Wahind or Bahind is no other than Bhatinḍah or Whatinḍah, which, written without the points—بهنده or وهنده are much the same in appearance as the words in the various MSS. of our author's text —بهنده and وهنده.

As to some confusion in the arrangement of Elliot's INDIA, tending to distract, which I have referred to above, I would mention, with respect to the name "Wahind," that at p. 63, vol. i., "Wahind" is said to be the *capital* of Kandahār [ك stands for *g* as well as *k*, and Kandahār in Afghānistān is *always* with ق], in a note at p. 397, the "*river* of Wahand or Wahind Ságar" is mentioned, in vol. ii. p. 28, in the extract from Yamīnī, "Waihind" is said to be *a country*, at p. 33, and other places, it is again called "the *river* of Wahind, and at p. 444, "the *river* of Waihind or the *Indus*." Notwithstanding all this, this identical passage in our author, after having been "revised and sundry long gaps filled up by the Editor," is thus translated [vol. ii. p. 269]:—"On the same night that he [Maḥmūd] was born, an idol-temple IN INDIA, in the vicinity of Parsháwar, on the banks of the Sind, fell down!!" There is nothing like giving a *bold* translation.

[3] This last sentence is somewhat obscure in all the copies. It may be understood also to mean that his appearance was propitious to the ascendancy of Islām. طالع does not mean "the greatest champion."

[4] See note [4], page 75, for date of accession.

[5] Balkh has been mentioned by more than one author, as the capital of Sabuk-Tigīn's and Maḥmud's dominions. In the same year wherein he overcome his brother (389 H.), Maḥmūd, according to Faṣiḥ-ī, fought a battle against 'Abd-ul-Malik, son of Nūḥ, Sāmānī, and the Sāmānī dynasty terminated. See page 52. His independency may be dated from that time. In the same year, Arsalān-i-Jāẓib fought an engagement with Abū l-Ḳāsim-i-Sīmjūr, and compelled him to retire to Ṭabas, and Maḥmūd made his brother, Amīr Naṣr, the commander of his army (see page 51, note [6]). In that same year, likewise, he made Balkh the capital of his dominions, and the Khalīfah, Al-Ḳādir B'illah, sent him a robe of honour, with the titles of Yamīn-ud-Daulah, and Amīn-ul-Millat. Maḥmūd also received the submission of the Shār, as was the style of the rulers of Gharjistān [called by some Gharshtān], Abū Naṣr, son of the Shār, Rāshid, and of his son, Shār, Abū Muḥammad, and the Khuṭbah was read for Maḥmūd in that territory, and the coin impressed with his name and titles. In 390 H. Maḥmūd made a dash upon Nīshāpūr, which he took possession of, and Bak-Tūzūn, the slave of the Sāmānī dynasty, fled, and in the same year Bughrājāḳ, the uncle of Maḥmūd,

ascended the throne of sovereignty, and donned the robe of honour which had been sent to him from the Dār-ul-Khilāfat. At this time the throne of the Khalīfahs was adorned by the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Ḳādir-B'illah.

When Sultān Maḥmūd ascended the throne of sovereignty, his illustrious deeds became manifest unto all man-

was slain by Ṭāhir, son of Khalaf, son of Aḥmad, at Fūshanj. Maḥmūd marched into Sijistān against Khalaf, who fled before him, and took shelter within the walls of the fortress of Ṭāḳ, which Maḥmūd directed should be invested. This is a different place to Ūḳ. For farther particulars respecting Khalaf, whose doings appear so obscure [Jour. R. A. S., vol. xvii. p. 147], see notes to Section XIV. Maḥmūd does not appear to have established his power in Khurāsān, for in 391 H., Amīr Abū Ibrāhīm Al-Muntaṣir—the last of the Sāmānīs, who is not even mentioned by our author—aided by Shams-ul-Ma'ālī Ḳābūs, son of Washmgīr, who sent his sons Dārā [see page 51] and Manūchihr, advanced with an army to recover Rai, but, having altered his plans, Abū Ibrāhīm, and his adherents, faced about, and marched on Nīshāpūr, from which Naṣr, Maḥmūd's brother, again fled, and Abū Ibrāhīm once more gained possession of Nīshāpūr. Naṣr, who had retired to Hirāt, again moved to recover it, aided by Arsalān-i-Jāẕib from Ṭūs. Abū Ibrāhīm despatched his forces under Arsalān-i-Bālū and Abū-l-Ḳāsim-i-Sīmjūr to oppose them; but they were overthrown, and Abū Ibrāhīm again retired from Nīshāpūr, and took refuge, in Jurjān, with Kābūs. Eventually he reached Sarakhs, and Amīr Naṣr marched against him and defeated him; and he fled for refuge to the tribe of Ghuzz. Naṣr made prisoners of Abū-l-Kāsim-i-Sīmjūr, and Yūz-Tāsh, the Ḥājib of Abū Ibrāhīm, who had previously put Arsalān-i-Bālū to death for flying from Amīr Naṣr. In the following year, 392 H., Jai-pāl, [which appears to be the title, not the actual name, of two or more princes], Bād-shāh of Hind, as he is called, was made captive by Maḥmūd. "He was sold for," as the chronicler states, whose words I quote, or rather his ransom was fixed at "200,000 golden dīnārs, and 150 elephants; and the necklace taken from Jai-pāl was valued at another 200,000 golden dīnārs. This battle took place on Thursday, 8th of Muḥarram, 392 H., in sight of Burshor of Hind." Here we might have expected to find "*Wahind*" or "*Waband*" mentioned. Whether this is what is now called Peshāwar is somewhat doubtful, for up to the time of Bābar and Akbar, the latter city was called generally Bagrām, and is seldom mentioned, except by more modern writers of the Farishtah class. The chronicler adds: "Jai-pāl, the Hindū, subsequently shaved his head, and mounted a funeral pyre, and died; for it is customary with Hindūs, that any Badshāh of theirs, who becomes a captive to Musalmāns, should abdicate in favour of another ruler. His son Tand-Pāl [MS. تندپال but probably اندپال—Anand-pāl—is meant], succeeded him as ruler of Hind." In 393 H. the Khuṭbah was read for Maḥmūd in Sijistān, by Khalaf's own nobles, and his titles were impressed upon the coins. In the following year the fortress of Ṭāḳ was captured, and Khalaf was made prisoner. The Sulṭān kept the territory of Sijistān entirely for himself, but gave the district of Jūzjānān to Khalaf, who, taking his family with him, left Sijistān altogether. Afterwards, however, Sulṭān Maḥmūd gave the government of Sijistān to his own brother, Naṣr; and the government of that province was joined to the appointment of commander of the forces [of Khurāsān].

kind within the pale of Islām, when he converted so many thousands [!] of idol-temples into masjids, and captured so many of the cities of Hindūstān, and overthrew and subdued its Rāes. Jai-pāl, who was the greatest of the Rāes of Hind, he made captive, and kept him [a prisoner] at Man-Yazīd[6], in Khurāsān, and commanded that he might be ransomed for the sum of eighty dirams[7]. He led an army to Nahrwālah of Gujarāt, and brought away Manāt[8], the idol, from Somnāth, and had it broken into four parts, one of which was cast before the entrance of the great masjid at Ghaznīn, the second before the gateway of the Sultān's palace[9], and the third and fourth were sent to Makkah and Madīnah respectively.

Concerning this victorious expedition the poet 'Unṣūrī composed a Ḳaṣīdah[1], or poem, two couplets of which are here inserted:—

"When the potent sovereign made the expedition to Somnāth,
He made the working of miracles his occupation.
He staked the Chess of dominion with a thousand kings.
Each king he check-mated, in a separate game."

Out of the different occasions in which the Sulṭān's greatness showed itself pre-eminent, one occurred during this expedition. When he retired from Somnāth, and desired to lead back the army of Islām by way of the desert[2], to Sindh and Mansūrah, out of Gujarāt, he directed that guides should be procured. A Hindū presented himself,

[6] Nearly every copy agrees in the name Man-Yazīd [من یزید]. "Yazd" is not meant. One copy has من ایزید.

[7] Sic in MSS., but I fancy the word "thousand" must have been left out. If not, Maḥmūd did not set much value on his captive. See amount mentioned in note[5], preceding page.

[8] One of three chief idols of the pagans of Makkah was named Manāt.

[9] Some fragments of idols might still have been seen lying near the entrance to the Sulṭān's tomb a few years ago, and probably they *are* still there.

[1] The first two lines are corrected from 'Abd-ul-Ḳādir-i Budāūnī. The point of these lines lies principally on the play upon the terms in chess, lost in translation.

[2] The Rinn or desert of Kachh. An author, quoting from the Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī of Baihaḳī, relates a remarkable circumstance, which occurred upon this occasion. "On the Sulṭān's return from Somnāth, one of his huntsmen killed an enormous serpent or boa-constrictor, which was skinned, and found to be thirty ells (gaz) in length and four in breadth. Baihaḳī adds, 'Whoever doubts the correctness of this statement, let him go to the citadel of Ghaznīn, and see for himself the skin in question, which is hung up like a canopy.'"

and offered to act as guide, and that sovereign, with the army of Islām, proceeded on his way. After the army had marched all night and next day, and the time had come round for the troops to halt, although search was made for water, none was any where to be found. The Sulṭān directed that the Hindū guide should be brought before him, and inquiries made from him This was done, when the Hindū guide replied to the Sultān, saying: "I have devoted my life for the idol Somnāth, and I have led you and your army into this desert, in any part of which water is not to be found, in order that you may all perish" The Sultān commanded that the Hindū should be despatched to hell, and that the troops should halt and take up their quarters for the night. He then waited until night had set in, after which he left the camp, and proceeded to some distance from it, aside Then, kneeling down, and with his forehead to the ground, he prayed devoutly and fervently unto the Most High for deliverance After a watch[3] of the night had passed, a mysterious light appeared in the horizon, and the Sultān gave orders for the troops to be put in motion, and to follow him in the direction of the light When the day broke, the Almighty God had conducted the army of Islām to a place where there was water, and all the Musalmāns were delivered safely out of this impending danger

The Almighty had endowed that ruler with great power of performing many miraculous and wondrous acts, such as He has not bestowed since upon any other sovereign, nor such vast military resources, so large a number of troops, and unbounded wealth. Sulṭān Mahmūd possessed two thousand five hundred elephants; and his court was guarded by four thousand Turkish slave-youths[4], who, on days of public audience, were stationed on the right and left of the throne, —two thousand of them with caps[5] ornamented with four feathers, bearing golden maces, on the right hand, and the

[3] A period of three hours.

[4] The words used are غلام ترك وشاق Washāķ signifies a good looking slave, and a beardless youth, and has sometimes been used to signify a slave-girl As these youths attained unto man's estate and their beards began to grow, they were attached to a separate corps, and placed occasionally under the command of rulers of provinces

[5] كلاه signifying a Tartar cap, a sort of mitre or tiara made from leather or cloth or such like fabric, and covered with brocade or cloth of gold

other two thousand, with caps adorned with two feathers, bearing silver maces, on the left.

This monarch, by his manliness, his bravery and intrepidity, his wisdom and foresight, and his prudent counsels and wise measures, considerably extended the Muhammadan conquests in the east, and greatly increased the dominion of Islām in that quarter. The whole of 'Ajam[6], Khurāsān and Khwārazm, Ṭabaristān, 'Irāk, the territory of Nīmroz, Fārs, the mountain districts of Ghūr[7], Tukhāristān—all came under the control of his officers. The Maliks, or rulers, of Turkistān paid him obedience and acknowledged his superiority[8]. He threw a bridge over the Jīhūn, and marched his forces into Tūrān, and Ḳadr Khān had an interview with him, as had the Khāns of the Turks likewise; and the Khākāns of Turkistān came and presented themselves before him, and tendered him their allegiance[9].

[6] That Maḥmūd ruled "the whole" of 'Ajam, and Ṭabaristān, is an exaggeration. Not one word is mentioned, by other writers of any authority, as to his holding any part of Fārs, and in 'Irāḳ his sway was but partial over a portion.

[7] The only notice of this contained in Faṣih-ī, during the whole period of Mahmūd's reign, is in the following words:—"400 H. Death of the son of Sūrī, Malik of Ghūr, who was taken prisoner in an encounter fought by Sulṭān Maḥmūd, in Ghūr. He sucked poison from a ring he had, and destroyed himself. Some say it occurred in 401 H."

[8] In the year 387 H., the same in which Sabuk-Tigīn died, and two years before Mahmūd became ruler, Māmūn, son of Muhammad Al-Farīghūnī, the Wālī, or ruler, of Jurjānīah [also written Gurgānīah], of Khwārazm died, and was succeeded by his son 'Alī; and, in this same year, 'Alī was married to a daughter of Mahmūd. 'Alī, however, died in 390 H., and was succeeded by his brother, Abū-l-'Abbās, son of Māmūn. He, in the following year, sent an envoy—supposed to be the author so much depended upon by Sir H. Elliot, and others, for his geographical knowledge of India—Abū Rīhān, Al-Bīrūnī, to Mahmūd, asking permission to marry the lady, his brother's widow. This was sanctioned by Mahmūd, and Abū-l-'Abbās married her.

[9] In 396 H., Sulṭān Mahmūd sent an envoy to Ī-lak Khān, the Turk, son of Bughrā Khān [for now the last of the Sāmānīs had been put to death, as already related], proposing that they should enter into an alliance, and that all the territory this side [on the left bank] of the Āmūīah [Oxus] should belong to him, Maḥmūd, together with Khwārazm, and that all on the other side should appertain to Ī-lak Khān, and that they should not interfere with or molest each other's territories. Baihaḳī says, writing in 451 H., that Ḳadr Khān at that period was called Bughrā Khān. It was in this same year that Maḥmūd undertook the expedition into Hindūstān, against Bhīrā Rāe [also written بجرا—Bajīrā in Faṣiḥ-ī, Biḥrāe بحرای—in Mirāt-i-Jahān-numā, بحرا—Biḥrā by Yaḥyā Khān in his History, and راجه بحیرای Rājah Baḥīrāe by

At their request, the son of Saljūḳ, through whose activity, and boldness, too, the whole of the Khāḳāns of the Turks were reduced to a state of helplessness, was permitted to

Sanjan Rae in his work. He was doubtless chief of the tribe of Bīṛār—بیڑر See also Elliot, APPENDIX to vol ii, pages 34 and 439, wherein great confusion appears to exist] Bhīṛā Rae was slain, and the fortress of Bhāṭīah near [i e not far distant from] Multān was taken After this, the Sulṭān returned to Ghaznīn, but in the same year he undertook an expedition against the Wālī of Multān, Abū-l-Fatḥ, who fled from that territory Whilst Maḥmūd was absent in Hindūstān, in 397 H, Ī-lak Khān broke the newly made treaty of alliance, and invaded Khurāsān This made Maḥmūd return to Ghaznīn to make arrangements for marching against him, for Ī-lak Khān had penetrated as far as Hirāt, which he took, but, in the following year, Maḥmud encountered him at Balkh, and compelled him to retire Khalaf, the late ruler of Sijistān, it was found, had been intriguing with him during Maḥmūd's absence, and had advised this invasion. On this account Khalaf was immured in the fortress of Juzdez of Ḳuhistān. In 401 H, Maḥmūd again advanced into Hindūstān against the fortress of Bhīm [also called Bhīm-nagar], the chief of which was Bhīm Narāyan There is no mention of any expedition undertaken in that quarter in Faṣiḥ-ī, as contained in the Jāmi'-ut-Tawarīkh, against Nārdīn, but, in some works, an expedition against Nandanah, in 404 H, is mentioned In 407 H, Maḥmūd's son-in-law, Abū-l-'Abbās-i-Māmūn, Farīghūnī, ruler of Jurjānīah of Khwārazm, was murdered by some of his troops Maḥmūd went in person into Khwārazm, defeated the insurgents, and put Nīāl-Tigīn [called Alb-Tigīn by Baihakī], the ringleader, and the murderers, to the sword, reduced that territory under his sway, and Altūn-Tāsh, the great chamberlain, was entrusted with its government Ī lak Khān had died in Māwar-un-Nahr, in 403 H, and in 408 H Maḥmūd sought from her uncle, Tūghān Khān, who had succeeded him, the hand of Ī-lak's daughter in marriage for his son Mas'ūd, whom he nominated as his heir and successor Ṭūghān Khān himself died in the same year, and was succeeded by his brother, Bughrā Tigīn, entitled Arsalān Khan On that lady's arrival shortly after at Balkh, the capital was illuminated, and soon after Maḥmūd made over the government of Khurāsān to Mas'ūd, with Hirāt as the seat of government, having previously assembled the whole of his Ulūs, or tribe, together, to take oath of fealty to his son [According to Baihaḳī, however, this lady had been betrothed to Muḥammad, Mas'ūd's brother, but the former, having been immured in a fortress by the latter, when he ascended the throne, Muḥammad could not marry her, and Mas'ūd did, with the consent of her brother, but this was several years subsequent to the events above-mentioned]

After having disposed of these affairs, Maḥmūd had leisure again to turn his attention to Hindūstān; and I will here mention, as briefly as possible, his next expedition into that country, because the narrative will greatly differ from the accounts of other writers In the year 409 H [see Elliot, vol. ii p 460], Sulṭān Maḥmūd undertook another expedition against the infidels of Hind, and overcame Hardab [هردب—the "Hardat" of 'Abd-ul-Ḳādir-i-Budāūnī, the "Hīrdat of Matharah" of the Jāmi'-ut-Tawarīkh] in that region, at which *place*—[my authority so styles Hardab, but must mean his capital, Matharah] —there were nearly a thousand palaces [قصر] of stone, and an idol-temple of such extent and size, that "if a thousand times a thousand thousand *dīnārs* should be expended, and builders and workmen of the greatest

pass the Jīḥūn with all his kindred and dependents, and cross over into Khurāsān. The wisest and most sagacious men of that time considered the granting of this permission

activity and energy should be employed for two hundred years, they could not complete the like." Within this great temple were five idols of gold, five *gaz* or ells in height, and the eyes of one of them were formed of two rubies [Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh—"of a dark red colour"], which were valued at 50,000 *dīnārs* of gold. The eyes of another were formed of two sapphires, of the weight of four hundred *miskāls!* [600 *miskāls* = 1 *ser* = 1 lb. 13 oz.] the immense value of which could not be computed. From the lower extremities of one of the idols, pure gold of the weight of 4400 *miskāls* was obtained. Besides these great idols, there were two hundred others of silver, in the temple, the whole of which were broken up, and the temple itself was overthrown, and set on fire. [Compare with Elliot, vol. ii. pp. 44, 45.] After this Ḳinnauj on the Gang, and other places, were captured, the details of which events are too long for insertion here; but among them is mentioned Nārdīn, the fortress of "Brāmah" [perhaps the place called Bhāwan or Bahāwan by some authors] called Manj, Āsī, and other places. From the idol-temple of the first named, a stone tablet was brought, on which was written that the temple had been founded forty thousand years before. *Jai pāl of Ḳinnauj fled across the Gang, on the bank of which* were ten thousand idol-temples in seven fortresses. At the capture of Āsī, Chand pāl Bhūd, the sovereign of that part, was slain. In 410 H. Maḥmūd again entered Hindūstān, "*and was engaged* [detained] *therein for a period of four years*" [چهار سال مکث واقع شد] during which time many conquests were made. In 411 H. Mahmūd became greatly incensed against his brother Amīr Nasr, who had been acting improperly and carelessly in his duty in command of his troops, being constantly engaged in wine bibbing and pleasure, and, by his conduct, causing relaxation in discipline, "for, when the forces were about to march, his followers were generally found to be in the bāzārs, instead of present at their posts, and great excesses were committed by them." Maḥmūd sent Khwājah-i-'Amid, Abū Nasr-i-Mishkān, Al-Zawzanī, to him about this misconduct. Naṣr's reply was so becoming that Maḥmūd passed it over, at the same time saying to the Khwājah: "My brother Naṣr is a very prudent and sagacious man." In 412 H., Tasdar سدر [Naro نرو] Jai-pāl, ruler of Hind [see Elliot, vol. ii. p. 12], was slain, and Bhīm-pal, his son, succeeded to his sovereignty. In 414 H., Sulṭān Maḥmūd came to an accommodation, in a distant part [قصى] of Hind with Bedā [Nandā, in other works], on the latter's presenting 150 elephants, after which he returned to Ghaznīn, and in the same year made a raid into the mountains inhabited by the Afghānīān [sic in MS.], plundered them, and carried off much booty. This is the first time they are mentioned in the history from which I have taken these accounts. In 416 H. Maḥmūd made another raid upon them from Balkh, and fell upon them at night. In this same year, Jaghar Beg-i-Abū Sulimān-i-Dā'ūd, son of Tughril Beg, son of Mīkā'īl, the Saljūḳ, rose, and entered Khwārazm, and Bhīm-pāl also died. In 417 H. the expedition against Somnāth was undertaken, and a farther portion of Hind was subdued, some by treaty and agreement to pay the *jaziah* or capitation tax, some by force of arms and plunder of the country, and making captives of the people, and some by the people becoming converts to Islām. In 419 H. Maḥmūd proceeded into Māwar-un-Nahr, and had an interview with Ḳadr Khān, sovereign of Turkistān, and the treaty formerly existing between them was renewed and confirmed, on the agreement

a grave error in the Sulṭān's policy; for they perceived therein danger to the empire of his sons and descendants.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd entered 'Irāḳ and subdued that territory, and purposed proceeding to the Court of Baghdād to pay his respects [1]; but, on the receipt of a mandate to the contrary from the Lord of the Faithful, he retired, and

that a portion of Māwar-un-Nahr should be held by Maḥmūd, and some be incorporated with Ḳadr Khān's dominions, and a fresh treaty was written out upon these terms, and duly signed On his way back, Maḥmūd granted an audience unto Isrā'īl, son of Beghū, son of Saljūḳ, son of Luḳmān, and brought him along with him. After a time Isrā'īl was immured within the fortress of Kālinjar, also called Talwārah, where he died In 420 H Maḥmūd slew [slain in battle with Maḥmūd] Majd-ud-Daulah, Buwíah, and acquired sway over 'Irāḳ [a portion], and overthrew that branch of the Buwíah dynasty; and 'Irāḳ was added to the dominions previously conferred upon Mas'ūd "On Thursday, the 14th of Rabí'-uṣ-ṣānī, 421 H [A D 1030, about the middle of April], Sulṭān Maḥmūd died, and was buried in the Fírūzí Bāgh, or garden, of Ghaznín, after he had reigned thirty-three years. Some say he died in 420 H" These extracts were taken originally from the work entitled "Maḳāmāt of the 'Amid Abū Naṣr," written by the 'Amíd [عميد—*not* Aḥmad] Abū-l-Faẓl, Al-Baihaḳí, so called from Baihaḳ his birth-place, a small town in Zāwulistān, also called Muḳir

There are many materials for a complete history of this reign which, as regards India, is the most important one. Our author's account is, to use the words of Sir H Elliot, "too curt," and I have been compelled to make these notes much longer than I liked Another reason, for my comparative minuteness, was, that the accounts of this reign, in most authors, are confused and erroneous, particularly in writers of modern times. As in other cases, the "classical" writers, and the old geographers, referred to by Abū-l-Faẓl, appear to have led their votaries astray, and the names of persons and places are as diverse and different as the authors and translators themselves Elliot's work contains a large amount of most valuable materials, but the mode of arrangement tends rather to confuse, as I have previously pointed out. Names of persons and places have been introduced from modern translations of works, instead of from the originals, where possible. Who would think of appealing to Dow or the like for the correct reading of proper names? For example in note at page 19, vol ii., wherein S de Sacy is quoted, who says that Dow has "Abistagi, and Subuktagi for *Alpteghin* and *Sebekteghin*," his own blunder is far worse than Dow's, for neither of the words contains any gh in it See note [1], page 58 In the extract from 'Utbí, page 20, where mention is made of the "fountain in one of the ravines of a very lofty mountain called the 'Ukba Ghúzak ['Uḳbah—عقبه—means *a pass*], into which if any *filth* is thrown storms arise," which is quite correct, Dow, in his "Hindostan," page 27, interprets it, "if a small quantity of a *certain drug* should be thrown," &c Reynolds, in his version of the Kitāb-i-Yamíní, has made terrible work of the proper names, which are written all sorts of ways He has Simjouri, Sinjúr, and Simjúr for *one* person, Bastí and Bostí, Muwid-Addowlat and Muwayyad-Addowlat, and the like, in scores of places.

[1] Not mentioned in other authors, and very doubtful.

returned to Ghaznīn, where he died at the age of sixty-one, after a reign of thirty-three years, in 421 H[2]

His sons were Muhammad, Naṣr, Mas'ūd, Sulīmān[3], Ismā'īl, 'Abd-ur-Rashīd, styled 'Izz-ud-Daulah, Amīr of Ghaznīn, and Ibrāhīm, which latter had a son named Sulīmān

III AMĪR MUHAMMAD[4], SON OF MAḤMŪD

Jalāl-ud-Daulah wa-ud-Dīn[5], Muhammad, was a learned and virtuous-minded prince, and they recite [upon his authority[6]] a great number of poems in the Arabic language.

When his father, Sultān Mahmūd, died, his brother, Mas'ūd, was in 'Irāk[7], and the great nobles and chiefs of

[2] For the precise date of his decease, see note [9], preceding page Among the different coins struck in Maḥmūd's reign one bore the following inscription — "The right hand of the empire, Mahmūd Sulṭān, son of Nāṣir-ud Dīn, Sabuk-Tigīn, Breaker of Idols" This coin appears to have been struck at Lāhor, in the seventh year of his reign The following territories are said to have been included in his empire —Ghaznīn, Zabulistān, Khurāsān, Khwarāzm, Chaghānīān Tabaristān, Sipahān [Iṣfahān], Kābul as far as Kinnauj [sic in MSS], the country around Kālinjar, Multān as far as Nahrwālah of Gujarāt, Somnāth, the territory lying on the sea coast of 'Ummān, Kuṣdār, Sind as far as Sīwastān bordering on Kirmān, Kij, and Makrān His authority in a good many of these must have been *very* nominal

[3] In two MSS the name of Maḥmūd occurs in place of Sulīmān, but the latter seems to be correct

[4] Most authors place Mas'ūd before his brother Muḥammad, and only consider the latter's reign to have commenced *after* Mas'ūd had been dethroned and imprisoned in 432 H

[5] Other writers state that his title was Jalāl-ud-Daulah and Jalal-ul-Millat Guzīdah says 'Imād-ud-Daulah was his title His coins have Jalāl-ud-Daulah, and Jamāl-ul-Millat

[6] He was an authority with respect to the text of several Arabic poems. In poems like the Mu'allakāt, for example, the texts furnished by various philologists differ considerably from each other The original words are از وی اشعار عربیت روایت بسیار کند

[7] Mas'ūd was, of course, in 'Irāḳ, as he held the government of all the western parts of his father's empire He appears to have been at Hamadān—but one author, at least, says at Iṣfahān—when his father's death took place See note [9] at page 87 Immediately on the decease of Maḥmūd, the Ḥājib, 'Alī Khweshāwand, who was a relative of the late Sulṭān, and the Ḥājib, Bak-Taghdī, who was commander of the Māmlūks of the palace, entered into a compact "that they would act in concert with, and do nothing contrary to each other, but act in harmony in whatever might occur, and carefully hold the *dargah* or palace until such time as one of the late Sulṭān's sons should ascend

the late Sulṭān's court, by mutual accord, raised Sultān Muḥammad to the throne of Ghaznîn in the year 421 H. He was, however, a man of mild and unaspiring temperament, and possessed neither sufficient resolution of heart, nor decision of character, to govern the kingdom. A party, who were favourably inclined towards Mas'ūd, sent communications to him in 'Irāk[8], upon which he assembled the troops of 'Irāk and Khurāsān, with the determination of proceeding to Ghaznîn, and he marched from 'Irāk in that direction.

When the news of his coming, and his intentions, reached Ghaznîn, Muḥammad caused his forces to be got in readiness, and set out with the purpose of resisting his brother; and 'Alî Ḳurbat[9] was the Ḥājib-i-Buzurg [Great Chamberlain], and the commander of his army.

When the forces reached Tigîn-ābād, information of the advance of Mas'ūd having reached the camp of Muhammad,

the throne, when they would deliver it up, with the country [sic], into his hands." This compact was entered into by those officers, in the presence of, and with the advice, approval, and concurrence of the 'Amîd [*not* "Aḥmad"] Abū Naṣr-i-Mishkān, the minister of the late Sulṭān.

[8] Faṣiḥ-î says, that in the same year, 421 H., through the endeavours and efforts of the Ḥājib, 'Ali Khweshāwand, and Yūsuf, son of Sabuk-Tigîn, brother of the late Sulṭān, Muhammad was confined within the walls of the citadel of Tigîn-ābād, and they awaited the arrival of Sulṭān Mas'ūd. The Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk calls the first mentioned person 'Alî, son of I-yal-Arsalān, a relative of the late Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and says that Muhammad made his uncle [cousin?] Ya'ḳūb, son of Yūsuf, commander of his forces, and Khwājah Abū Sahl [not "Suhal"], his minister, but, that a strong party were inclined to his brother Mas'ūd. Accordingly, Amîr Iyāz, with the Ghulāms, or slaves—the regular troops or guards as they may be termed—combined to espouse his cause, entered the royal stables, mounted the best horses therein, and set out to join Mas'ūd, who was then at Isfahān. They joined him at Nîshāpūr on his advance towards Ghaznîn by way of Hirāt. On this Muḥammad, with all his followers, set out towards Hirāt in order to submit to his brother. Other writers differ greatly from our author, on very good grounds, in their accounts of his reign. Mas'ūd is said to have written to his brother to say that he had no intention or desire to interfere with his sovereignty over the dominions—the eastern parts of the empire—left him by their father's will, but that it was absolutely necessary that his, Mas'ūd's, name should be first in the Khuṭbah. Muḥammad replied in a surly manner. Mas'ūd's partisans then seized Muḥammad, as above related, and it is farther asserted that Muḥammad had not, as yet, been blinded by them, but that he was deprived of his sight by order of Mas'ūd.

[9] 'Alî Ḳurbat and 'Alî Khweshāwand refer to one and the same person. Ḳurbat signifies "kindred," "affinity," and Khweshāwand, "a kinsman," "a relative." This is the 'Alî Ḳarîb of Baihaḳî.

they seized his person, deprived him of his sight, and placed him in confinement After this act 'Alī Kurbat marched the troops towards Hirāt, in order to meet Sultān Mas'ūd ; and, having arrived within one stage of that place, he proceeded to present himself before the Sultān Mas'ūd gave orders to seize him, and Muhammad's whole army was plundered [1] and despoiled.

On this occasion his reign extended to a period of seven months. Subsequently, when Sultān Mas'ūd, the Martyr, became the victim of misfortune at Mārīgalah [2], Sultān Muhammad, although he had been deprived of his sight, was brought forth and placed upon the throne, and he brought the army from thence back towards Ghaznīn

Sultān Mawdūd, the son of Mas'ūd, marched out of Ghaznīn [3], with the determination to take revenge upon his uncle for his father's death, overthrew him in the battle [which ensued], and put to death his uncle Muhammad with all his offspring [4] Muhammad, on the second occasion, exercised sovereignty for a period of four months. His martyrdom [5] took place in the year 432 H , and his age was forty-five years.

[1] In Elliot's "HISTORY OF INDIA," edited by Professor Dowson of the Staff College, the latter is rather bitter [vol ii , pref ix], against the *bad* translation of extracts from our author, made for Sir H Elliot, for his work, and, in several places, cries out against this kind of assistance. I doubt very much, however, whether any "officer," with even a *practical* smattering of Persian or 'Urdū, would have translated حکم لشکر او را غارت کردند — "Ordered his whole force *to be destroyed*" غارت کردن does not mean "to destroy" Mr Dowson also translates this passage سلطان مسعود شهید در مارگله صاحب واقعه شد — "When Mas'ūd was *killed* at Márikala ," but, as in the case above, صاحب واقعه does not mean "*killed*" His own words disprove his own translation, for, two pages farther on, comes the passage, "but *in* Márikala his Turkí and Hindí slaves revolted, *took him prisoner*," &c

[2] See note [4] at page 95

[3] See note [2] at page 96

[4] The Taẕkirat ul-Mulūk states that all were put to death by Mawdūd, except one son, 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm by name "Amīr Mawdūd forbade that he should be injured, because he had been informed that, at the time of the murder of his father, Mas'ūd, one of 'Abd ur-Rahīm's brothers, out of insolence, had plucked the diadem which Mas'ūd wore from that gallant prince's head, but 'Abd ur-Rahīm took it from his brother, and replaced it *on the brow* of Mas'ūd again, and severely rebuked his brother for what he had done "

[5] For particulars see reign of Mawdūd, and notes His reign is said to have extended over a period of *nine* months The word شهید signifying martyr, also means one who dies for a cause which he thinks just, and any Muhammadan killed in battle is so called.

His sons were 'Abd-ur-Raḥman, 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm, and Aḥmad.

IV SULṬĀN NĀṢIR-ŪD-DIN U'LLAH[6], MAS'ŪD, THE MARTYR.

Sulṭān Mas'ūd, the Martyr, bore the title of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn U'llah, and his surname was Abū Mas'ūd. His birth, and that of his brother, Sultān Muḥammad, took place on the same day[7] Sultān Mas'ūd assumed the sovereignty in the year 422 H[8] He was generous and munificent to so great a degree that they called him a second Khalīfah 'Alī—may God reward him!—and in valour and prowess he was a second Rustam No man could lift his mace[9] with one hand from the ground, and no iron target used to stay his arrow[1] His father, the Sultān, used to be envious of him, and constantly treated him with harshness and severity[2], to such degree that he preferred a request to the court of Baghdād, that the name and title of Muhammad should have precedence in the Khuṭbah over those of his brother Mas'ūd

[6] Other writers style him Nāsir-ud-Daulah, and Nāṣir-ud-Dīn The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh gives him the title of Nāṣir-ud-dīn U'llah, wa Mu'īn-i-Khalīfah U'llah, but Baihaḳī, his biographer, styles him "Shihāb-ud-Daulah, and Kuṭb-ul-Millat Abī Sa'īd-i-Mas'ūd"

[7] It does not follow that they were *twins*

[8] He ascended the throne of Ghaznīn, at Hirāt, on the 1st of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 422 H, soon after which he gave orders to put the Ḥājib, 'Alī Khweshāwand, and his brother Mangīrāk, to death, and confiscated all their property The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh agrees in this statement, and adds farther, that 'Alī Khweshāwand, the Ḥājib, had taken an active part in raising Muḥammad to the throne, and had subsequently acted perfidiously towards him

[9] Mr. E. Thomas, in his numismatic "Chronicles of the Pathān kings of Delhi," asserts [p 79], with respect to a coin of the Turkish slave king, I-yal-timish, that the mace is "the *special* weapon of the great Mahmúd" The statement is erroneous, as shown in the text The mace was, by no means, an uncommon weapon in those days. See also under reign of Sulṭān Ṭughril, son of Arsalān Shāh, last reign of Section XII

[1] Mr Dowson translates this passage [in the original—و تیر او بر هیچ پیل آهی ده اسادی]—"*and even an elephant could not stand before him*" The word here used signifies a plate of iron placed on a post used for tilting at, and as a butt for arrows

[2] Mas'ūd, on one occasion, when writing to his envoy in Turkistān, mentions his father's having once ordered him back from Hirāt, when there as governor, and sent him to Multān, where he was kept in durance, but that he was never considered in any other light than his father's heir

Khwājah Abū Naṣr-i-Mishkān [3] says: "When the [Khalīfah's] letters patent were being read out in the audience hall of Sultān Mahmūd, a weight came over the hearts of the great nobles and chiefs, as well as my own, because the marks of majesty and nobility of mind were more prominently impressed upon the brow of Mas'ūd. When Sultān Mas'ūd came out from his father's presence, I, Abū Naṣr-i-Mishkān, went out after him, and I said: 'O Prince, a heavy load has overcome the hearts of us, your servants, on account of the reversal of your august title in the mandate of the Khalīfah.' Mas'ūd replied: 'Do not you be grieved. Have you not heard that "the sword is a truer authority than any writing?"' and commanded me to go back again.

By the time that I returned to the audience-chamber informants had already, without loss of time, acquainted the Sultān of this obsequiousness of mine, and he summoned me before him. When I came into the presence of Sultān Mahmūd, he demanded, saying, 'Wherefore didst thou go out after Mas'ūd, and what wast thou speaking about?' I related all that occurred without withholding any thing, for, had I concealed any thing, my life would have been in danger. The Sultān said: 'I am aware that, in every respect, Mas'ūd excels Muhammad, and that after my time the sovereignty will fall into the possession of Mas'ūd [4], and I use so much ceremony now that this poor Muhammad may, during my lifetime, experience a little honour and

[3] Mas'ūd, as soon as he assumed the sovereignty, appointed this same person—whose proper name is Khwājah-i-'Amīd, Abū Naṣr-i-Mishkān, Al-Zawzanī—his confidant and secretary, which was the same office as he had held under the late Sultān Maḥmūd, and Ṭāhir, the Dabīr [secretary], who had previously held that office, was removed. In 423 H., Hasnak, who bore the title of Shaikh ul-Khaṭīr [great, honourable, &c.], who had been Wazīr to Sulṭān Mahmūd, and had also held the same office under Muhammad, was gibbeted by order of Mas'ūd, because he had been the most active in depriving him of the throne. He had, in all probability, influenced Maḥmūd in his harsh treatment of Mas'ūd. In 426 H. Mas'ūd ordered Khwājah-i-Fāẓil, Aḥmad, son of Hasan, Al Maimandī [from his native place, Maimand, a small town of Ghaznīn], who had been long kept in prison by his late father, to be set at liberty, after which Mas'ūd made him his Wazīr. It was on this occasion that he drew up his celebrated Muāsafat, or stipulations on his duties, to be observed between his sovereign and himself, and which each of them swore to observe.

[4] Our author does not appear to have known that Maḥmūd, his father, had declared Mas'ūd his heir, and made the whole of his *ulūs* or tribe swear allegiance to him in 408 H. See note [9], p. 85.

gratification, which, after I am gone, will not be left to him.' The mercy of God be upon them!"

The Khwājah, Abū Naṣr-i-Mishkān, says, "In this occurrence two things astonished me: one was the answer of Mas'ūd to me, spoken with such wisdom and discernment, and the second, the greatness of mind, and the perfect supervision of Maḥmūd, that such a trivial act of attachment could not escape him."

When Maḥmūd subdued 'Irāḳ he bestowed the throne of that territory upon Mas'ūd, and, previous to that event, the city of Hirāt, and Khurāsān, had been ruled in Mas'ūd's name[5]. When he ascended the throne of Ṣafahān[6], he seized the territory of Rai, Ḳazwīn, and Hamadān, and the country of Ṭāram[7], all which he conquered, and he likewise overcame the Dīlamān[8]. On several occasions he donned robes of honour conferred upon him by the Court of the Khalīfahs. After the decease of his father, Maḥmūd, he came to Ghaznīn, and took the government of his father's dominions into his own hands. Several times he led armies into Hindūstān[9], and carried on holy wars as by law enjoined. On another occasion[1] he marched into Ṭabaristān

[5] See note [9], p. 85.

[6] Iṣfahān or Ṣafahān.

[7] Ṭāram is in Lār, or Lāristān, a province of Persia.

[8] Mas'ūd, in 424 H., wrested Kirmān from the Buwīah dynasty, who had long since declined, and sent Aḥmad, son of 'Alī, son of Nūsh-Tigīn, thither as governor. This, however, could have been temporary only, for in 433 H., after Mas'ūd's death, Ḳarā-Arsalān Beg, son of Jaghar Beg, wrested Kirmān out of the hands of Bahrām, son of 'Alī, the governor on the part of the Dīālamah sovereign, Abū Kālinjār, son of Sulṭān-ud-Daulah, son of Bahā-ud-Daulah, son of 'Izz-ud-Daulah, son of Rukn-ud-Daulah. See note [7] to page 56. After this, eleven princes of the race of Saljūḳ reigned in Kirmān.

[9] In the year 772 H., Sulṭān Fīrūz, Tughluḳ, was encamped near a place named Zafar-ābād, on his return from Bangāl. This was before he gave orders to found Jūnpūr [vul. Jounpoor]. "At this place were the ruins of several idol-temples, destroyed by Sulṭān Mas'ūd, the Victorious, during one of his campaigns in Hindūstān. A fort there still retains [i. e. when the author, from whom the extract is taken, wrote] the name of Karār-kot, from Karār-Bīr, a demon killed by Rājah Rām Chand, in the Tretā Jug." If it had not been stated that Mas'ūd destroyed these temples, I should be inclined to think this must refer to Mus'ūd-i-Karīm, only he sent his Ḥājib, and did not make a campaign in India in person, that I am aware of. Baihaḳī mentions nothing more than the expedition against Hānsī, in his work. Our author does not mention his authority for the statement that Mas'ūd led armies into India upon several occasions.

[1] Not "twice."

and Māzandarān; and, at the end of his reign, the Saljūḳs rose against him[2] On three several occasions he overthrew them in battle within the confines of Marw and Sarakhs; but, in the end, since it was the Divine will that the country of Khurāsān should pass unto the race of Saljūḳ, he encountered them in battle in Dāe-kān [Ṭāl-kān][3], and for

[2] Isrā'īl-i-Beghū, son of Sulīmān, son of Saljūḳ, who had been immured within the walls of the fortress of Kālinjar, died there in 426 H. In the same year, Jaghar Beg, or Jagharī Beg, as he is also called [جغری بیك]—a name which most oriental writers, and all English writers but one, have, most erroneously, supposed to be "Ja'far" Beg—son of Abū Sulīmān-i-Dā,ūd, son of Mikā'īl son of Saljūḳ, son of Luḳmān, rose, and took up his quarters at Marw. In the following year, Mas'ūd made all those persons who had received grants or presents from his brother, Muḥammad, refund them. This was done quite against the urgent remonstrances of his Wazīr. The sum produced is said to have amounted to eighty times a thousand thousand of *dirams*. In 429 H., Ṭughril Beg, son of Mīkā'īl, son of Saljūḳ, assumed sovereignty at Nīshāpūr, and from that date their dynasty commenced.

[3] This battle was fought in 431 H., but some writers differ as to 430, 431, and 432 H. The scene of the encounter is said to have been "the desert tract between Marw and Sarakhs, three marches from the former, near the fort of Dāndanḳād of Marw," which name is sometimes written Dāndanḳān, Dīdan-kān, and in other ways. It occurs, with a slight variation, in the Masālik wa Mamālik in one place, but it is correctly called Ṭāl-ḳān in another, and also occurs in Ibn Ḥauḳal, in Baihaḳī, Yāfa'ī, Guzīdah, Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh, and the works of some other writers who copy from them, the only difference in writing the words being دندنقان—دیدنقان—داندنقاد—داندلقاد—داندهان—and the like. It is the "Dandanekan" of Abū-l-Fidā [Geo. Reiske p. 345], who describes it as a small town of Khurāsān celebrated for its cotton manufactures.

These names are however mere errors for Tāl-ḳān, which famous place, and Tāe-ḳān of Ṭukhāristān, are commonly mistaken the one for the other, as done by our author in the text above, or rather some scribe for him, because, at page 46, and other places, and in the last Section, the name is correctly given, and also an account of the siege of Nasīr Koh of Tāl-ḳān by the Chingiz Khān. In carelessly written *MSS.*, scribes make very little difference between the letter ى [*e* here] without the points, and ا—*l*—thus طالقان and طائقان. The way in which the error of Dāe ḳān arose can thus be accounted for. Some early scribe read the letter ط—*t*—as the two letters دا—*dā*—and the ا was mistaken for ى [*i*]. The other words mentioned above evidently arose in the same way, through some scribe, writing carelessly or quickly, prefixing two letters—دا—one without points, which was subsequently read by some for ى—*e*—and by others for ن—*n*—or through writing *dā*—the first syllable of داهان—twice over, or putting one letter before the other.

Mr. Dowson [Elliot's INDIA, Vol. II., page 273], who appears to have implicitly followed the printed text, has "Tálikán." This incorrect name, sometimes varied to "Talikhán," is generally applied by European writers to Tāe kan of Tukhāristān, without being aware of the existence of Ṭāl-ḳān of Khurāsān, or at least, without being aware of the difference between the names of the two places.

three successive days he assailed and struggled with them; and on the third day, which was Friday, the Sulṭān was defeated, and retreated to Ghaznīn by the way of Gharjistān

Through the great dread which had now overcome him, he collected his treasures together, and came towards Hindūstān, and at Mārigalah [4], his Turkish and Hindū slaves revolted against him, seized his person, and [again] set up his brother, Muhammad, upon the throne, and sent Mas'ūd to the fortress of Girī [5], and, in 432 H., he was martyred [6] His age was forty-five years, and the period of his reign was nine years, and a little over His sons were Maudūd, Majdūd [7], Muhammad, Ibrāhīm, Īzīd-yār, Farrukh-zād, Shujā', Mardān Shāh, and 'Alī

V SHIHĀB-UD-DAULAH, MAUDŪD, SON OF MAS'ŪD.

Shihāb-ud-Daulah, Abū Sa'd-i-Maudūd [8], son of Nāṣir-ud-dīn U'llah, Mas'ūd, when the tidings of his father's murder reached him [9], ascended the throne of his father's dominions

[4] A pass, in ancient times somewhat difficult, situated between Rāwal Pindī and Attak, a few miles east of Ḥasan Abdāl The hills around used to be infested with robbers, who generally chose this pass for attacking travellers and karwāns of traders, hence the name "Mār-galah" The emperor Akbar had a good road carried through the pass for about two miles I have noticed it in my paper—"Diary of a March with the Bombay Column of the Army of the Panjāb,"—contained in the Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society for 1850-51

[5] Baihaḳī writes it Girī [گیری] and others write it Girī [گری] and Girā [گرا]

[6] He was not murdered until the 11th of Jamādī-ul-Awwal of the following year, 433 H, at which time, his nephew, Aḥmad, son of the blind Muḥammad, pretending it was his father's command, put Mas'ūd to death, after a reign of a few days over eleven years, not nine as our author states, because he ascended the throne on the 1st of Jamādī ul-Awwal, 422 H, and was murdered in the very same month of the year 433 H, but he had certainly been in confinement since the previous year Muḥammad is said to have lamented this act, and greatly reproached the murderers

[7] Appointed governor of the territory east of the Indus, with his headquarters at Lāhor, in Zī-Ḳa'dah, 427 H Baihaḳī mentions two others, but merely gives the title of one—Amīr-i Sa'īd—to whom Mas'ūd was much attached, and whom he proposed to make his heir, but he died at Ghaznīn in 429 H The other was named Abd-ur Razzāḳ

[8] Styled by some authors Shihāb-ud-Daulah, and Kuṭb ul-Millat, 'Abd-ul-Fatḥ-i-Maudūd, and Maudūd-i-Ghāzī According to Baihaḳī, Mas'ūd's title was Shihāb-ud-Daulah and Ḳuṭb-ul-Millat

[9] Maudūd was at Balkh, when the tidings of his father's imprisonment and murder reached him He set out for Ghaznīn without delay See note [2], p 96.

At the period that Sulṭān Mas'ūd was about to proceed into Hindūstān, he had established Maudūd as his lieutenant over the territory of Ghaznīn, and its dependencies. Maudūd assumed the throne in 432 H., and assembled an army, in order to revenge his father, and commenced his march towards Hindūstān[1]

Sultān Muhammad, son of Mahmūd, who was Maudūd's uncle, had been brought forth from his place of confinement, by the rebellious retinue [of Maṣ'ūd], and had been raised to the throne by them, who, with their loins girded, stood before him [to do his behests] The great nobles of Hindūstān submitted to him; and the Turkish slaves of Maḥmūd and of Mas'ūd, who had acted so perfidiously and with such hostility towards the latter, all had gone over to Muḥammad, and espoused his cause After he had been made sovereign by them four months, an encounter took place between Maudūd and his uncle, and, by the will of the Most High, the victory was bestowed upon Maudūd, within the limits of Nagrahār [Nangrahār[2]], and Muḥam-

[1] Guzīdah differs in the account of this affair "When hostilities arose between Mas'ud, and the Saljūḳs, and Mas'ūd had been defeated, he had to retreat to Ghaznīn He then determined to retire into Hindūstān [which in nearly every case should be understood to mean the Panjāb, except in the case of occasional expeditions beyond] After Mas'ūd had passed the Jīlam [جیلم] his troops mutinied against him, and carried away the blind Muḥammad from him, after which they placed a throne upon the back of an elephant, and seated Muḥammad thereon They then conducted him through the whole army, and Mas'ūd was seized and brought before his sightless brother" The Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī, while confirming this, with the exception of mentioning the Ab-i Sind, instead of the Jīlam, adds that Muḥammad gave up the direction of the affairs of government to his son, Aḥmad, and that Muḥammad only imprisoned his brother Mas'ūd, but Aḥmad directed that he should be put to death This statement is confirmed by most other historians. Mas'ūd's *object* in proceeding into India, or rather his territory on the Indus and in the Panjāb, was to raise a fresh army in order to take vengeance upon the Saljūḳs

[2] Maudūd, on hearing of his father's murder, advanced with his troops towards Ghaznīn to secure the capital, and Muḥammad, who was on the confines of Sind [i e on the Indus, in the *Sind Sāgar Do āb*], also hastened towards Ghaznīn for a similar purpose Every copy of *the work I* have seen has the name Nagrahār as plainly written as it is possible to write, yet Mr Dowson translates it by the impossible name of "*Takarhárud*," and makes the error worse, by adding, in a note [*Elliot*, vol ii p 274]—" or 'Bakarhá,' perhaps Bakhrála [Firishta's text says 'Depúr,' *not* 'Duntoor,' as in Briggs' translation]" Why "Bakhrálá" is fixed upon thus at hap-hazard, it would be highly interesting to know Was it because there is a place *east* of the Mārgalah Pass called بکراله—Bak-ṛālah, which happened to be not far off

mad was taken prisoner, together with his children and dependents. Sulṭān Maudūd wreaked vengeance upon him for his father's fall; and the murderers of his father, both Turk and Tāzīk, he put to death, and thereby gained fame and great distinction Whoever were implicated in the shedding of his father's blood, the whole of them he put to death.

He returned again to Ghaznīn, and took possession of the different parts of his father's dominions. He reigned for a period of nine years, and died, and his age was thirty-nine years[3].

His sons were Manṣūr, Muḥammad, and Maḥmūd; and the latter had a son named Sūlīmān.

VI 'ALĪ, SON OF MAS'ŪD, AND MUḤAMMAD, SON OF MAUDŪD, IN ASSOCIATION[4]

These two princes, uncle and nephew, were raised to the

towards the Jihlam [جهلم]? Which is the most natural—one force marching from Ghaznīn, and another marching towards it from the Mārgalah Pass—that they should meet about half-way, or at Bak-ṭālah? A glance at a map would show at once where those places lie. Maudūd founded a Bāzār or emporium, at the place where he gained this victory, which Baihaḳī calls Dīnūr, and named it Fatḥ-ābād, which, in the advance to Kābul, in 1842, was occupied by the troops under the command of Gen Sir R. Sale, G C B The name has been incorrectly spelt, as usual, Futtehabad. Maudūd gained this battle 434 H.

[3] Our author has omitted to mention some of the chief events of his reign, as well as the date of his death Both Guzīdah and Faṣīḥ-ī, as well as several other writers, state that Maudūd died in the month of Rajab, 441 H, of colic, when on his way to meet Jaghar Beg, his father's old foe, whose daughter he had married The capital of Jaghar Beg, at this time, was Marw

[4] A very unlikely arrangement, to say the least of it Our author, here, is at variance with all works of undoubted authority. Yāfa'ī, Faṣīḥ-ī, the Niẓām-ut-Tawārīkh of Baiẓawī, Guzīdah, Jahān-Ārā, Lubb ut-Tawārīkh, Fanākatī, and several others state, generally, that on the death of Maudūd, his son Mas'ūd, in accordance with his father's will, was raised to the throne, and that his mother, the daughter of Jaghar Beg, Saljūḳī, began to administer the government in his name, he being a child of three years of age After he had been one month on the throne—some say ten days—with his mother's consent and approbation, the great nobles and grandees, by mutual agreement, set the child aside, and raised his uncle, Bahā-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, to the throne No writer that I am acquainted with says one word about *two* rulers in joint occupation of the throne, except our author, who also makes a great blunder in calling Maudūd's infant son, Mas'ūd, by the name of "Muḥammad" A very good reason is given in Guzīdah for the child's being set aside. Bahā-ud-Daulah, 'Alī, married his brother Maudūd's widow, on which she, probably, did not much mind her infant son being set aside for her new husband.

throne by the Turks and the chief men of the kingdom. Each and every person took possession of some office or other. As the two princes possessed neither capacity nor ability, and neither authority nor control, the utmost disorder and detriment continued to arise in the affairs of the country, the condition of the soldiery, and of the people in general After two months[5] they raised Sultān 'Abd-ur-Rashīd to the throne, and sent the two princes back to a fortress again.

VII 'ABD-UR RASHĪD, SON OF MAHMŪD

Sultān 'Izz-ud-Daulah-i-'Abd-ur-Rashīd ascended the throne in 441 H [6] He was an enlightened and intelligent man, and was a depository of the oral traditions, which he was wont to narrate[7], but he did not possess much strength of mind or intrepidity

Seeing the repeated and successive changes and revolutions in the sovereignty, the Saljūks on the side of Khurāsān coveted the throne of Ghaznin[8] The sovereignty of

[5] Fanākatī and Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī say 'Alī reigned two years, after which, on 'Abd-ur-Rashīd rebelling, he fled from Ghaznīn Guzīdah agrees as to the number of years that 'Alī reigned, but says that his reign terminated in 443 H, and calls 'Abd-ur Rashīd *his uncle*

[6] Under the events of the year 443 H, Fasīḥ-ī notices—"a battle between Majd ud Daulah, Abū Manṣūr-i-'Abd-ur Rashīd, son of Maḥmūd i-Ghāzī, and Bahā-ud-Daulah, 'Alī, son of Mas'ūd, and the overthrow of 'Alī after a reign, at Ghaznīn, of one year, and the accession of Majd-ud-Daulah before mentioned" Other authors also call him Majd-ud-Daulah Yāfa'ī says that 'Abd-ur Rashīd, who had for years been imprisoned in a fortress, escaped, raised forces, overthrew 'Alī, and ascended the throne

[7] Translated by Mr Dowson—"*used to listen to chronicles and write history!*" The original is احار سماع د شت و روایت کردی

[8] A much more probable cause is given for the advance of the Saljūks in other histories, which is as follows —"After 'Abd-ur-Rashīd had reigned one year, the daughter of Jaghar Beg, in order to revenge the loss of her second husband, 'Alī, brought an army of Saljūks against him" *It is farther stated* that among the slaves of the Maḥmūdī dynasty was one named Ṭughril, who was Amīr-ul Umrā, who went and joined the Saljūks, conspired with them, fought a battle against 'Abd-ur-Rashīd, and took him prisoner The daughter of Jaghar Beg, widow of Maudūd and 'Alī, made 'Abd-ur Rashīd over to Ṭughril, and returned herself to Khurāsān Ṭughril imprisoned him in a fortress in the district of Maidān [near Kābul] 'Abd-ur-Rashīd was of such weak intellect that on one occasion, when Ṭughril was playing at Chaugān there, 'Abd-ur Rashīd came forth to see the sport, and applauded Ṭughril After a time 'Abd-ur Rashīd was put to death, at which period nine of the

Khurāsān had passed to Dā'ūd ; and Alb-Arsalān, his son, having become the commander of his forces, they determined to advance against Ghaznīn Alb-Arsalān entered [the country] by way of Ṭukhāristān, with a numerous army ; and his father, Dā'ud, advanced upon Bust, by way of Sīstān.

Sulṭān 'Abd-ur-Rashīd caused his forces to be got ready, and made Ṭughril, who was one of the slaves of Maḥmūd, and a man of consummate valour, general over them, and sent him against Alb-Arsalān In front of the *darah*[9] of Khumār he inflicted a defeat upon Alb-Arsalān, and from thence pushed on towards Bust, and arrived there with the utmost expedition. When he came up with Dā'ūd, the latter retired before him, and Ṭughril pursued him into Sīstān, and overthrew Beghū, the uncle of Dā'ūd

Tughril having gained two or three such like successes, returned to Ghaznīn, seized Sultān 'Abd-ur-Rashīd, and put him to death, after which he ascended the throne himself

'Abd-ur-Rashīd's reign was two years and a half, and his age was thirty years[1].

VIII ṬUGHRIL, AL-MAL'ŪN, OR THE EXECRATED[2]

Ṭughril was one of Mahmūd's slaves, and was endowed

grandsons of Maḥmūd were still living Yāfa'ī states that 'Abd-ur-Rashīd reigned nearly seven years, and died 450 H No mention of Ṭughril is made, and the author passes immediately on to Ibrāhīm, without any notice of Farrukh-zād, but that work only contains a brief notice of the Ghaznawī rulers after Mas'ūd the Martyr The Taẓkirat ul-Mulūk states that he reigned four years Faṣīḥ ī states, and the Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh agrees, that 'Abd-ur-Rashīd succeeded in 443 H, was *imprisoned* in 444 H, by Tughril, who was put to death the same year, and that Farrukh-zād succeeded, but makes no mention of 'Abd-ur-Rashīd's *death* Fanākatī says he died 450 H, and then makes a sudden jump from 'Abd-ur Rashīd to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. Baiẓawī, in the Niẓām-ut-Tawārīkh, makes no mention of Tughril or the reign of Farrukh-zād, and says that 'Abd-ur-Rashīd reigned seven years, and died in 445 H, and yet states that his successor, Ibrāhīm, reigned from 450 H to 492 H

[9] A "Darah" signifies a *valley* between two hills, through which a stream flows, and a *pass* between two mountains

[1] 'Abd-ur-Rashīd was present with his brother Mas'ūd at the battle of Dandānkād, or Dāe-ḳān.

[2] Authors of any authority do not give Tughril a place among the sovereigns, because he was an usurper of forty days.

with great intrepidity and valour. During the reign of Sulṭān Maudūd, he left Ghaznīn, and went into Khurāsān, and entered the service of the Saljūḳs He remained there for a considerable time, and made himself acquainted with their mode of warfare, and returned to Ghaznīn again in the reign of 'Abd-ur-Rashīd He seized 'Abd-ur-Rashīd, and slew him, along with eleven other princes, and usurped the throne of Ghaznīn, and reigned over the country for a period of forty days, during which he practised great injustice and tyranny

They inquired of him, saying. "Whence didst thou acquire ambition to reign?" He replied · "At the time that 'Abd-ur-Rashīd was sending me forth to do battle against Alb-Arsalān and Dā'ūd, and was giving me my instructions, and had placed his hand in mine[3], terror had overcome him to that degree, that I could hear his very bones rattling from the state of trembling he was in. I knew that this pusillanimous man was incapable of sovereignty, and the ambition of reigning entered my heart"

After forty days of his rule had expired, a Turk named Nūsh-Tigīn, a Silāh-dār, or armour-bearer, who happened to be standing behind Ṭughril, entered into an agreement with another, his friend, and they slew Ṭughril upon the throne itself, after which they brought out his head, and fixed it upon a pole, and had it paraded round the city, so that the people became free from anxiety and care[4]

IX FARRUKH-ZĀD, SON OF MAS'ŪD[5]

At the time that Almighty God brought down upon Ṭughril the just reward of his crimes, and delivered the

[3] The mode of making a compact—giving one's right hand.

[4] After Tughril had put all the princes he could lay his hands on to death, he compelled a daughter of the late Sulṭān Mas'ūd to become his wife Soon after he made a great entertainment, when a number of champions, filled with loyalty to the Maḥmūdī dynasty, attacked him, and cut him to pieces.

[5] Guzīdah, Faṣiḥ-ī, and Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī, strange to say, call Farrukh-zād son of 'Abd-ur-Rashīd His title was Jamāl-ud-Daulah, but, in the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, he is styled 'Imād-ud-Daulah, son of Mas'ūd Baihaḳī, in commencing one of the chapters of his work, states that he "began it in Ẓī-Ḥijjah, 450 H, in the reign of the Sulṭān-i-Muaẓẓam, Abū Shujā'-i-Farrukh-zād"

people from his unbearable tyranny, and unlimited oppression, two[6] princes of the Mas'ūdī family remained alive immured within the fortress of Bar-g͟hund[7]—one Ibrāhīm, the other Farruk͟h-zād.

The accursed Ṭug͟hril had despatched a party to that fortress for the purpose of putting them to death, but the seneschal, who was stationed therein, had taken one day to consider the matter, and had kept the party in question without the gates, under the agreement that they should be admitted on the following day, to carry out that wicked mandate. Suddenly, carrier pigeons[8] arrived there, bearing the news of Ṭug͟hril the Accursed having been killed.

After that execrable [man] was slain at G͟haznīn, by the hand of Nūs͟h-Tigīn, the chief men of the empire, and the Maliks, and Ḥājibs, sought for a sovereign. It was found that two princes still remained, immured within the walls of the fortress of Bar-g͟hund, so all of them set out towards that fortress, and desired to raise Ibrāhīm to the throne: but his august frame had become overpowered by infirmity, and, as delay was impossible, they brought forth Farruk͟h-zād, and congratulated him on his accession to the sovereignty, on Saturday, the 9th of the month Ẕī-l-Ḳa'dah, 344 H.

Sultān Farruk͟h-zād was a man of mild and amiable disposition, and just. As soon as he ascended the throne, he

[6] Guzīdah says three—Ibrāhīm, Farruk͟h-zād, and S͟hujā'.

[7] The same fortress is mentioned in Baihaḳī. Guzīdah says G͟hūnd [غند]. Bar [بر] in the Afg͟hān language signifies "on," "upon," &c., and g͟hunḍ [غنڈ] "round," "circular," and the like, as "a mound, a bluff, a detached hill," &c. A few copies have Buz-G͟hund.

[8] *Every copy* of the work collated has [with two exceptions, which have مرغان] the word مرغان signifying "birds," &c., as plainly written as it is possible to write, but in the printed text سرعان has been substituted, and Mr. Dowson, of course, follows the *printed* text. That carrier pigeons, or rather doves, were in use long before, for transmitting news speedily, see note [9] at p. 37. When the Crusaders under Godfrey were passing through the narrow defiles of Judea, *a white dove*, with a letter tied under its wing, from one Musalmān Amīr to his superior, gave information to the Crusaders of the foe's designs. This was but a short time previous to Farruk͟h-zād's reign. Salāḥ-ud-Dīn, subsequently to this, also established "*pigeon posts*" for the conveyance of news, and, in the latter part of A.D. 1179, when defeated by the Crusaders under Baldwin IV., the Count of Tripoli, the Grand Master of the Hospitallers, and the Templars, near Jerusalem, "a victory was proclaimed at Cairo [Ḳāhirah], and *pigeons* spread the triumphant news over Egypt, to quiet the spirits of the public," by Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn's desire.

remitted the revenue of the territory of Zāwulistān, which had become ruined through [the levying of] heavy contributions in taxes and supplies[9], so that it became prosperous again[1] He brought under his control the frontier provinces of the empire, and governed his people with benevolence He reigned seven years[2], when, suddenly, he was carried off by colic[3], in the year 451 H, at the age of thirty-four years[4]

X SULṬĀN IBRĀHĪM, SAYYID-US-SALĀṬĪN[5]

Sultān Zahīr-ud-Daulah, Naṣīr-ul-Millat, Razzī-ud-Dīn,

[9] The original text is عوارض و مونات—'Awāriz-wa-mūnāt [not "mútán"] which Mr Dowson renders—"*disease and murrain*," and adds, in a note—"*Awáriz-o-mútán* The former words [sic] mean literally diseases, but it [sic] is also used for those diseases of the body politic, extraordinary imposts" Does "*mūnāt*" also mean "*murrain*" in the body politic?

[1] The Taẕkirat-ul Mulūk mentions that, soon after the accession of Farrukh-zād, the Saljūḳs advanced towards Ghaznīn in great force, and were encountered by Farrukh zād and his forces The Saljūḳs were defeated and numbers slain, and some made prisoners Subsequently, Alb-Arsalān advanced against Ghaznīn, fought a battle, and gained a victory, in which most of the Maḥmūdī chiefs were made captive, and carried away into Khurāsān At last an accommodation was come to, and some of the captives were set free

[2] Farrukh zād, according to Guzīdah, reigned six years, in which several other authors agree, but the former gives the year 450 H, as that of his death, and says he bequeathed his sovereignty to his *cousin*, Ibrāhīm Faṣiḥ ī agrees in this, and also as to the year, but states that he reigned *seven* years, which is apparently correct, he having ascended the throne in the eleventh month of the year 443 H, and died in 450 H According to Baihaḳī, just quoted, we find he was alive in the last month of 450 H, but, as he died suddenly, he might have died in that same month The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, however, says he began to reign Saturday, 9th of Zī-Ḳa'dah, 444 H, and died, in Ṣafar, 451 H. Yāfa'ī agrees with Faṣiḥ-ī, and states that Ibrāhīm succeeded in 450 H In the latter part of the year preceding Farrukh-zād's death, Alb-Arsalān, who had succeeded his father, Jaghar Beg, over the territory of Khurāsān, ousted his great uncle, Beghū, from Hirāt, and had the Khuṭbah read there for himself

[3] The word used for colic is قولنج and described as a pain in the bowels and in the side, but I suspect it must be some type of cholera or inflammation, as it seems to have carried off several of this dynasty

[4] Among the Wazīrs or Ministers of Farrukh-zād was Khwājah Abū Bikr-i-Sāliḥ, who had previously held the government of Hindūstān Among the celebrated personages who died during his reign was Abū-Najm-i Iyāz, Ui-māḳ or Ī-māḳ, the slave of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, famous under the name of Iyāz He died in the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 449 H

[5] Sayyid here means "lord," "prince," "chief of," &c His correct title, as given by most authors, is Zahīr-ud-Daulah, Abū Muẓaffar-i-Ibrāhīm The

Ibrāhīm, son of Mas'ūd, the Martyr, was a great and illustrious monarch, learned and accomplished, just and God-fearing, benevolent and compassionate, the friend of the learned, and supporter of religion.

After Farru<u>kh</u>-zād had ascended the throne, Ibrāhīm had been removed from the fortress of Bar-<u>gh</u>und to the fortress of Nāe[6], and, when Farru<u>kh</u>-zād died, all hearts decided upon the sovereignty of Ibrāhīm. The Sarhang[7], Ḥasan, proceeded to his presence, and, accompanied by the chief persons in the state, conducted him from the fortress, and, on a Monday, at an auspicious conjunction of the planets in the high vault above, he ascended the throne. The day after he performed the customary mourning ceremonies for the Amīr-i-Ḥamīd—the Laudable Amīr—Farru<u>kh</u>-zād, his brother, and paid a visit to his tomb, and to the tombs of his ancestors, and all the great nobles, ministers, and most distinguished personages accompanied him on foot, for he did not show [particular] favour or familiarity towards any person soever, and, on this account, awe of his authority was implanted in the hearts of all people[8]

When the intelligence of his accession to the throne reached Dā'ūd, the Saljūk[9], he sent an embassy into <u>Kh</u>urāsān, and entered into a treaty of peace with him After Dā'ūd [died] his son, Alb-Arsalān, continued to abide by it, and Ibrāhīm brought under his entire control the

other titles, given by our author, are not mentioned by other writers He was abstemious and continent, and renowned for his tact and excellent judgment He wrote a beautiful hand, and every year sent a copy of the Kur'ān, written by himself, to Makkah, with other valuable offerings Guzīdah says the Saljūkī monarchs used to style him "father," and, when they addressed a communication to him, used to write his titles at the top of it

[6] This fortress was situated in the district of Wajīristān

[7] The meaning assigned to this word generally is—"A commissary, a serjeant, a commander, a superior officer," &c, but, in the Burhān-Ḳāṭi', and other works of authority in these matters, it seems, more correctly, an officer who marched in front of the troops bearing the standard—equivalent to the Italian *gonfalonier*

[8] Mr Dowson translates this "He bestowed no favours upon any one, and hence *apprehensions about his rule took possession of the hearts of the people*" The original is بدین سبب هیبتی از سلطنت او در دل خلق متمکن شد

[9] Dā'ūd died, according to most authorities, in Rajab, 451 H, though one says it took place in 452 H, and another in 453 H Faṣiḥ-ī says, "In the year succeeding that in which Ibrāhīm ascended the throne, Ja<u>gh</u>ar Beg died" At all events he died a considerable time before Ṭu<u>gh</u>ril, his brother

dominions of his ancestors[1] The troubles and disorders which had fallen upon that empire, through the vicissitudes of the times, and continual warfare, were all, during his reign, remedied and rectified, and the affairs of the empire of the great Maḥmūd assumed fresh vigour The ruinous places in the country were again repaired and restored, and he founded several towns[2], such as Jatr-ābād (?) Khair-ābād, Aimin-ābād, and others in different parts.

During his reign many astonishing and uncommon occurrences took place; and Dā'ūd, the Saljūḳ, whose ravages, inroads, conflicts, and conquests might vie with the flashing lightning, died.

The birth of Ibrāhīm took place in the year of the conquest of Gurgān, in 424 H, in the province of Hirāt, and that monarch had forty daughters and thirty-six sons All the daughters were given in marriage to illustrious Sayyids, and dignified 'Ulamā[3], and one of those princesses was married to the great-great-grandfather of [the author] Minhāj-i-Sarāj, and this was the cause of the removal of the writer's ancestors from Jūrjān Imām 'Abd-ul-Khālik, Jūrjānī, who lies asleep within the Sarāe of Tāhir-ābād of Ghaznīn, saw in a dream, whilst dwelling in Jūrjān, in his youthful years, that an angel said unto him in the vision "Arise, and proceed to Ghaznīn, and seek a wife" When he awoke, he imagined that this dream might have been prompted by the devil, but, having dreamt the same dream three times successively, as therein commanded, he came to Ghaznīn, and one of those daughters was bestowed in marriage upon him[4] That princess bore him a son, whom he named

[1] This is not correct, because the Saljūḳs held a very considerable portion of them

[2] In Elliot's INDIA, vol ii p 277, this passage is translated—"Several fortified places and towns were founded," &c, but *kasbah* does not mean fortified places, and, even were "ḳaṣr" read for it by mistake, it would not mean "fortified places" All authors agree that Ibrāhīm, during his reign, founded naught but masjids, colleges, buildings for the accommodation of travellers, and works of public utility, and that he built *nothing* for himself

[3] Here Sayyid is the title of the chiefs of the family of Muḥammad, descended from 'Alī, and his daughter Fāṭimah 'Ulamā signifies the learned—theologians, ecclesiastics, doctors of law Mr Dowson translates the sentence, "nobles *or* learned men of repute"

[4] Our author is so much taken up with his ancestor's grand alliance that he leaves out most of the principal events of the reign of Ibrāhīm. After he

Ibrāhīm — Maulānā, Minhāj-ud-Dīn, 'Uṣmān-i-Ibrāhīm— upon whom be the mercy of the Almighty! He was the father of Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn, who was the father of Maulānā Sarāj-ud-Dīn, 'Ujūbah-uz-zamān [the Wonder of his Age!], and he was the father of [the author] Minhāj-i-Sarāj.

Sulṭān Ibrāhīm was a monarch of felicitous and prosperous career, and his reign extended over a period of forty-two years, and his age [at his death] was sixty years. He died in the year 492 H.[5]

His sons were Maḥmūd[6], Is-ḥāḳ, Yūsuf, Naṣr, 'Alī, Bihzād, Khūrshed Malik[7], Khūb-chihr, Azād Malik, Malik-Chihr[8], Ṭughān Shāh, Azād-Mihr, Daulat Shāh, Azād-Chihr, Amīr Shāh, Nih-Fīrūzah[9] Tahamtan Shāh, Turān Shāh, Malik-Zād, Malik-Dād, Shams-ul-Mulk, Malik Sher, Sher Malik, Mas'ūd, Īrān-Malik, Kaihān Shāh,

arranged matters with the Saljūḳs, by marrying his son, Mas'ūd, to a Saljūḳ princess, daughter of Malik Shāh, and sister of Sulṭān Sanjar, and had no cause for farther anxiety respecting them, he carried his arms into Hind upon several occasions, and reduced many strongholds, and other places, among which is said to have been a populous city, inhabited by Khurāsānīs, whose ancestors had been expelled from their native country by Afrāsiyāb. There was a large ḥawẓ, or reservoir, there, said to have been half a league in diameter, 100,000 persons were made captive, and taken away to Ghaznīn, and booty, in proportion, was captured During the reign of Ibrāhīm, in 470 H, Abū-Faẓl-i-Muḥammad, son of Ḥusain [not Hasain], Al-Baihaḳī, who had been secretary in the "Dīwān-i-Inshā," of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sabuk-Tigīn, but, as the Deputy of the Khwājah-i-'Amīd, Abū Naṣr-i-Mishkān, Al-Zawzanī, and a pupil and disciple of that great man, died Abū-l-Faẓl was the author of the work entitled the "Maḳāmāt-ul-'Amīd-i-Abū Naṣr-i-Mishkān," and the "Tārīkh-i-Āl-i-Sabuk-Tigīn," in twelve books or volumes, [called by our author the Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī], entitled Tarīkh-i-Yamīnī The first portion of the work, containing the reigns of Sabuk-Tigīn and Maḥmūd, does not exist, and appears to have been lost for some centuries.

[5] On the 5th of the month of Shawwāl. One author says in Rajab, but gives no date Faṣiḥ-ī mentions the taking of Jerusalem by the Christians [August 15th, but some say 15th July, A D 1099] in this same year, and the slaughter of 80,000 Musalmāns The year 492 H began 27th of November, A D 1098

[6] In 471 H Sulṭān Ibrāhīm was apprized that his son, Saif-ud-Daulah, Maḥmūd, meditated flying to Sulṭān Malik Shāh, the Saljūḳ, and accordingly confined him within the citadel of Ghaznīn, and his partisans were sent to other fortresses.

[7] One MS has Munawwar Shāh

[8] Malik Mihr

[9] So in two MSS, but doubtful. The whole number forty. I expect the text should be, "He had forty sons and thirty-six daughters"

Jahān Shāh, Fīrūz Shāh, Mīrān Shāh, Yaghān[1] Shāh, Turkān Shāh, Arsalān Shāh, Tughril Shāh, Ḳutlugh Shāh, Muayyid Shāh, Sultān Shāh, Malik Shāh, Khusrau Shāh, Farrukh Shāh, and Bahrām Shāh

XI 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN[2] MAS'ŪD, AL-KARĪM, OR THE BENEFICENT, SON OF IBRĀHĪM

Mas'ūd, son of Ibrāhīm, who bore the title of Karīm, or the Beneficent, was a monarch of excellent disposition [and temperament], blessed with many virtues, just and equitable, and of auspicious reign

He ascended the throne during the Khilāfat of the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Mustazhar B'illah [Abū-l-'Abbās], i-Aḥmad, son of Al-Muktadī[3] Bi-amr-ullah He was endowed with humility and beneficence to an extraordinary degree, and he suppressed all the oppressive usages which, before his time, had been established The contingent taxes, which were exorbitant, he abolished throughout the Maḥmūdī dominions and in Zāwulistān , and likewise remitted all tolls and imposts throughout the whole empire

All the great chiefs and nobles and grandees of the country were left in undisturbed possession of the [offices and possessions] which they had held during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm[4], and he adopted the most beneficial regulations for the government of his dominions Amīr 'Uzd-ud-Daulah wa ud-Dīn[5] was continued in the government of Hindūstān

[1] Tughān, in one copy

[2] The proper title of this monarch appears to be 'Alā-ud-Daulah

[3] Every copy of the work [and the printed text also], with one exception, perpetrates the great blunder of calling this Khalīfah "son of Muḳtadir," instead of *Muktadi* In Section IV , on the Khalīfahs, our author gives the correct name

Under the occurrences of the year 493 H , Faṣiḥ-ī mentions an important matter, from which it would appear that the chiefs of Ghūr were not, at the time in question, such great or powerful personages as Minhāj-i-Sarāj would lead us to believe It says "Husain, son of Sām, *by command* of 'Alā-ud-Daulah, Mas'ūd, son of Ibrāhīm, obtained the government of Ghūr" I shall have more remarks to offer on this subject when I reach Section XVII

[4] Mr Dowson renders this passage in the following manner "He *restored* to the princes, nobles, and grandees, their possessions," &c They must have been *dispossessed* of them in order to have them *restored* , but برقراری — گذشت does not happen to mean "*restored*"

[5] From the word "Amīr" I should imagine this personage must have been either a brother or uncle of Mas'ūd's.

[as before]; and, during Mas'ūd's reign, the Ḥājib-i-Buzarg [Great Chamberlain] died, and the Ḥājib, Ṭug͟hā-Tigīn, crossed the river Gang, in order to carry on holy war in Hindūstān, and penetrated to a place where, except Sultān Mahmūd, no one had reached so far with an army before.

During the sovereignty of Mas'ūd all the affairs of the state were conducted with perfect order and regularity, and no heart had any cause of care from any quarter. He was born at G͟haznīn in 453 H., reigned seventeen years, and died in 509 H., at the age of fifty-seven. The sister of Sultān Sanjar, Saljūkī, who was styled the Mahd-i-'Irāḳ[6] [or the 'Irāḳī spouse], was wedded to him.

His sons were Bahā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, who had a son named K͟hatīr-ud-Dīn, Muhammad; S͟her-zād[7], Malik Arsalān, Farruk͟h-zād, who had three sons, 'Alī, Īrān Malik, and S͟hah-zād; 'Alī, Bahrām S͟hāh, Malik-C͟hihr, Malik-zād, Mahmūd, Sultān Malik, who had three sons, Arsalān Malik, Al-Ḥasan, and Mīr-Nūk; and Jams͟hed Malik, who had two sons, K͟hūrs͟hed, and Tūrān Malik.

XII. MALIK ARSALĀN, SON OF MAS'ŪD.

Malik Arsalān-i-'Abd-ul-Mulūk[8], son of Sultān Mas'ūd, ascended the throne in the year 509 H. at Garmsīr itself[9],

[6] In Elliot's INDIA, vol. ii. p. 278, "Mahd-i-'Irāk" is translated "Cradle of Irāk." One of the meanings of *mahd* [مهد] is certainly a *cradle*, and also a seat for the back of an elephant or camel; but another is "*making a bed*," and here *mahd* has the metaphorical meaning of a wife, hence the meaning is the 'Iraḳī wife. Baihaḳī, in his History, makes constant use of the word in this sense.

[7] Our author, like some others, has left out one sovereign. Fasiḥ-ī says that 'Alā ud-Daulah, Mas'ūd, son of Ibrāhīm, died in 508 H., after a reign of sixteen years; and that he was succeeded by KAMĀL-UD-DAULAH, S͟HER ZĀD, his son, in the same year; and in the following year S͟herzād died, after reigning about one year, when Arsalān S͟hāh succeeded. Guzīdah confirms this succession of Kamāl-ud-Daulah, S͟herzād, but says that he succeeded to the throne according to his father's will, and ruled for about a year, when his brother, Arsalān S͟hāh, rose against him, and put him to death, in 509 H. Other writers of authority likewise confirm the accession of S͟herzād, who was the second son of Mas'ūd, while Arsalān was the third. Yāfa'ī and Fanākatī also state that Mas'ūd reigned sixteen years, and Baiẓawī confirms it.

[8] His correct title is Sultān ud Daulah, Arsalān S͟hāh, son of Mas'ūd, son of Ibrāhīm; and, according to the Tārīk͟h-i Yāfa'ī, he succeeded to the throne in accordance with his father's will. Some call him Abū-l Mulūk.

[9] The original is در خود گرمسير. The passage is translated in Elliot's INDIA, vol. ii. p. 278, thus: "Malik Arslán Abu-l malik [sic] ascended the throne

and assumed the sovereignty of the empire of Ghaznīn. Bahrām Shāh, his brother[1], fled from him, and proceeded into Khurāsān, to the court of Sulṭān Sanjar.

During the reign of Malik Arsalān some remarkable events occurred, one of which was that fire, accompanied by a thunderbolt, fell from the heavens, so that by that fire all the bāzārs of Ghaznīn were consumed[2] Other untoward events and occurrences likewise took place during his sovereignty, so that people held his rule in detestation[3]. He was possessed of great nobility of mind, energy, courage, and valour.

When he came to the throne he treated his step-mother[4], who was [styled] Mahd-i-'Irāk, with indignity[5], and on that

A.H 509 [A D 1115], *and brought Garmsir and the kingdom of Ghaznī under his rule*" I wonder what throne he ascended if it was not that of the kingdom of Ghaznīn?

1 Some copies say "his uncle," but this is an error, for Bahrām was his brother, as the names of the sons of Mas'ūd confirm

2 The I H L MS, No 1952, and R A S MS are both very defective with regard to this reign In those copies Bahrām is said to be *uncle* of Arsalān, and in the sentence referring to the destruction of the bāzārs of Ghaznīn they have the word مردم—people—which is totally meaningless

3 These matters are not alluded to in the works I have been quoting, and seem to have been taken from our author by more modern writers

4 مادر سمي means a step-mother

5 He is said to have requested her to dance before him, for his amusement This may have been one reason why Sulṭān Sanjar took up the insult to his sister, and the cause of his nephew, Bahrām When Arsalān came to the throne, he imprisoned the whole of his brothers except Bahrām, who succeeded in reaching his uncle's court Fanākatī makes a mistake in this matter He says Sanjar was the *son* of Bahrām's *maternal uncle*, but, as Mas'ūd, Bahrām's father, married the daughter of Malik Shāh, she was Sanjar's sister [as our author also states], he being Malik Shāh's son According to Guzīdah, Faṣiḥ ī, and others, in 509 H, Sulṭān Sanjar, finding Arsalān Shāh deaf to all the expostulations which he had made in behalf of Bahrām, set out along with the latter for Ghaznīn, attended by a numerous army Arsalān came forth to meet them with 30,000 horse, but, after an obstinate engagement, was defeated and retired to Lāhor Having placed Bahrām on the throne, and fixed a yearly tribute, Sanjar returned to his own dominions, but, in the same year [509 H], Arsalān returned with an army, and defeated Bahrām, who again took shelter in Sanjar's dominions It was only in the following year that Sanjar became sole monarch of the Saljūķs, after the death of his brother Muḥammad, and had only a few months before acquired sway over 'Irāķ and Khurāsān, his dominions before that having been but a portion of the latter territory It was only in 511 H, that Bahrām, having obtained the aid of an army from his uncle, who did not accompany him the second time, was able to move against his brother Arsalān again In the encounter which ensued, Arsalān was taken prisoner, and thrown into confinement. Bahrām's reign really commenced in

account Sanjar became his foe, and gave assistance to Bahrām Shāh. Sanjar came against Ghaznîn, and Malik Arsalān fought a battle with him, and was defeated, and retired towards Hindūstān, where he fell into misery and wretchedness. He died [6] in the year 511 H, after a reign of two years, at the age of thirty-five years.

XIII MU'IZZ-UD-DAULAH WA UD-DIN [7], BAHRĀM SHĀH.

Mu'izz-ud-Daulah, Bahrām Shāh, was a person of handsome exterior, manly, munificent, just, and the sustainer and protector of his subjects At the outset of his career, when Malik Arsalān ascended the throne, after the decease of their father, Sultān Mas'ūd, the Beneficent, Bahrām Shāh proceeded into Khurāsān, the throne of which country was adorned by the great and inestimable sovereign, the august [8], the martyr Sulṭān Sanjar; and Bahrām Shāh resided at his court for a considerable time. Sulṭān Sanjar led an army towards Ghaznîn, and Malik Arsalān, after an engagement, was defeated, and Bahrām Shāh ascended the throne Sanjar treated him with great honour, and Sayyid Hasan, a celebrated poet of Ghaznîn, recited this ode [on that occasion] in the Audience Hall, in the presence of Sulṭān Sanjar, on whom be the mercy and the pardon of the Almighty! One quatrain [9] of the ode in question is here inserted.—

"Of the eloquent of the world what is the strain,
That shall ever on earth be proclaimed?—
'A shout emanated from the seven heavens,
That Bahrām Shāh is of the universe king.'"

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511 H In the following year Arsalān was released, but, being again found plotting, was put to death

[6] At Shāh-ābād, in Shawwāl, 511 H

[7] Faṣiḥ-î states that his title was Yamîn-ud-Daulah, in which Guzîdah and other writers agree, but there are others also, but chiefly modern authors, who agree with the title in the text

[8] The word Sa'îd—august—is not a proper name here As Sanjar died a natural death it is difficult to conceive how he was a "martyr"

[9] It is the commencement of the poem As Bahrām was a patron of learning and literature, a number of authors flourished in his reign, and numerous works, both poetry and prose, were written. The celebrated work, known as "Kalîlah and Damnah," was translated from the Arabic [تازی] into Persian by Naṣr-ullah, son of Muḥammad, son of 'Abd-ul-Majîd, [called "Ḥamîd" by Eastwick], in his reign, and was dedicated to Bahrām Shāh Subsequently, the same work was translated in the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusain, of the race of Taimūr, by Mullā Ḥasan-i-Wā'iẓ-ul-Kāshifî, and entitled Anwār-i-Suhailî.

Sulṭān Sanjar returned to Khurāsān again, and Bahrām Shāh assumed the government of the country[1]. He carried on holy wars in the direction of Hindūstān, and, on the 28th of Ramaẓān, in the year 512 H, he took Muhammad Bahlīm prisoner, and put him into confinement, but at last released him, and made over the whole of Hindūstān to him Again he rebelled, and founded the fortress of Nāghawr, in the territory of Siwālikh, in the neighbourhood of Bīrah, and he had likewise numerous sons and followers and dependents Bahrām Shāh, with the determination of extirpating him, advanced into Hindūstān against his stronghold, and Bahlīm[2] moved forward towards the confines of Multān, and fought an engagement with Bahrām Shāh The Almighty rewarded Muhammad Bahlīm for his base ingratitude, and he, with his ten sons[3], together with their horses and arms, on the day of the battle, sank in a morass[4], so that no trace of him and them remained

Bahrām Shāh returned to Ghaznīn again, and between him and the Maliks, or chiefs of Ghūr, hostilities arose, and an engagement took place between them, in which Daulat Shāh, a son of Bahrām, was slain[5] During that one campaign Bahrām Shāh sustained three defeats from Sultān

[1] One of Bahrām's coins struck at Lāhor in 548 H, contained in a work on the subject, bears the following inscription Obverse—"Coin of the Dār-us-Sultanat-i Lāhor, in the fifth year of his prosperous and happy reign" Reverse—"'A proclamation issued from the seven heavens, that Bahrām Shāh is of the universe king' Anno 514" This inscription, it will be noticed, constitutes the two last lines of the quatrain given by our author, who, in another place, states that the coin of Bahrām was stamped in Sanjar's name See under his reign, next Section

[2] Two MSS have احلم and حليم in place of باهلم but either of them is a strange name for a Musalmān

[3] A few copies have "two" sons, but, as he is said before to have had "numerous" sons, ten is the more probable number

[4] Mr Dowson, Elliot's INDIA, vol ii p 280, says, with reference to this passage, "The text has some *unintelligible* words, which vary in different MSS," and then quotes "Briggs" The words are ورسی or در رمس درسی and are quite plain and intelligible ورس which is also sometimes written ورس signifies a ditch, a marsh, a place where water stagnates, and ورسی is the adjective derived from it

[5] Among the events of 521 H Faṣiḥ ī mentions that "a battle took place between the troops of Ghaznīn, and 'Alā ud Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Ḥasan, Ghūrī, at Tigīn ābād Hostility had arisen between them on account of that place, which was a city situated between Ghaznīn and Ghūr The city was taken, and Bahram fled In 522 H 'Alā-ud-Dīn took Ghaznīn, and made it over to his brother See Section XVII

'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, and Ghaznīn fell into the hands of the Ghūrīāns. They set fire to it, and destroyed the whole [!] city. Bahrām Shāh retired into Hindūstān at this time, but, on the withdrawal of the Ghūrī forces, he returned to Ghaznīn again, and there died after a reign of forty-one years [6].

His sons were Jalāl-ud-Daulah, Daulat Shāh, slain in battle with the Ghūrīāns, 'Alā-ud-Daulah, Dā'ūd [7] Shāh; Bahā-ud-Daulah, Sultān Shāh, Fakhr-ud-Daulah, 'Alī Shāh; 'Izz-ud-Daulah, Muhammad Shāh, Samā-ud-Daulah, Mas'ūd Shāh, Shihāb-ud-Daulah, Mansūr Shāh; Mu'ayyan-ud-Daulah, Shāhan-Shāh, Mu'izz-ud-Daulah, Khusrau Shāh, and Sayyid-ud-Daulah, Farrukh Shāh.

XIV KHUSRAU SHĀH, SON OF BAHRĀM SHĀH.

Sultān Mu'ayyan-ud-Daulah-wa ud-Dīn [8], but, according to some statements, Tāj-ud-Daulah, Khusrau Shāh, ascended the throne in the year 552 H

As the Maliks and Sultāns [9] of Ghūr had shaken the empire of the house of Mahmūd to its very foundations, and had wrested Ghaznīn, Bust, Zamīn-i-Dāwar, and Tigīn-ābād out of their hands, and had ravaged and desolated them, feebleness had come upon its government, and its glory and splendour had passed away When Khusrau Shāh ascended the throne he was weak and powerless, and was unable to maintain his rule over the country.

A horde of the tribe of Ghuzz [1], who had acquired dominion and power in Khurāsān, in the reign of the august Sultān, Sanjar, who had now passed away [2], marched an army against Ghaznīn. Khusrau Shāh was unable to resist

[6] Great discrepancy exists with respect to the dates of Bahrām Shāh's death, and the accession and death of his son Khusrau Shāh, and also of Khusrau Malik, the last of the dynasty For farther notice of this, see note [6], next page

[7] In one copy Zāwul Shāh

[8] In a few copies he is styled "Yamīn-ud-Daulah" only; but the title above agrees with the statements of several other authors

[9] That is, "who were Maliks *and also* Sultāns" from the text

[1] Some lexicographers spell the word Ghazz, and some Ghuz

[2] Sultān Sanjar died on the 16th of Rabī'-ul-awwul, 552 H, but a few writers say in 553 H The former is correct.

them, and he accordingly retired into Hindūstān, and Ghaznīn was lost to him, and fell into the hands of the Ghuzz. They retained possession of that territory for a period of twelve years, until the august Sultān, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, Sām, led an army from Ghūr to Ghaznīn, overthrew Burāk[4], the Ghuzz chief, retook Ghaznīn, and established [his brother] Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, Sām, the martyr, upon the Ghaznīn throne. Khusrau Shāh had retired to Lahor, of Hindūstān. His reign extended to a period of seven years, after which he died[5].

[3] The Taẕkirat ul-Mulūk contains a very good account of the reign of Khusrau Shāh, which I here make an extract from. "He succeeded his father, and as 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of Hasan, Ghūrī, was in full march upon Ghaznīn, he, being unable to resist him with hopes of success, retired into Hindūstān [here signifying the Panjāb] and took up his residence at Lāhor. He turned his attention to the government of the western portion of his father's dominions, which were now left to him; but, when 'Alā ud-Dīn retired, after the plunder of Ghaznīn, Khusrau Shāh returned to Ghaznīn, and again took up his quarters there. Soon after, when the Ghuzz tribe took Sulṭān Sanjar, his great uncle, captive, and were advancing towards Ghaznīn, Khusrau Shāh, who, probably, while Sulṭān Sanjar was in power, might have expected aid from him in some shape or other, now that he was a prisoner, was totally unable to resist them, and he again retired to Lāhor, and died there in 555 H., after reigning eight years."

[4] In one copy Turāk.

[5] Great discrepancy prevails among authors respecting the latter part of Bahrām Shāh's reign, and the reigns of Khusrau Shāh, and Khusrau Malik, which I will notice as briefly as possible.

The first events noticed in Faṣiḥ-ī, under the year 523 H., are, "the return of Bahrām Shāh to Ghaznīn; his encountering Saif-ud-dīn, Ghūrī, and the capture of the latter"- He was placed upon a bullock—not "*a cow*"—and paraded through the streets of that city, and afterwards put to death. 'Alā ud-Dīn, his brother, determined to revenge him, and marched towards Ghaznīn with a numerous army; but Bahrām died before his arrival, in that same year [523 H.]." An account of the plunder of the city, and massacre of the people then follows; and it is farther stated therein, that 'Alā ud-Dīn, Jahān-soz, made over the sovereignty of Ghaznīn to his nephews, the brothers Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and that "Khusrau Shāh, who succeeded his father, Bahrām, was inveigled by them, *that same year*, and immured within the citadel of Ghaznīn, and the dynasty of the race of Maḥmūd, son of Sabuk-Tigīn, ended."—that is, terminated over the Ghaznīn territory.

Yāfa'ī, Kāẓī Baiẓawī, Guzīdah, Tārīkh-i-Alfī, and some others agree with the above statement, except as to the year of Bahrām's death, and the termination of the dynasty. These four works also mention 'Alā ud-Dīn as the *first* of the Maliks—here, doubtless, signifying *independent rulers*—of Ghūr; and they, correctly, it appears to me, account those previous to him to have been mere subordinate chieftains, for, if we consider the small extent of territory they could only have possibly possessed, their statements are to be relied upon.

His sons were Maḥmūd, Khusrau Malik, and Kai-Khusrau.

Guzīdah says Bahrām died in 544 H after a reign of thirty-two years, while Fanākatī asserts that he reigned twenty years, and died in 532 H. The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, which is generally most particular and correct as regards dates, agrees with Guzīdah as to the year, but confirms the statement of Yāfa'ī, Faṣih ī, and the Niẓām-ut-Tawārīkh, as to Khusrau Shāh having reigned but *one* year, after which the tribe of Ghuzz came against Ghaznīn, and he, being unable to cope with them, retired into Hind, and took up his residence at Lāhor, where he died in 545 H The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh however adds, that, in the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, the year 555 H is given Guzīdah also says this event occurred in 555 H., and in this Ḳāẓī Baiẓawī agrees. Among more modern works, the Taẕkirat-ul-Mulūk and Tārīkh-i-Alfī state that Bahrām died in 547 H, after reigning thirty-five years, and Khusrau Shāh in 555 H, and in this the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, Badāūnī, and Firishtah, and other modern writers agree

Our author states that Bahrām ascended the throne in 511 H, and died in 552 H after a reign of forty-one years, and that Khusrau Shāh, his son, succeeded, and reigned seven years, but does not give the date of his decease, but, by his statement, it would have been in 559 H, after which date his son, Khusrau Malik, succeeded Their coins, mentioned farther on, tend to show the contrary

As to 'Alā-ud Dīn's making over the government of Ghaznīn to his nephews, there is not so much discrepancy in the earlier writers, with the exception of our author, who expressly states that they were detained within the walls of a fortress by him, and were only set at liberty by his son and successor, as mentioned in Section XVII, which see This was the year after Saif ud-Dīn's death, who, according to Faṣiḥ-ī, was slain in a battle with the Ghuzz near Balkh, in which same year his nephew, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, succeeded him, and inflicted a defeat upon the Ghuzz, with considerable slaughter, and imposed tribute on them

After Khusrau Shāh comes his son Khusrau Malik, or Malik Khusrau, as he is also styled Yāfa'ī, Baiẓawī, Guzīdah, and Fanākatī say the dynasty terminated with Khusrau Shāh, and make no mention of his son, as his successor Perhaps they considered him as ruler of the Panjāb only The Taẕkirat ul-Mulūk states that Khusrau Malik succeeded his father as ruler of the Panjāb in 555 H, and was put to death in 583 H, after reigning twenty-eight years, while the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, which agrees in the date of his accession, says that he was immured in a fortress in Gharjistān in 583 H, and in 588 H was murdered along with his son Bahrām Shāh, and the whole of the remainder of the Ghaznawī family then left Rauẓat-us-Safā, Habīb-us-Seyr, Firishtah, and others say this occurred in 582 H, and Budāūnī, who merely gives this ruler a place "because the author of the Ṭabaḳāt i-Akbarī does so," as he remarks, says 583 H Our author states that the Ghūrīs first appeared before Lāhor in 577 H, and gained possession of it in 583 H, thus agreeing with some of the above statements, but mentions the year 598 H, as the year in which Khusrau Malik and all his family were murdered

Faṣiḥ-ī mentions the Ghūrīāns as powerful in Ghaznīn and Hind in 566 H, that Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn took that capital from the Ghuzz tribe [What an excellent opportunity this would be, to the "comparative" or rather *superlative* "philologists," to have derived the name of Ghaznīn from the Ghuzz tribe !] in 569 H, and made it over to his brother, Mu'izz, as Wālī After referring to

XV KHUSRAU MALIK, SON OF KHUSRAU SHĀH, THE LAST OF THE MAḤMŪDĪ DYNASTY

Tāj-ud-Daulah, Sultān-i-Ḥalīm, or the Mild Sulṭān, Khusrau Malik, ascended the throne at Lahor.

He was a monarch of excessive mildness and beneficence, unassuming, and endowed with many good qualities, but addicted to pleasure As he came at the close of the sovereignty of his family, no prepossessing memento of him has survived, and the sovereignty of that dynasty terminated in him Anarchy and disorder at last showed itself in the affairs of his government, and all the Amīrs and lesser officials of the country, both the Turks and the free-born [natives], all became too powerful for him to deal with, and the servants of the state and governors of provinces and districts exercised independent power, whilst their sovereign abandoned himself wholly to pleasure

the defeat, by him, of a horde of the Sankarān, a sept of the Ghuzz tribe [not "*a mountain*" or "*a town*"] in 571 H, and his expedition against Nahrwālah in 575 H, the same work states, under the occurrences of the year 581 H —"In this year an engagement took place between Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Muhammad, son of Sām, son of Husain, son of Sām, the Wālī of Ghaznīn, and Khusrau Malik, at Lohor, in Hind Khusrau was taken captive by stratagem, and the Sipāh sālār 'Alī Karmākh, who was Wālī of Multān previously, was left at Lohor as Wālī, but some writers say this took place in 582 H"

In Mr Thomas's paper on the Ghaznī Coins there is, unfortunately, no notice of the last two monarchs of the house of Sabuk-Tigīn, and there are no coins of theirs, or the dates above referred to might have been tested; but a work I have by me supplies some information on the subject, and confirms the statements of Faṣiḥ-ī, and the older writers A coin of Khusrau Shāh's therein noticed, contains the following inscription, which I translate literally —

Obverse—"Stamped coin in the universe, with magnificence and grandeur, the great Bādshāh Khusrau Shāh"

Reverse—"Struck in the city of Lohor, A H 552, the first of his reign"

Another coin of his son, Khusrau Malik, also struck in the Panjāb, contains the following inscription —

Obverse—"Zahīr-ud Daulah wa ud-Dīn, Sulṭān Khusrau Malik"

Reverse—"Struck in the city of Lohor, A H 555, the first of the reign"

All writers agree as to the deceitful and treacherous conduct of Mu'izz ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, towards Khusrau Malik After he had inveigled that unfortunate prince by his oaths and promises, he broke them, and sent him and the whole of the family then remaining to his brother Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, to be immured in a fortress in Ghūr Subsequently, when these very pious and model Sulṭāns, as our author considers them, found those unfortunates in the way, they massacred the whole of them

Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, Sām, used to advance every year from Ghaznīn, and to possess himself of portions of Hind and Sind, until in the year 577 H, when he appeared before the gate of Lahor, and extorted a son and an elephant from Khusrau Malik, and then retired. Thus matters went on until the year 583 H, when he brought an army against Lahor and reduced it Khusrau Malik was induced, under the faith of a treaty, to come out, upon which he was taken and sent off to Ghaznīn, and from thence was removed to the capital, Fīrūz-koh, which was the seat of government of the elder Sulṭān, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn Muhammad, Sām That sovereign gave orders that Khusrau Malik should be immured within the fortress of Balarwān[6], in Gharjistān

When the affair[7] of Sulṭān Shāh occurred in Khurāsān, and the two Sulṭāns turned their attention to that important enterprize, they put Sulṭān Khusrau Malik to death in the year 598 H, and the latter's son, Bahrām Shāh, who was confined within the fortress of Saifrūd of Ghūr, was also murdered, and the dominion and dynasty of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Sabuk-Tigīn, became obliterated, and the sovereignty of Īrān, the throne of Hindūstān, and the territory of Khurāsān came under the sway of the Maliks and Sulṭāns of the house of Shansabānī

Khusrau Malik's sons were Bahrām Shāh, Maḥmūd Shāh, Jahān Shāh, Mas'ūd Shāh, Malik Shāh, and Khusrau Shāh.

[6] In the greater number of places where this name occurs in the different MSS, بلاروان is given, but it is also written Yalarwān, Badwān, and in various other ways Saifrūd is also written Sankarān in some copies. See note to Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's reign, Section XIX

[7] See under Section XVII.

SECTION XII.

THE DYNASTY OF THE SALJŪḲĪAH

THE author of the Tārīkh-i-Sānī [1], who was Ibn Ḥaiṣam, has thus related that when the victorious Sultān, Maḥmūd-i-Sabuk-Tigīn, crossed the Jīhūn, and the territory of Māwar-un-Nahr was left clear in his hands, Ḳadr Khān, who was the brother of the late Ī-lak [Khān], and of the Afrāsiyābī dynasty, entered into negotiation with the Sultān. Between the two potentates treaties of alliance and amity were entered into, and confirmed and cemented, and an interview took place between them [2].

After Ḳadr Khān had been received by the Sultān, the latter commanded, after the public reception, that the privy apartment should be cleared, and they held private conference together, and consulted confidentially on all the affairs of Īrān and Tūrān. Ḳadr Khān preferred many requests to the Sultān, one of which was that he would remove the son of Saljūk [3], the Turkmān, with his followers

[1] At Section VII page 11, the author calls the work Ḳaṣaṣ-i-Sānī, but the signification is the same. See also note [7], page 56.

[2] This interview took place in 419 H. They entered into a treaty of friendship and alliance, the principal stipulation in which was, that a portion of Māwar un-Nahr should remain in the possession of the Sultān, and that some should belong to Kadr Khān, who is styled Bādshāh of Māwar un-Nahr. The Khwājah-i-'Amīd, Abū Nasr-i-Mishkān, Al Zawzanī, relates that at that time the forces along with Sultān Maḥmūd were so numerous, that no monarch had ever so many under his standard before.

[3] With respect to the Saljūḳs and their rise to power, Oriental historians differ considerably, but space will not permit my noticing their discrepancies, except very briefly. Several authors altogether deny that Sultān Maḥmūd suffered the Saljūḳs to enter Khurāsān, and assigned them lands therein—among whom is the author of the Rauẓat-uṣ Safā—and contend that the two brothers, Dā'ūd-i-Jaghar Beg and Tughril Beg [but our author states they were altogether separate from those under Yagh-mū or Yagh mūr, still his statement is so confused as to be scarcely reliable], with their dependents, did not cross the Jīḥūn into Khurāsān, until the reign of Mas'ūd, when they appropriated Nisā and Abīward, but, at the same time, sent to tender their allegiance to that monarch. See note [3], p. 120. In the Tārīkh of Abū-l 'Alā-i Aḥwal, or the "Squinter,"

and dependents, from the country of Māwar-un-Nahr and Turkistān into Khurāsān. These followers and dependents

Saljūk is said to have been a descendant of Afrāsiyāb, and had four sons—Isrā'īl, Mīkā'īl, Mūsā-i-Beghū [i e son of Beghū], and Yūnas The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says he had *five*, and that the name of the fourth son was Yūsuf, and the fifth Yūnas Finding the lands they occupied too circumscribed, they were compelled, in 375 H, to leave their native pastures in Turkistān—one author says the Dasht-i-Khurz—and entered Māwar-un-Nahr, and took up their quarters in the Nūr of Bukhārā, and the Sughd of Samrkand, making the former their winter, and the latter their summer quarters Maḥmūd, according to the "Squinter," was on friendly terms with them [see under his reign], and Isrā'īl came and waited upon him, when that monarch entered Māwar-un-Nahr, and was treated with great distinction This was the occasion when Isrā'īl told the Sultān the effect which the sending of his two arrows and his bow would have, so well known as not to require relation here [Gibbon incorrectly calls him *Ismael*!] The Sultān, it is stated, became suspicious of the Saljūks on this, and had Isrā'īl seized, when in a state of intoxication, and sent to the fortress of Kālinjar in Hind, but a few authors, including our own, say "to the fortress of Multān" The former statement I think the most reliable Isrā'īl remained in durance till his decease seven years after, but, previous to his death, he sent messengers to his brothers, sons, and kinsmen, and incited them to rebel They sent to ask Maḥmūd's leave to cross over the Jīḥūn into Khurāsān, but Arsalān the Ḥājib, who was governor of that province, refused to grant it, and strongly advised the Sultān to refuse permission Contrary to Arsalān's advice, he gave them permission, and they passed the Jīḥūn, and took up their quarters in the pasture-lands about Nisā and Abīward Mīkā'īl had two sons, Tughril, and Dā'ūd-i-Jaghar Beg, who, from their talents and superior accomplishments, became the leaders of the tribe

Other writers, however, say that Saljūk had four sons, Isrā'īl, Mīkā'īl, Mūsā, and Yūnas, and that Beghū was the son of Mūsā Mīkā'īl having been slain in one of the battles of that period, leaving two sons, Saljūk named those two grandsons, Dā'ūd-i Jaghar Beg and Tughril Beg, rulers of the tribe after his decease When Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn subdued the territories of Māwar-un-Nahr, among other chiefs, Dā'ūd and Tughril, who had fought several battles with the rulers of Turkistān, and had acquired fame for valour, waited on Maḥmūd, and solicited that some portion of territory should be assigned to their tribe, as grazing-grounds for their flocks and herds.

Faṣiḥ-ī states that, previous to Maḥmūd's crossing the Jīḥūn and entering Māwar-un-Nahr, as early as 416 H, Dā'ūd-i Jaghar Beg, son of Tughril Beg, son of Mīkā'īl, son of Saljūk—by this account Dā'ūd-i-Jaghar Beg was Mīkā'īl's grandson—had risen and entered into the Khwārazm territory, thus, in a measure, confirming a part of our author's statement The same authority mentions that it was in 419 H, on the Sultān's return from Māwar-un-Nahr, that Isrā'īl, son of Beghū, son of Saljūk, son of Lukmān, had the interview with the Sultān, who brought him along with him, but soon after, on some account or other, Isrā'īl was seized and sent to the fortress of Kālinjar For Fanākatī's statement on this subject, see note [2], p 126

The above notice of the Saljūks has been taken from the Tārīkh-i-Abū-l-'Alā, Guzīdah, the Lubb-ut Tawārīkh, Jāmi' ut Tawārīkh, Abū-l-Faẓl-i-Baihaḳī, Tārīkh-i-Alfī, Mujāmi' ul Khiyār, Jahān-Ārā, and the Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, and others Yāfa'ī differs considerably from these works and

of Saljūk and his son were a tribe whose dwelling-place was the Nūr[4] of Bukhārā, and they were all subject and obedient to the Sāmānī dynasty.

At the period in question the son of Saljūḳ had attained to man's estate, and, on account of his prowess and valour, his arrow and his sword, all the Maliks of Turkistān and the Afrāsiyābī rulers were continually in fear. Not a bird in the air nor a deer of the plain escaped his arrow; and, like a whirlwind and a thunder-cloud, he was wont to enter the chase or the conflict, and used to vanquish every man who entered into a personal contest with him. Upon this occasion when Ḳadr Khān joined and accompanied Sultān Mahmūd, and all were in attendance at his stirrup, and proceeding towards the Sultān's own tents, the son of Saljūk continued to ride on before them all, a Turkmān cap placed jauntily on one side of his head, and bestriding a horse like the spur of a mountain, galloping about like a roaring lion, or the flickering lightning, in such wise that the forces of Turān and Īrān were amazed at his agility and horsemanship

As Ḳadr Khān had requested of the Sulṭān, so it was carried out, and, at the very time that Ḳadr Khān set out on his return [to his own territory], they brought a mandate [from the Sultān] to the son of Saljūk to remain in his tent, and gave orders that his followers, with his and their effects, should cross the river Jīhūn into the confines of Khurāsān in company with the Mahmūdī forces Agents were directed to take care of them, and look after them, and, when they reached the bank of the Jīhūn, they crossed the river along with servants of the Sultān

At the time the command was issued that the son of Saljūk, along with his followers and dependents, should embark on boats, and pass over the Jīhūn with their property and effects, the Ḥājib, Arsalān Khān[5], who was

authors, but least from Guzīdah I have not completed the translation of that portion of Yāfa'ī as yet, therefore cannot make much use of it at present

It will be noticed that our author repeatedly quotes "the son of Saljūḳ," but gives no name, and, moreover, Isrā'īl, to whom he must refer, was, by some accounts, Saljūḳ's son, and by others, his grandson

[4] A district of the territory of Bukhārā so called

[5] His correct name is Arsalān Khān Jāẕib [جاذب] seems to have been an error on the part of some early copyist for Ḥājib [حاجب], and copied accordingly by Firishtah, and other modern authors

the Amīr [Governor] of Khurāsān, and the greatest of the retainers of Sulṯān Maḥmūd, made a representation to that monarch, saying: "This which your Majesty has commanded is far from the cautious counsel of your servant, for, with your own hand, you have placed power in the hands of the enemies of your country, over the dominion of your descendants, and, in the end, by this tribe, disorder and tumult will be brought upon the empire" The Sulṯān, in reply, said "What is your opinion in this matter?" The Ḥājib, Arsalān, answered "My advice is this, that the whole of them be commanded to re-embark on board the boats, and then to sink them in the river, or otherwise to have their thumbs cut off[6], so as to render them incapable of discharging arrows in future" Sultān Mahmūd answered: "Arsalān, thou art a hard-hearted man, indeed! To break one's promise, and slay the helpless, are not acts becoming a sovereign who possesses any feelings of honour, or a man who has any magnanimity in his nature, and, moreover, destiny cannot be averted by perfidy any more than by valour" However, after the son of Saljūk had been conveyed across the Jihūn, it was commanded that he should be brought to Multān, while his kinsmen, and his other followers and dependents were assigned pasture-lands for their flocks and cattle in the territory of Khurāsān, such as Nisā, Nishāpūr, Bāward[7], and other tracts in Upper Khurāsān.

As the Almighty had willed that, subsequently, this race should become great and powerful, and that from their posterity should spring puissant and mighty monarchs and rulers, notwithstanding Sultān Mahmūd afterwards regretted what he had done, still regret was of no avail, for regret cannot avert destiny

Imām Abū-l-Fazl-i-Baihaḳī states in his Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī[8],

[6] So in the text, but it must be presumed that the author meant the thumb of the *right hand* of all the males

[7] Also called Abīward, but, correctly speaking, Abīward is the name of the town, and Bāward the name of the district Guzīdah states that the people of Khurāsān, in the parts where the Saljūḳs were located, became attached to the brothers Ṯughril Beg and Jaghar Beg

[8] This portion of Baihaḳī's work has not come down to us He mentions the names of these chiefs in one or two places in the part relating to the life of Mas'ūd, and says that the people who entered Khurāsān under Yaghmūr and other chiefs were Turkmāns; and he always makes a difference between them and the Saljūḳs.

that, at the time that Sulṭān Maḥmūd carried across the Jīḥūn four thousand Saljūḳ families, their Mihtars, or chiefs, were four persons, Yagh-mūr [9], Būkah, Kūk-tāsh, and Ḳazil, and in different parts of Khurāsān pasture-lands were assigned to them, and they were made over to [the guardianship of] the great nobles of Khurāsān, and instructions were given to them that the Saljūḳs should, in no way, and on no account, be permitted to carry arms. Their chief[1], who was the eldest son of Saljūḳ, and famous for his manhood, was sent to Multān, along with two of his sons[2] likewise, and at Multān, after some time had passed away, they also died[3]. The remainder of the Saljūḳ tribe, who had remained behind in Māwar-un-Nahr, were in the habit every year of migrating from Nūr of Bukhārā to Darghān[4] of Khwārazm, to the pasture-lands therein. They entertained innate enmity towards the Malik [chief] of Jund, whose name was Shāh, and, in the reign of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, the Martyr, the Amīr [Governor] of Khwārazm, the son of Altūn-Tāsh[5], rebelled against the Sulṭān's authority. The

[9] Also written Yagh mur.

[1] It will be doubtless noticed here that our author stated just a few lines above, quoting Baihaḳī, as he says, that the Saljūḳs, who crossed the Jīḥūn into Khurāsān, had *four* chiefs, and immediately after says, "their chief, who was Saljūḳ's son," died at Multān. He evidently confounds those of the tribe who entered Khurāsān with the remainder who stayed behind. See p. 121. Yāfa'ī states that their place of abode was twenty farsakhs, or leagues, distant from Bukhārā.

[2] All the copies of the work do not contain this last sentence about the sons.

[3] Faṣiḥ-ī, Baiẓawī, and other authorities, mention the death of Isrā'īl, son of Beghū, son of Sulīmān, son of Saljūḳ, at Kālinjar, in 426 H. His son had come with a party of followers from Māwar-un-Nahr to effect his release and carry him off. They had succeeded in getting him out of the fortress, but missed the road, were pursued, and overtaken. When his pursuers were in the act of securing him, he cried out to his son: "I shall never be released; do you seek to acquire territory." That same year Dā'ūd i Jaghar Beg broke out into open rebellion, and took up his quarters at Marw.

[4] Considered generally as belonging to Samrḳand.

[5] Altūn-Tāsh, the Ḥājib, was appointed viceroy of Khwārazm by Sulṭān Maḥmūd in 407 H., after he [Maḥmūd] had proceeded thither in person, and had defeated the rebels, who had slain his son in law, Māmūn, son of Māmūn, and had put Niāl-Tigīn to death, as related in the events of Maḥmūd's reign. When the Sulṭān returned to Balkh, after his raid upon the Afghāns, Altūn-Tāsh-i Khwārazm Shāh, as he is styled, was sent for. He came and remained at Court three months. He then obtained permission to return, and, in the presence of Khwājah Aḥmad-i Ḥasan, Maimandī, the Wazīr, and the Khwājah-i-'Amīd, Abū Naṣr-i Mishkān, gave his word, and swore, that he would never

Saljūḳs joined him in that outbreak, and, in the year 425 H, he bestowed upon them a tract of country belonging to the territory of Khwārazm, which they call Rabāt-i-Māsah, as grazing ground for their flocks and herds The chief of Jund, having received information as to their situation, made a raid upon them, and slew about eight thousand of the males, and but few of them remained, and they became totally at a loss as to what they should do in this state of affairs

The Governor of Khwārazm, Hārūn, the rebel, the son of Altūn-Tāsh [with whom the Saljūks had sided, as before stated] had [lately] been killed, and they found it impossible to continue to dwell in the territory of Khwārazm, and, through fear of the sons of 'Alī Tigīn, the late ruler of Bukhārā, who was one of the Afrāsiyābī Khāns, or chieftains, they were unable to enter that territory Out of necessity, therefore, they moved towards Nisā and Marw —*in all about seven hundred horsemen*—with their property, and their families and dependents

Yagh-mūr, who was one of their chiefs, had died previously to this, and a son of his remained, and, when that portion of the tribe [who had escaped the sword of the Malik of Jund] came towards Nisā and Marw from Khwārazm, the son of Yagh-mūr[6] was unable to cope with them, for, although they were weak in numbers themselves, other tribes, such as the Niālīs[7], and others, had joined them The son of Yagh-mūr [with his tribe, who had first crossed the Jīhūn] retired before them, and entered 'Irāk, and seized upon Rai; and the Saljūks took up their residence in the

act contrary to the Sultān's wishes and commands, and he left two sons, Saibī [?] and Yūsuf, at Court In 422 H, after the accession of Mas'ūd, the Martyr, Altūn-Tāsh presented himself at Court, and was soon allowed to return After he had departed, a number of the Sultān's advisers worked on the mind of the Sultān so much about it, that he regretted he had allowed him to leave A message was sent for him to return, but he made excuses, and did not do so It was thought he had penetrated into the design against him, but subsequently he became satisfied, after receiving kind messages from the Sultān. No mention is made in Faṣiḥ-ī respecting this grant of lands by the "son of Altūn-Tāsh," to the Saljūḳs

[6] Here again our author says the son of Yagh-mūr, but does not give any name This is his constant failing

[7] The Niālīs refer to the adherents of Niāl-Tigīn, viceroy of the Panjāb, who had rebelled, and had been removed. See Baihakī

grazing lands on the border of the desert [in the districts of Nisā and Marw].

The Almighty gave them strength and power, so that they possessed themselves of the territories of Khurāsān; and the east, and the west, and whatever the dominions of Islām were, wholly and completely came under the sway of their descendants, in such wise that their fame will remain upon the records of time unto the judgment day[8].

I. ṬUGHRIL, SON OF MĪKĀ'ĪL[9].

The author of the Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī[1], Imām Abū-l-Fazl-i-Baihakī, relates after this manner that, at this period when the Saljūks entered the skirt of the desert of Khurāsān, and the son of Yagh-mūr retired discomfited[2] before them, their Mihtars [chiefs] were three persons—Tughril and Dā'ūd, two brothers, the sons of Mīkā'īl, and their uncle Beghū, and all three in accord determined to tender their services to Sultān Mas'ūd, and despatched a confidential agent to the Sultān's presence—he, at that time, having come to Nishāpūr from Gurgān—and solicited that the districts of Nisā, Farāwah, and certain places at the head of the desert might be assigned to them in fief[3]. In the missive

[8] The commencement of the outbreak of the Saljūks was in 423 H., and, in the same year, Ḳadr Khān, the Turk, ruler of Māwar-un-Nahr, died. Jaghar Beg, son of Abū Sulīmān, seized Marw, and took up his quarters there in 426 H. The Saljūks made an attempt upon Hirāt in 428 H., but were repulsed, and forced to retire. They returned however in the following year, and compelled the place to capitulate, and the territory was annexed in the name of Sulṭān Ṭughril Beg, but Sulṭān Mas'ūd subsequently gained re-possession of Hirāt, and severely punished those who had, as he considered, so tamely capitulated to the Saljūks. See note [8], p. 129.

[9] His correct name is Abū Ṭālib, Muḥammad, and his title, Rukn-ud-dīn, Ṭughril Beg, Yamīn-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn, or "The Right Hand of the Lord of the Faithful."

[1] This work is styled Tārīkh-i-Muḳaddasī-i-Nāṣirī in two copies of the text at this place.

[2] The word here used is "*munhazim*," signifying routed, put to flight, discomfited in battle, dispersed, &c.

[3] As from other writers, our author has not quoted Baihaḳī correctly. The text states that *they sent* a trustworthy agent *to the* Sulṭān. The following is condensed from what Baihaḳī says in this matter. Soon after Mas'ūd arrived at Gurgān, a despatch reached his minister from Bū-Faẓl, Sūrī, Dīwān of Nīshāpūr, which had been brought by horsemen in two days and a half from that city, intimating an irruption of Saljūks and Niālīs from Marw, who had

in question they had written their own names in the following manner.—"Ṯughril, and Beghū, and Dā'ūd, who

proceeded to Nisā, where they had joined the Turkmāns [see note [8], page 119] there, and that they had been reinforced by other Saljūķs and Khwārazmīs, and further, that he, Bū-Fazl, enclosed therewith a communication addressed to him by Beghu, Ṯughril, and Dā'ūd, in order that the Sulṯān might give such orders upon it as he might deem fit The communication began thus "To his Excellency the Shaikh, the Illustrious Lord, the Sayyid Maulānā Abī-ul-Fazl-i Sūrī, from his servants, Beghū [it will be noticed that the uncle here takes precedence of the nephews], Ṯughril, and Dā'ūd, the Muwālī or lieges of the Amīr-ul-Mūminīn," and began, "We, your servants" They went on to state that they found it impossible to dwell in Māwar-un-Nahr and Bukhārā since the death of Alī-Tigīn, who had been kind and friendly towards them, as his affairs were now administered by his two sons, inexperienced boys, who were hostile towards them On account of the distracted state of Khwārazm, though Hārūn, its ruler, having being killed, they found it impossible likewise to remove thither, and therefore they had come to put themselves under the protection of the Sovereign of the World and Lord of Beneficence, the great Sulṯan They hoped the Khwājah [Abī ul-Fazl] would aid them at this juncture, and write on their behalf to the Khwājah, 'Abū Naṣr [the Wazīr], and advocate their cause as they were known to him They farther solicited that, as through that minister's good offices [Khwājah Abū Naṣr-i-Aḥmad had previously been Wazīr to Hārūn and his father], the late Hārūn, Khwārazm Shāh, used to allow them to remove with their families and flocks into his territory in winter, he would assist them now If the Sulṯān, they said, would accept their vassalage, one of them would constantly attend at Court [as a pledge of good faith], and the other two would serve him in such manner as he might command, and they would rest under his great shadow They asked that the territories of Nisā and Farāwah, which lay on the edge of the Desert [between the mountains bounding Khurāsān on the north-east, and the Jīḥūn or Oxus], should be conferred upon them, in return for which they promised they would undertake to prevent any rebel from raising his head in Balkhān Koh, Dihistān, the direction of Khwārazm, or the Jiḥūn, and would assail the 'Irāķis [the Turkmāns under Yagh-mūr's son are here referred to] and drive them out Their request was couched in civil words, to all appearance, but concluded as follows "but if, which God forbid, the Sulṯān would not grant their request, and should refuse his permission, they did not know what the state of affairs might become, because they had no place on earth, and none remained to them Not having the boldness to venture to address such an august person [as the Sulṯān's Wazīr], they had addressed the Khwājah [Abī-ul-Fazl] to solicit him, Please God ! to bring their request to a favourable issue."

Sulṯān Mas'ūd wished to move at once against them, so wrath was he at this insolent demand, and bitterly complained of the injury and trouble his father had entailed upon the empire and upon him, through allowing any of those "camel-drivers," as he styled the Sāljūķs, to pass the Jiḥūn, in the first instance The Wazīr and some others counselled the acceptance of the allegiance of the Saljūķ chiefs, but another party at the Court advised the Sulṯān not to think of marching against them himself, or at the present time, as they would have it that the cattle of his army, after the late expedition, required rest. They advised that a reply should be sent to Abī-ul-Fazl, telling

are the Mawālī [lieges] of the Lord of the Faithful, represent unto your presence," &c. The Almighty had been pleased to fill their hearts with much arrogance and contumacy; and, when the purport of their request was made known to the Sultān, he at once commanded that they should have a reply couched in courteous words, but a force of about 15,000 horse, under the command of the Sālār [general], Bak-Taghdī, was told off in the year 420 H.[4], to proceed against them.

When that force reached the Saljūks, it fought a stubborn battle with them, and the Sultān's army sustained a defeat, and the Sultān, out of necessity, had to come to

him to acquaint the Saljūḳ chiefs, in reply to their demand, "to be under no concern, as they had come to their own homes [as it were], and that they were in his dominions, and under his protection," and to pretend that he was going to march to Rai, but instead to proceed to Nīshāpūr, and get a force ready to send against them unawares The Sulṭān was induced to follow this advice, and the upshot was the despatch of 15,000 horse to Nisā, under the Ḥājib, Bak-Taghdī He, on first coming upon the Saljūḳs near Sarakhs, defeated and routed them, but, soon after, his troops, who were already encumbered with baggage and women, having taken to plunder, he was himself overthrown, by the Saljūḳs, who had again rallied and attacked him This took place in Sha'bān, 427 H, not in 420 H, as our author relates, and as is written in the ten copies of his work collated After this affair, Mas'ūd had to agree to their demands, they being *the first* however to open negotiations, and Farāwah was given to Beghū, Nisā to Tughril, and Dihistān to Dā'ūd Having obtained their demands, they became more insolent than ever

[4] Several other writers differ here, not only from our author, but also from Baihaḳī, who is very particular respecting dates In the beginning of 426 H, the Khāṣah Khādim, Nūsh Tigīn, routed a body of Turkmāns near Marw, and in the same year, a force of 17,000 horse, under the Sālār, Bak-Taghdī, was sent against them He was at first successful, but, the enemy having drawn him into the desert, where water was not procurable, and his troops being careless and over confident, he sustained a complete defeat in the eighth month of that year In the following year, a force of 10,000 horse and 5000 foot was prepared to operate against the Saljūḳs, under the command of the Ḥājib-i-Buzarg, Subāshī In the first month of 429 H, in fulfilment of a vow made during illness, Mas'ūd undertook an expedition against Hānsī, captured it in the third month of that year, and in the fourth returned to Ghaznīn In the same year, Mas'ūd, being unable from the state of affairs to proceed against the Saljūḳs as he was desirous of doing, despatched orders to the Ḥājib to expel them from Khurāsān. Subāshī sent a reply to the effect that they were far more than he could cope with Mas'ūd imagined the Ḥājib was enhancing, or desirous of enhancing, his services, and sent him orders to march against them without farther delay He did so, and his meeting them, and his defeat followed The Ḥājib is styled Surbāshī, and Surpāshī by Guzīdah, Sanbāshī in the Tārīkh-i-Alfī, and Subāṣī by our author The name mentioned by Baihaḳī is no doubt correct

an accommodation with them. He bestowed Nisā upon Ṭughril, and the Dihistān on Dā'ūd, and gave Farāwah to Beghū. The Sulṭān then proceeded towards Balkh, and conferred the government of Hindūstān upon his son Maudūd[4].

In 429 H., the Saljūḳs possessed themselves of the towns on the skirt of the desert, such as Marw, Sarakhs, and other places besides, and solicited that Khurāsān should be made over to them. The Sulṭān thereupon despatched the Ḥājib, Subāsī, with a large army to expel them. An engagement took place between the Sultān's forces and the Saljūks, and the Sultān's troops were defeated[6], and the Saljūks acquired power over the territory of Khurāsān. They sent Ibrāhīm, Nīālīah[7], to seize upon Nīshāpūr, and, subsequently, Ṭughril himself followed him thither. At Nīshāpūr he ascended the throne, and became a sovereign; and the Khutbah was read in his name[8]. He despatched Dā'ūd to Sarakhs, and nominated Beghū to proceed to Marw, and they took possession of Khurāsān, and one-half[9] of that territory passed from the sway of the servants of the Mas'ūdī dynasty[1].

[4] Not so. Majdūd was viceroy of the Indian provinces, Maudūd was left at the capital, and subsequently, when Mas'ūd retired into the Panjāb, the latter was sent to Balkh, and he was with his father in the battle of Dandānḳād.

[6] Farther on, our author, when mentioning the council held by the Saljūḳs when they thought of leaving Mas'ūd's dominions, says, "They are said to have been defeated by the Sulṭān's troops several times." See p. 130.

[7] Ibrāhīm, son of Nī'āl, was Ṭughril's mother's brother.

[8] Ṭughril Beg assumed sovereignty over a portion of Khurāsān, and ascended the throne at Nīshāpūr in 429 H., and the Saljūḳī dynasty is considered by several authors to have commenced from that year. Others, however, with very good reason, say that the Saljūḳs only assumed *independent* sovereignty after the defeat of Sulṭān Mas'ūd at Dāe ḳān or Dandānḳān [Dandānḳād], as stated by our author farther on. He acquired sway over a large portion of Western Asia, Khwārazm, Dihistān, Tabbas, Rai, Kazwīn, &c., in 447 H., in which same year the Khalīfah, Al Ḳā'īm, summoned Ṭughril to Baghdād, and ordered his name to be entered in the Khuṭbah, and impressed upon the coin. Fanākatī states that the Khalīfah sent a commission with a robe of honour to Ṭughril.

[9] A paradox of our author's.

[1] Ṭughril Beg died at Turusht [طرشت] near Rai, Friday, 8th of Ramaẓān, 455 H., at the age of seventy. His reign is variously computed. Fanākatī states that he died in 442 H., after a reign of *ten* years! From 429 H. to 455 H., however, is a period of twenty-six.

II. MALIK DĀ'ŪD-I-JAGHAR BEG[2], SON OF MĪKĀ'ĪL.

When Dā'ūd, after leaving the presence of his brother Ṭughril, came for the purpose of taking possession of Marw and Sarakhs, Sultān Mas'ūd was at Balkh, and he sent an agent to him [Dā'ūd] to see whether or not an accommodation could be brought about[3].

At that time Dā'ūd was in the neighbourhood of Marw, with his forces, and it was he who was the mover in all this boldness and audacity. He advanced to the gate of Marw. It was at the dawn of the morning, and the Mu'azzin from the top of a Minārah was proclaiming this verse:— "O Dā'ūd, verily we have made thee a sovereign prince on earth: judge therefore between men with truth[4]." Dā'ūd, hearing his own name, inquired of a learned person what was the meaning of this. The signification was explained to him, upon which he again drew his sword, and pressed forward after the troops of the Sultān, which were in Marw, and put the whole of them to the sword[5].

At this period, when the Sultān's envoy from Balkh presented himself before him, a Mu'azzin at Marw was repeating this verse:—"Thou givest dominion unto whom Thou wilt, and Thou takest away dominion from whom Thou wilt[6]."

[2] Also written Jaghari Beg. Guzīdah has both Jaghar and Chaghar Beg. His title is Amīr 'Imād-ud Daulah, Abū Sulīmān-i-Dā'ūd-i Jaghar Beg. Guzīdah, Faṣīḥ I, Fanākatī, and several others, do not consider Dā'ūd as a sovereign, and Alb-Arsalān is, by them, very properly, accounted the second monarch of the Saljūḳī dynasty, having succeeded his uncle Ṭughril. Dā'ūd had died some years before. Fanākatī likewise says that on the death of Isrā'īl, at Kālinjar, his son, Ṭughril, broke out into rebellion in 432 H., in the reign of Sultān Mas'ūd. This would imply that Ṭughril and the Saljūḳs had been quiet up to this time, but such is not the case; and Isrā'īl died in 426 H. See note [8], p. 120.

[3] This is not correct. A person was sent, according to Baihaḳī, to sound the Saljūḳs, and, as if coming as a friend to them, to induce them to open negotiations. They appeared quite willing to do so, and at once sent an agent to the Wazīr. It was on this occasion that Mas'ūd gave them the territory mentioned in note [3], page 122-3. The author makes great repetition through mixing up the events of Ṭughril's reign with Dā'ūd's affairs.

[4] Ḳur'ān, chap. xxxviii.

[5] The above sounds all very well, and *may* be true; but it is not contained in Baihaḳī or any other historian with whom I am acquainted. The last sentence here, it would require the author himself to explain.

[6] A portion of the 25th verse of chap. iii. of the Ḳur'ān.

The envoy of Sulṭān Mas'ūd perceived Dā'ūd, who had spread his felt saddle-cloth under him, seated on the ground, with his saddle placed on one side of him. Sometimes he would rest his head upon the saddle, and stretch himself out [on the felt] on the ground, and then again he would sit up, and support himself resting on his elbow. His quiver of arrows was placed near him, and at times he would draw forth an arrow from the quiver, and he would sharpen the head of the arrow, and then again he would smooth out the feathers of it The envoy of the Sulṭān, having concluded his message, asked for an answer. Dā'ūd replied :—"What was this Mu'az̤z̤in calling out about 'Thou givest,' 'Thou givest'? Write that down" A scribe accordingly wrote down this verse on paper :—"Possessor of all power, Thou givest dominion unto whom Thou wilt, and Thou takest away dominion from whom Thou wilt; Thou exaltest whom Thou wilt, and Thou humblest whom Thou wilt," &c, and gave it to the envoy[7]. When the envoy reached the presence of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, and made known to him the condition and mode of life of Dā'ūd, and placed before him the verse in reply to his message, he understood that the period of the sovereignty of the Mahmūdī dynasty over the territory of Khurāsān had come to an end, and, in his heart, he relinquished all hope of holding it[8].

The Saljūks having acquired Sarakhs and Marw, and being left in undisturbed possession of the whole of those districts, Dā'ūd determined to attack Upper Khurāsān Manifesting the utmost daring and boldness on that occasion, he again assembled together a force of 11,000 horse[9], and pushed on to the gates of Balkh, where the Sulṭān was at the time, with all his great nobles and his forces. An elephant was tied up in a place in the outskirts of the city, and an elephant-driver had fallen asleep upon the animal's back Dā'ūd[1] came during the night, unfastened

[7] It is strange that all this is neither to be found in Baihaḳī nor in the other authors I have been quoting

[8] The author here contradicts himself, as is not unusual, for the battle of Dāe-ḳān [Dandānḳād] had not yet been fought, even by his own account

[9] Most copies of the work have "*he* came with *eleven* horsemen," which is absurd

[1] Our author does not quote Baihaḳī correctly here, as the following extract, which I have made from the original, a good MS copy in my posses

the elephant, and drove it off, and, by the time the driver had awakened from his slumbers, the elephant had been

sion, and the printed edition of his work edited by Morley, will show. It will be found *rather* different to the translation given in Elliot, vol ii p 142, "The Amīr halted to celebrate the festival of No-roz, on Wednesday, the 8th of Jamādi-ul-Ākhir On Friday, the 10th of the same month, other news arrived [the sentence following and part of next is not in my MS] that Dā'ūd had come to Tāe-ḳān [Morley has Ṭāl-ḳān] with a strong force, and well prepared. On Thursday, the 16th of the month, farther information was received that he had reached Pār-yāb [Fār-yāb is equally correct—*p* and *f* are interchangeable], and that from thence he would speedily advance to Shīwar-ḳān [Shaburghān of course is meant—the name is spelt both ways · and our author, as well as Baihaḳī, is perfectly correct as to the name, notwithstanding the efforts of editors to make out otherwise In the Persian, *b* is often interchanged for *f*, and *ḳ* for *gh*, and so, in reality, both ways of writing may be, and were adopted, but never with *s* for *sh*, except through an error of a copyist. The Burhān-i-Ḳāṭa' says, Shaburghān, in ancient times, was the name of the city of Balkh, but now it is the name of a *kasbah* near it Compare Elliot's INDIA, vol ii p 142], and that wherever they appeared [Dā'ūd and his troops] there plunder and slaughter followed On Saturday [here the quotation which our author states he had taken from Baihaḳī follows], the 18th of this month, at night, ten Turkmān [no such mode of spelling as Turkoman will be found in any lexicographical work the derivation is from Turk, and mānind —Turk-like = Turk-mān] horsemen came by stealth, close to the Bāgh-i-Sulṭān [the Sulṭān's garden—the garden in which the Sulṭān's palace was situated], and slew four Hindū foot soldiers From thence they pushed on near the Ḳuhanduz [citadel], and there the elephants were kept They espied one elephant, and on it a youth who had fallen asleep behind the neck of the animal [any one who has seen elephants and their drivers will know what is meant by this] These Turkmāns came up and began to drive the elephant, the youth being [still] asleep The Turkmāns passed on a *farsang* [or *league] from the city, and then they awoke the youth, and said*, 'Drive the elephant faster, otherwise we will kill thee' He replied, 'I am obedient to your commands,' and began to urge the animal on, the horsemen following close behind, urging it onwards, and goading it with their lances By the time day broke, they had gone a considerable distance, and they brought the elephant to Shabūrghān Dā'ūd gave a present to the horsemen, and directed them to take it to Nishāpūr From this the troops [of Mas'ūd] acquired a very bad name, for people said, 'Among these men such neglect exists, that enemies are able to carry off an elephant from them' The next day the Amīr heard of it, and became very much irritated thereat, and reproved the elephant-drivers severely, and commanded that 100,000 *dirams* should be deducted from them, for the price of the elephant, and several of them were castigated [There is no mention of 'Hindū elephant-riders' in the MS, although Hindū Fīlbāns are mentioned in the printed text, but even then it would not follow that they were Hindūs in faith]

"On Monday, the 20th of this month, Āltī Sakmān, the Hājib [Chamberlain] of Dā'ūd, with 2000 horse, came up to the [very] gate of Balkh, and took up a position at a place called the Band-i-Kāfirān or the Infidels' Dyke, and plundered two villages When the news reached the city the Amīr became very angry because the horses were in the Darah-i-Gaz, &c There is not *one word*

taken away some five leagues, and the driver dared not utter a word.

Dā'ūd [then] advanced with his forces from Shafūrķān to 'Alī-ābād of Balkh, and fought an engagement with the Sulṭān, but, notwithstanding all the efforts and endeavours of Dā'ūd, he was defeated.

In the month of Shawwāl of the year 429 H. the whole of the Saljūks assembled together, Ṭughril, Beghū, and Dā'ūd, and also the Nīālīs, and the Mas'ūdī and Maḥmūdī Turks [2], some of whom had joined the Saljūks. The Sultān marched from Balkh with his forces, and led them towards Marw and Sarakhs [3], and in the desert of Sarakhs an engagement ensued, which was contested from day-dawn until the time of afternoon prayer, when the Saljūķs were overthrown [4]

about Dā'ūd's coming up to the gates of Balkh, for Sakmān was driven off in the afternoon by one of the Ḥājibs with a small body of troops, and some under the Sipah-sālār, and the Turkmāns retired to 'Alī-ābād again, where they remained that night He reported what had happened to Dā'ūd, who then advanced to 'Ali-ābād from Shaburghān. As soon as Amīr Mas'ūd heard of his movements, he moved out to the Pul-i-Kārwān until troops arrived, and, on the 9th of Rajab, routed Dā'ūd and his troops as soon as they reached 'Alī-ābād from the direction of the desert "

Several partial engagements took place up to the 5th of Shawwāl, and, whenever the Sulṭān's troops could *get at* the Turkmāns, they overthrew them, and scattered them "like thin clouds before a Biscay gale," but the difficulty was to bring them to close quarters they would not stand At last, the Wazīr contrived to come to an accommodation with the Saljūķs, who appeared as willing as he was for that course, and tracts about Nisā, Bāward, and Farāwah, were assigned to them, but Mas'ūd agreed to it, fully determined to attack them next year He then returned to Hirāt Our author, as on many other occasions, has misplaced events, putting those first which happened last, and *vice versâ*, as Baihaķī's history shows, and in some cases, as in the following page, has mentioned the same events twice over

[2] The Turkish slaves who had been first entertained by Maḥmūd and others, and since taken into pay by Mas'ūd, are here referred to They may have been in some way kinsmen of the Saljūķs Some of them had deserted some time previously

[3] The Sulṭān marched against them by way of Hirāt, because the Saljūķs, after having been compelled to withdraw from that place in 428 H, as already stated, had returned in the following year, and had compelled the defenders to surrender it, and the Khuṭbah had been read there for Ṭughril Sulṭān Mas'ūd took the opportunity, on this occasion, when marching against the Saljūķs, to punish the Hirātīs for surrendering so easily He reached Hirāt in Ẓī-Ķā'dah, 430 H, and proceeded by way of Mīhanah [میمنه or میهنه it is spelt both ways European writers have transformed it into Maimanah]

[4] The author here is quite confused he makes out a second engagement, but no other engagement took place than is mentioned in the preceding note [1],

The Sulṭān, after this, returned to Hirāt; and the Saljūḳs, becoming aware of it, again sought an accommodation; and, as a matter of necessity [on the part of the Sulṭān], once more a peace was concluded. However, Sulṭān Mas'ūd summoned troops, with all requisite stores and war-material, from Ghaznīn; but, when those reinforcements reached him, famine prevailed in Khurāsān, and there was a great scarcity of forage. The forces of the Sulṭān had become quite powerless and ineffective, and the horses and camels had grown weak and emaciated. The Sulṭān, with his whole army, advanced towards Ṭūs; and Ṭughril retired from Nīshāpūr, and fell back upon Sarakhs.

All the Saljūks now met together, and came to the unanimous conclusion, that they had no longer any power to oppose Sultān Mas'ūd and his forces; and, as they had been defeated several times, that it was advisable to make terms with the Sultān, or otherwise to move towards the territory of 'Irāk, and abandon Khurāsān altogether. The lion-hearted Amīr Dā'ūd, who had no compeer in loftiness of spirit and energy, said:—"Confidence is necessary in making conquests[5], even though it were necessary to devote [one's] life a thousand times over. I have no means or appliances to depend upon save war; so—Sovereignty or destruction!—Victory or death[6]!" When the Saljūk chieftains beheld this bold and intrepid bearing on the part of Dā'ūd, they coincided with him with one accord. Having come to this determination, they sent away all their families, and dependents, and effects, into the desert; while the horsemen, alone and unincumbered, took up a position on the skirt of the desert, at Dāe-kān, prepared for war and conflict.

in which also the accommodation is also referred to, but it took place *before* the Sultān's return to Hirāt.

From the description here, the reader would scarcely understand that the Sulṭān had advanced in the meantime from Hirāt to Nīshāpūr. See note [7], next page.

[5] Nearly all copies of the text have the words—"should *not* have confidence of heart," but I read it as above, and the context proves the correctness of that reading.

[6] There is nothing of this kind in Baihaḳī. What Dā'ūd said was to the effect, that the heads of the tribe made a great mistake in imagining that they would be able to obtain territory so easily in 'Irāḳ and farther west; and, that if they should move one step out of Khurāsān, Sulṭān Mas'ūd would not allow them to rest upon the face of the earth, and would raise up powerful enemies against them every where. He ended by saying that, at least, they should try the upshot of another engagement before deciding upon abandoning Khurāsan.

When the Sultān reached the spot, the battle commenced; and for three days, from morning's dawn to the setting of the sun, the conflict went on, until, on Friday, the 9th of the month of Ramazān, in the year 431 H., the troops of Sultān Mas'ūd became hard pressed, and his own Turkish troops even began to give way legion after legion. Sultān Mas'ūd was defeated[7], and the Saljūks gained the victory, and assumed independent sovereignty.

[7] This was Mas'ūd's second expedition in person against the Saljūḳs, although his officers had previously encountered them upon several occasions. He had passed the winter of 430-31 H. at Nīshāpūr, with his forces encamped in and about Baihaḳ [not Baihaḳī's native place], Khowāf, Bakhurz, Isfand, Ṭūs, and other places facing the desert. The utmost scarcity prevailed, and grain had to be brought from a great distance. On the 28th of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir of 431 H. was the vernal equinox [about the end of March, 1039 A.D.], and Mas'ūd prepared for a fresh campaign. He had really made no preparation for it; but the Saljūḳs had issued from the Balkhān mountains and the desert, and were assembled around Sarakhs. The scarcity was so great that the force could hardly be prevented from melting away; yet the Sulṭān determined to advance to Marw, notwithstanding his Wazīr and nobles advised him against it [but Abū Naṣr-i Mishkān, the only one who could venture to speak his mind and expostulate effectually, was dead], as the greater part of his men had lost their horses, and had to march on foot. The animals that remained also were nearly useless, whilst the Saljūks were in possession of Marw, and were well supplied with all things. He moved from Sarakhs on the 19th of Sha'bān towards Marw. The Turkmāns soon appeared, and among them were many rebels who had deserted from the Turkish troops in India, and others; and, according to their usual mode of fighting, continued to harass Mas'ūd's troops, who wanted for every thing. The details are far too long for insertion; but I may mention that Mas'ūd and his troops fought under the greatest disadvantages, for the enemy had either emptied or filled up the few wells which the desert tract contained, while they themselves wetted their clothes beforehand, and carried water along with them. Mas'ūd's men and their cattle suffered from heat and extreme thirst; and some of his Ghulāms [Turkish slaves], who, on the march, had been obliged to ride on camels, in the confusion that ensued, made all the Tāzik horsemen they met dismount and give up their horses to them, after which a large body of them deserted to the enemy. Mas'ūd's forces became separated and confused; order was at an end; and leaders became separated from their men. "The Turkish troops," says Baihaḳī, who was present, "went one way, and the Hindū [i.e. *natives* of Hind, whatever their creed] another, and neither Kurds nor 'Arabs could be distinguished. A few Khowāṣīs or body-guards, who remained near the Sulṭān, made several and repeated charges upon the enemy; and Mas'ūd himself, who carried a poisoned halberd or short spear in his hand, slew every one that came within arm's length of him—man and horse. I saw Mawdūd [the son of Mas'ūd] myself, who was galloping his horse here and there endeavouring to rally men around him, but no one gave ear to him, for every one was for himself." This occurred on the 9th of Ramaẓān, 431 H., beyond the river *Marw ar-Rūd*, two stages *from* Marw-i-Shāh-i-Jahān.

After the battle was over, a throne[8] was set up upon the battle-field itself, and Ṭughril became sovereign[9]. Beghū proceeded to Marw, and Amīr Dā'ūd led a force towards Ṭukhāristān and Balkh, and subdued the territories of that region. Subsequently, Ṭughril and Dā'ūd marched into Khwārazm, and secured that country; and some time after they had brought those countries under subjection, Ṭughril died, and Dā'ūd entered into a treaty with the Mahmūdīs and the Sultāns of Ghaznīn, and became sovereign of Khurāsān and the territories of 'Ajam, and the universe was given up to him[1].

He reigned for a period of above twenty years, and died in the year 451 H., and the throne of sovereignty became adorned by the victorious Sultān, Alb-Arsalān.

III. SULṬĀN ALB-ARSALĀN-I-GHĀZĪ, SON OF DĀ'ŪD-I-JAGHAR BEG.

He ascended the throne of Khurāsān after Dā'ūd, in the year 451 H.[2], and the territories of Khurāsān, 'Ajam, with

[8] Baihaḳī does not say any thing about a throne.

[9] Yāfa'ī says that great discrepancy exists among chroniclers respecting the date of the first assumption of sovereignty by the Saljūḳs, and differs much from them. Guzīdah, Faṣīḥ-ī, and other writers of authority, state that Ṭughril Beg assumed independent sovereignty over the greater part of Khurāsān, at Nīshāpūr, in 428 H., while some few writers say, in 429 H. In 431 H., after the defeat of Sultān Mas'ūd, and his retreat to Ghaznīn, all Khurāsān fell into the hands of the Saljūḳs, and the two brothers, and Beghū, their uncle, divided the territory between them. In 432 H., Ṭughril, who had acquired territory farther west, in 'Irāḳ-i-'Ajam, obtained the Khalīfah's consent to his assuming sovereignty, and the title of Sulṭān. He made Rai his capital, and chose 'Irāḳ-i-Ajam, with its dependencies, as his portion. Khurāsān was reserved for the elder brother, Jaghar Beg-i-Dā'ūd, who made Marw [some say Balkh] his capital; and Beghū, the uncle, obtained Kirmān, Tabas, Harī [Hirāt], Bust, and as much of the territory of Hind as he could lay hands upon and filch from the Ghaznīn rulers. [See page 99, in which his and Dā'ūd's defeat by Tughril, the slave of 'ABD-UR-RASHĪD, is mentioned by our author *only*.] He has made a complete muddle of Tughril's reign, as well as Dā'ūd's proceedings, and it is difficult to separate them, without a much longer note than space will permit.

[1] This is a good specimen of our author's *random* mode of writing history. Tughril, who was considered the head of the family, *survived* Dā'ūd some years, and died in 455 H., as previously stated. Guzīdah says he died in 453 H., Faṣīḥ-ī 451 H., and some say 452 H. In nearly every copy of the text he is styled Alb Arsalān-i-Ṭughril Beg, a blunder sufficiently apparent. His name was not Ṭughril.

[2] Alb-Arsalān ascended the throne of 'Irāk and Khurasān in Ramaẓān 455 H.

the whole of 'Irāḳ, Khwārazm, Ṭabaristān, Kirmān, Fārs, and Sīstān he brought under his sway[3]. He also led an army into Turkistān and Tūrān, and the Maliks of Turkistān, and the Afrāsiyābī Amīrs, submitted to his authority.

The vastness of his forces, the immensity of his war-material, and the military resources of his empire, attained to such extent, that the intellect of the geometrician would remain in the labyrinth of helplessness, in an attempt to compute the quantity: as a poet—in all probability the Ḥakīm Sanā'ī—who, after Alb-Arsalān's decease, composed a dirge, says of him, in the following strophe:—

"Thou sawest the head of Alb-Arsalān elevated to the sublimity of the seventh heaven ·
Come to Marw that thou mayest see the body of Alb Arsalān buried in the dust
Attended neither by train or guards, nor the moon-faced, dimple-chinn'd;
Nor the steed press'd by his thighs, nor the reins within his grasp[4]"

When Alb-Arsalān ascended the throne, he despatched ambassadors to the Court of Ghaznīn, and entered into the strongest terms of friendship and amity with Sultān Ibrāhīm[5], and did not interfere with the Ghaznīn dominions. He occupied himself in holy wars against Turkistān and Rūm, and in securing possession of the territories of Ḥijāz

not before, but he succeeded to his father's dominions in Khurāsān, at his father's death in 451 H, subject to Tughril of course His correct name and title is 'Uẓd-ud-Daulah, Abū Shujā'-i-Muḥammad, Alb Arsalān

[3] Our author forgets to state, or did not know, that, by the will of Ṭughril Beg, Sulīmān, son of Jaghar Beg-i Dā'ūd, succeeded, but Ḳal-timish [also written Ḳatl-mish], son of Isrā'īl, Tughril's uncle, with the aid of the Turkmāns, fought a battle with Sulīmān, at Damghān, and overthrew him On this Alb Arsalān came against Ḳal-timish, and in the action which ensued, near Damghān, Kal-timish was killed by a fall from his horse, and Alb Arsalān was left without a rival The Khalīfah, Al-Ḳā'īm Bi amr-ullah, conferred upon him the title of Burhān-ul-Mūminīn Yāfa'ī, however, says that as no successor had been named by the will of Ṭughril, Sulīmān, half-brother of Alb-Arsalān, ascended the throne, and that Ḳal-timish joined Alb-Arsalān against him

[4] This verse, minus the last half, is what Gibbon would lead us to believe was the *inscription* on Alb-Arsalān's tomb The third line is different in some copies, and might be rendered —"Neither with the glittering blade at his side," &c, or, "Neither attended by his train with the star [one of the emblems of royalty], nor the moon-faced," &c

[5] See page 103, and note [9]

and Miṣr; and, influenced by the sense of pure faith and belief, he began to render services to the Court of the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Ḳā'im. He was distinguished upon several occasions with honorary dresses from the Khalīfah's Court, and the lieutenancy of the capital, Baghdād, was conferred upon him

The writer and author of this TABAḲĀT, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Al-Jūrjānī, intimates that, in the year 613 H, he was at the Court of Sijistān, and in that capital there was an Imām[6] [Patriarch], the teacher of the doctors in wisdom and philosophy, and the asylum of the learned of the time[7], whom they called Imām Rashīd-ud-Dīn-i-'Abd-ul-Majīd I heard him, when speaking of the magnificence and majesty of Alb-Arsalān, state, that that monarch, in the year 453 or 454 H, had undertaken the subjugation of the territory of Turkistān When he reached the frontiers of Kāsh-ghar and Balāsāghūn[8], messengers followed him thither, bringing intelligence that the Lord of the Faithful, the Khalīfah, Al-Ḳā'im B'illah[9], had sustained a great mis-

[6] It will, doubtless, be noticed that our author seldom quotes the writings of others, and that most of his information is hearsay The value, or otherwise, of his statements may be judged of accordingly How he had been deceived by his "asylum of the learned of the time," may be seen from note[2], page 135 He only quotes Abū-l-Faẓl-i Baihaḳī for the Saljūḳ dynasty, a very good and trustworthy authority, but often quotes him incorrectly, as shown in the preceding notes

[7] The meaning of which is, that he was, by our author's account, one of the most learned men of his time

[8] A city of Māwar-un Nahr, near Kāshghar, and the capital of Afrāsiyāb, which continued the seat of government of his descendants until the time of Gūr Khān [not Kor Khān, as Europeans generally write it] ك stands for *g* as well as *k* in Persian, unless explained to the contrary

[9] Al Ḳā'im Bi amr-'ullah The Kaisar of Rūm, Armānūs [Romanus], entered the dominions of Alb Arsalān with the intention of invading Īrān, but the greater part of his army perished through the excessive heat, and the Ḳaisar retired Subsequently, Armānūs again invaded Alb Arsalān's dominions, and the latter, with 12,000 horse—a rather improbable number—marched to encounter him They met at a place named Malāzah gird [the ancient Mauro—Castrum], in Āẓarbāijān, in the vicinity of Akhlāṭ, in which action the Ḳaiṣar was taken captive by a Rūmī [Roman] slave in Alb-Arsalān's army, whose person was so weak and so contemptible, that at the time of mustering the army the 'Arīẓ [muster-master, not a "general"] refused to take his name down, when Sa'ad ud-Daulah, the Shaḥnah or agent of Alb Arsalān, at Baghdād, said —"Write down his name, who knows but that he might take the Ḳaisar prisoner!" Guzīdah states that Alb-Arsalān himself ordered that his name should be taken down The emperor Armānūs [Romanus] was defeated and taken prisoner in 459 H [after the death of Al Kā'im], but was set at liberty the same year, on undertaking to pay "a early tribute at the rate of 1000 dīnārs a-day, or 360,000 dīnārs every year"

fortune—that an action had taken place between him and the Christians of Rūm, and that the troops of Islām had been overthrown, and further, that the Khalīfah himself had been taken prisoner, and had been immured within the walls of a fortress, situated in the lofty mountains of the territory of Anbār[1] and the Jazīrah [Mesopotamia] on the frontiers of the empire of Rūm. The fortress in question is situated on a high hill, or mountain, on the bank of the river Furāt [Euphrates].

Alb-Arsalān, with a force of 180,000 horse, all brave and veteran soldiers, returned with the utmost expedition, in order to release the Lord of the Faithful, and revenge the defeat of the army of Islām. He pushed on with such speed, and made such long marches, that in the space of sixteen or seventeen days—God knows the truth of the statement—he appeared at the foot of the walls of that fortress, which was situated on the bank of the Furāt, from Balāsāghūn. Adopting such means of procedure as the occasion demanded, he called upon the governor of that fortress to embrace the Muhammadan faith, and caused him to be ennobled with the robe of Islām, and, with the aid of Almighty God, he released the Khalīfah from confinement.[2] He accompanied the Khalīfah's sacred caval-

[1] There is a place of this name on the Euphrates, Felugia or Anbar, mentioned in Julian's campaigns as Pirisabur, and called the second city in Assyria. The Khalīfah was confined at 'Ānah. See next note over leaf. A copyist *might* write انبار for عانه.

[2] Our author has made a muddle of the reigns of these Saljūk monarchs, and betrays such complete ignorance here, that we may doubt his correctness in many other cases after and before. Both in the text above, as rendered faithfully, and word for word, and in the six lines devoted to the history of Al-Kā'īm's Khilāfat, in Section IV., our author plainly asserts that the Khalīfah's troops were defeated by the Nasarānīs or Christians, and that *the Khalīfah was made prisoner by them, and confined in a fortress on the frontier until released by Alb-Arsalān*. The author, apparently, had either no written authorities to refer to, or did not trouble himself to do so, and composed his work chiefly on hearsay, hence the woful blunder he has herein made. The Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh, strange to say, has made the same error. The Khalīfah Al-Ķā'īm never fell into the hands of the Romans, and was never confined in a fortress by them.

Our author has confounded the events of Ţughril Beg's reign with those of Alb Arsalān's. In 448 H. [Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh says in 447 H.] Al-Ķā'īm summoned Ţughril Beg to Baghdād, and directed that his name should be read in the Khuţbah after his own, and also be impressed upon the coin; while the name of the Malik-ur-Raḥīm-i-Abū Naşr, son of 'Imād-ud-dīn, son of Sulţān ud-Daulah, Buwiah, was to come in after Ţughril's. Ţughril finding his oppor-

cade to the precincts of the capital of Islām, and then solicited permission to return [to his own dominions]. Having obtained it, at the time of taking leave, Alb-Arsalān dismounted from his horse, and honoured his imperial lips by placing them to the hoof of the animal which bore the Lord of the Faithful, and kissed it On this occasion, in return for these signal services rendered by him, during all this time, to the Court of Islām, he received this much commendation and esteem, that the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Ḳā'im Bi-amr-'ullah, thus expressed himself —"Thou hast saved the servants of God from slaugh er, and the country from destruction" Let those who read these words calmly ponder in their minds between the extent of the services of Alb-Arsalān-i-Ghāzī, and on the sublime fortitude and high resolve expressed in the words of the

tunity, after pretending friendship towards, and alliance with, the Buwīah ruler of Baghdād, seized and imprisoned him In 448 H Al-Ka'īm espoused the daughter of Tughril's brother [daughter of Dā'ūd i Jaghar Beg], Khādijah by name In 450 H Basāsirī rose against the Khalīfah, and put him in confinement in the fortress of 'Ānah, a town of Diyār-i Bakr, or Mesopotamia, on the east bank of the Furāt, four miles from Rāwā, and seven days' journey from Baghdād by karwān route The Khalīfah appealed to Tughril Beg, *not to* Alb-Arsalān, who did not come to the throne until nearly five years after Tughril reached Baghdād in 451 H, Basāsirī fled, the Khalīfah was set at liberty, and Ṭughril went to meet him, and walked, on foot, at the head of the Khalīfah's horse On that occasion Al Kā'īm hailed him—"Yā Rukn-ud dīn!"—"O Pillar of the Faith!"—and his title, which had been Rukn-ud-Daulah or Pillar of the State, was changed to Rukn-ud-dīn Tughril entered Baghdād on the 14th of the month of Ṣafar, and in that same year also Dā'ūd-i-Jaghar Beg, his elder brother, died Some few authors say these events happened in 452 H Basāsirī was soon after captured and put to death, but Faṣiḥ-ī says he was captured before the Khalīfah's release In 455 H Tughril espoused a daughter of the Khalīfah's *The betrothal took place at Tabrīz*, but Ṭughril was desirous that the marriage should be consummated at his capital, which was Rai, and he set out for that city, but before he reached his palace, having halted a short distance from the city, to enjoy the cool air, hæmorrhage came on [not "dysentery"] and ould not be stopped He died 8th of Ramaẓān, and the Khalīfah's daughter hearing of his decease, when on the way to join him, returned, a *virgin* bride, to her father at Baghdād

I may mention that the Tārīkh i-Yāfa'ī, which is generally so very correct and minute in the description of important events, says not a word respecting any hostilities between Alb-Arsalān and the Romans, and nothing whatever about Armānūs [Romanus] having been captured

The Khulāṣat-ul-Akhbar turns the two expeditions of the Romans, in the last of which Romanus was taken captive, into one, and again makes the same Romanus a prisoner in Malik Shāh's reign There is much similar discrepancy in some other authors, which I have not space to notice here

Lord of the Faithful, and what amount of eulogium every one of them conveyed.

Alb-Arsalān's reign extended over a period of fourteen years[3] He ascended the throne in the year 451 H., and in the month of Ṣafar, 465 H., he was martyred[4]. May the Almighty again raise up their pure souls with like glory, and reserve them to Himself in Paradise above!

IV SULṬĀN JALĀL-UD-DĪN, MALIK SHĀH[5], SON OF ALB-ARSALĀN.

Sultān Malik Shāh ascended the throne at Marw, after the death of his father, and took possession of the whole of the territories of Ī-rān, Tūrān, the Jibāl [Highlands of 'Irāk], 'Irāk, Dīlam, Ṭabaristān, Rūm, Miṣr, and Shām, besides Diyār-i-Bakr. Arman, Sīstān, and Fārs, and in all the pulpits of Islām the Khutbah was read in his name, and the coin, both *diram* and *dīnār*, became ennobled by his titles

He was, himself, a victorious and a conquering monarch, and governed with a firm hand, and was sagacious, brave, and just, and endowed with all the accomplishments befitting a sovereign and empire He brought under his sway the whole of the countries of Turkistān[6], and sub-

[3] The length of his reign depends upon how it is computed If his accession to his father's territory be reckoned, of course it is considerably longer, but he succeeded as an independent sovereign in the tenth month of 555 H

[4] Our author does not say how his martyrdom took place Perhaps his authority for the Khalīfah's captivity in the Roman territory did not inform him. It is very interesting, but much too long for insertion here, but his assassinator was Yūsuf, a native of Khwārazm, the governor of the fortress of Barzam [on the Jīḥūn], which Alb-Arsalān had taken The murderer was nearly escaping, when a Farrāsh, or tent-pitcher, beat in his head with a wooden mallet, used for driving tent-pegs This took place in Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 465 H Other authors state that the name of the fortress in question was Firbad, or Firbaẓ

[5] His title, according to most writers, was Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and his patronymic, Abū l-Fatḥ The Nigām-ut-Tawārīkh and Jahān-Ārā say his title was Jalāl ud-Daulah The correct titles appear to have been Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mu'izz-ud-Daulah, Malik Shāh, Yamīn [some say Ḳasīm]-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn

[6] In 468 H Malik Shāh entered Māwar-un-Nahr, and subdued that territory, and took the Khān of Samrḳand captive He was taken all the way from Samrḳand to Iṣfahān on foot, but, subsequently, he was taught better behaviour, and restored In 471 H Malik Shāh again entered Māwar-un-Nahr, and

dued the territory of Rūm; and the vice-royalty and sovereignty of Baghdād, subordinate to the Dār-ul-Khilāfat, were conferred upon him. In Makkah and Madīnah, and in Yaman and the country of Ḥijāz, in the whole of the pulpits of Islām, the Khutbah was read in his name.

He carried on various hostilities, and undertook many holy wars in various parts of the country of the Turks and the territory of Rūm, and, on every side of the territories of the east and of the west, he acquired a kingdom, and placed viceroys of his own therein. He conferred the kingdom of Rūm upon one of his brothers, and, after him, he gave it to his own son, Mahmūd[7], and, up to this period, that territory is still in the possession of his descendants, as will, hereafter, please God, be mentioned[8].

removed, for the second time, Sulīmān Khān from the government. He was subsequently sent to the fortress of Ūz-gand [Ur ganj of the present day], and there immured. This is, no doubt, the same event as is referred to in the Jāmi'ut Tawārīkh, and in Alfī, but under a wrong year. In those works it is stated that Malik Shāh, in 482 H., annexed the territory of Samrkand, taking it from Aḥmad Khān, son of Ja'far Khān, who was a great tyrant. He was the brother of Turkān Khātūn, the consort of Malik Shāh, who was mother of Sultān Sanjar.

[7] This is totally incorrect. Mahmūd, son of Malik Shāh, was never ruler of the territory of Rūm. See note [4], page 157.

[8] Our author's account of this reign is much the same as the tragedy of "Hamlet" would be with the part of the Prince of Denmark left out. I must give a brief outline of the chief events that occurred to make it intelligible:—

The year following his accession, 466 H., his brother, Takish [Tughān Shāh], rebelled at Hirāt. He was taken and imprisoned at Isfahān, the capital. Then followed the rebellion of his uncle, Kāwurd, according to Guzīdah; but he was the founder of the Kirmān dynasty of the Saljūks, which our author says not one word about. They met in battle at Karkh, near Baghdād, and Kāwurd was defeated and slain; but his son succeeded him in Kirmān, and was allowed to hold that territory. In 467 H. [Jāmi' ut Tawārīkh and Alfī, mistaking the dates, or wrongly written in the copies of those works, say in 473 H.] his brother, Takish [this name is written by our author Takish, in the Shams ul-Lughat, Tagish [Takish?], and in the Burhān-i Kāṭi', Takash] rebelled, and seized several districts in northern Khurāsān, and shut himself up in Nīshāpūr. Malik Shāh sent an army against him [Jāmi' ut-Tawārīkh and Alfī say he went in person, and that it was in 476 H.]. In 468 H. he subdued Māwar un Nahr for the first time, previously mentioned. In the following year Anṭākīah [Antioch] was taken, and the territory as far as the sea coast. In 471 H. Samrkand was taken, and Sulīmān Khān, the ruler, again deposed, and confined in the fortress of Ūz-gand. On this occasion, Malik Shāh demanded the hand of Turkān Khātūn, daughter of Tumghāsh [also written Tughmākh] Khān, a descendant of Bughrā Khān. In 475 H. Khwārazm was subdued, and conferred upon Nūsh-Tigīn, who founded the Khwārazm-Shāhī dynasty. [See note [7], page 169.] The follow-

In the Muntakhab-i-Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī, which work was composed by one of the great men of the Court[1] of Ghaznīn, I read that, upon a certain occasion, Sultān Malik Shāh requested his Wazīr, Niẓām-ul-Mulk, to make ready his forces, as he had resolved upon proceeding into the territory of Miṣr [Egypt]. The Wazīr, Niẓām-ul-Mulk, represented, saying :—"It is right for the Sultān to ponder well over this undertaking, because that country contains the Ķarāmitah sect, and other heretics, and something of the profanities of their creed might come to the hearing of an orthodox monarch like his Majesty ; and I do not consider it right that such depravity should find access to the royal mind." Sultān Malik Shāh enjoined that they should be diligent in making due preparation for the expedition, as for him to repudiate that determination of his was impossible. Niẓām-ul-Mulk [consequently] made great preparations, and got all things in readiness ; and the Sultān, with a numerous army, set out in the direction of Miṣr.

When he arrived in the vicinity of it, the people of Miṣr hastened forth to perform the duty of receiving the Sultān ; but he paid no regard to any one, neither did he turn his eyes towards any thing, until he arrived before the gate of

ing year saw the rise of Hasan-i-Ṣabbāh, and the heretic sect of Mulāḥidahs. In 480 H. Malik Shāh gave the territory of Rūm to Sulīmān, son of Kaltumish, which his descendants held for a long period of years. Shām he bestowed upon his brother, Tutash [تتش not "Tunish"], who gained successes over the 'Arabs, Rūmīs, and Farangs. Other territories were conferred upon some of his Mamlūks or slaves, as will be mentioned hereafter. In 482 H. [the period assigned in Jāmi' ut-Tawārīkh and Alfī for the expedition into Māwar un-Nahr, just referred to,] Malik Shāh undertook a campaign against the Ķaiṣar, as the Greek emperors of Constantinople are termed by Muḥammadan writers ; upon which occasion, as related by all authors of repute, Sultān Malik Shāh fell into the hands of a party of the Ķaiṣar's soldiers ; but, not having been recognized by any one, he was released through the great tact of his minister, Niẓām-ul-Mulk. Next day, a battle took place between them, when the Ķaiṣar was taken prisoner, on which occasion Malik Shāh set him at liberty. In 481 H., as has been mentioned farther on, Malik Shāh went on a pilgrimage to Makkah. In 484 H., Niẓām-ul Mulk was deprived of the Wazīrship through the intrigues of Turkān Khātun. In 485 H., Malik Shāh sent a force against the Mulāḥidahs, but it was defeated by those schismatics ; and, in that same year, Niẓām-ul-Mulk was assassinated by them. He was the first that fell beneath the daggers of that sect ; and, within a few days over a month, Malik Shah himself departed this life at Baghdād.

[1] Haẓrat, signifying the Court, the presence of the sovereign.

the city of Miṣr[2] When he had passed over the ferry of Miṣr, and the river Nīl, he inquired which was the palace of Fir'awn [Pharaoh]

On being told where it was situated, he turned towards that direction, and ordered his army to halt on the spot where it then was Sultān Malik Shāh, attended only by a single stirrup-holder, set out alone towards the place indicated He then dismounted from his horse, and, at the place where was the palace[3] of Fir'awn, performed a prayer of two genuflections He then laid his forehead in the dust, and lifted up his voice in supplication, saying —"Oh God, Thou didst bestow the dominion of Misr upon one, Thy servant, and he proclaimed, saying —'I am your most supreme Lord[4],' but this Thy erring servant, having been exalted [by Thee] to the sovereignty of the countries of the east and the west, has come hither, and, bowing his forehead in the dust, says —'Great God! O Lord most High! be pleased of Thy grace and goodness to have mercy upon this Thy servant'"

Then, raising his head from his posture of adoration, he came back, and, without entering the city of Miṣr [at all], returned to Khurāsān This anecdote is related to show th exalted nature of the faith of that just and victorious sovereign[5]

[2] Al-Miṣr—*The* City—Old Cairo, as it is called by the Chroniclers of the Crusades Its inhabitants, in ancient times, were rated at two millions, and those of New Cairo [Ḳāhirah] at four millions The old city stood on the east bank of the Nile, and was some twenty two miles in extent Some say its extent was thirty miles Old Cairo, or *The* Miṣr, was, perhaps, deducting exaggerations, the largest and most densely populated city the world ever contained, after Ḳāhirah, ancient Thebes, and Babylon on the Euphrates The name Miṣr is generally applied at present to the whole of Egypt, but should be *Diyār-ul-Miṣrīah*, as in ancient 'Arab writings

[3] Lit "Where was the place of Fir'awn's throne," signifying his Court, residence, &c

[4] Ḳur'ān, chap lxxix

[5] Whatever the author of the Muntakhab-i Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī may have said on the subject, I may here mention that this statement of Malik Shāh's having made a journey, accompanied by a "large army," into Egypt and crossed the Nile, is not confirmed, in fact, is not recorded in any history with which I am acquainted Malik Shāh certainly made a tour throughout his dominions, "from Anṭākīah of Shām and Ladāḳīah of Rūm to Mawar-un-Nahr, the frontiers of Khitā-ī and Khutan, and from the Bahr-i-Khuz [the Caspian] to Yaman and Tayif" He also performed the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madīnah, but there is no mention of Misr or the Nile Some of the story-

Another anecdote, respecting the same monarch, is narrated in the Muntakhab-i-Tārikh-i-Nāṣirī, that some persons in Ḳuhistān sent in a memorial to the Wazīr, Niẓām-ul-Mulk, to the effect that a wealthy person had died, leaving no other heir behind him than a sister's child, and that he had left great wealth, and further that it ought to go to the Bait-ul-Māl[6] [the royal treasury]. Nizām-ul-Mulk, at a convenient opportunity, represented the matter to Malik Shāh, but he obtained no answer, and did not receive one, until after mentioning it three times. Malik Shāh said he would give him a reply respecting it on the following day; but, when it came, he set out for the chase.

Niẓām-ul-Mulk, in his eagerness to augment the royal treasury, followed after the Sultān [to obtain the promised reply]. Malik Shāh had to pass the camp bāzār on his way, and, when he returned from the hunting-ground, gave directions to one of his attendants, saying:—"I am hungry, and in the bāzār I saw some wheaten cakes[7], and my appetite has a mind for some. Go and purchase as many as you can procure, and bring them hither."

When Malik Shāh approached the precincts of the camp, he ascended a rising ground, and sat down, until such time as they brought the wheaten cakes. He then made all the nobles with him sit down to partake of the cakes. There was one very large dish full[8], which sufficed for more than fifty Maliks and Amīrs, with their attendants. After he had eaten, Malik Shāh arose and inquired of his attendant: —"For how much didst thou purchase these?" The man, with eyes bent on the ground, replied:—"For four and a half *dāngs*[9] [little pieces] of coin." The Sultān then asked the whole of those present, whether they had had sufficient, to which they replied, that through the Sultān's liberality they had eaten all that they desired. Malik Shāh, on

books mention it, but the account is evidently copied from our author. The Ismā'īlī Khalīfahs were independent of Malik Shāh.

[6] See note [5], p. 62.

[7] Thin cakes of paste called "tutmāj."

[8] All the copies of the work but two say there were ten large dishes full. One copy says two; but, as one large dish is mentioned in another work, which gives this same anecdote, I have adopted that reading.

[9] A *dāng* signifies a grain in general, either of wheat, barley, or the like, and is used to signify the fourth part of a diram. It is also used to signify the sixth part of a city, and the like.

hearing the price, defrayed the amount out of his own private purse, and, turning towards Niẓām-ul-Mulk, he said :—"A poor frail creature like Malik Shāh, and a minister such as Niẓām-ul-Mulk, and so considerable a number of followers, have eaten their fill at the cost of four and a half little pieces of coin, therefore it would be the height of inhumanity to covet the property of orphans. Whosoever hath amassed wealth, and hath accumulated both lawful and unlawful gains, did so in order that, after his decease, his property should go to his progeny and his dependents, and not that I should take possession of it arbitrarily. Therefore give up the matter, and say no more on the subject." The mercy of the Almighty be upon him! and may those, who read this, utter a benediction to his memory and to mine.

Many monuments of the goodness and wisdom of that excellent monarch remain in the world, among which one is, that the astronomical calculations were, during his reign, tested anew, and the calendar reformed; and it was after the following manner :—It had been discovered from observations, that, from the want of an intercalation, very great confusion existed with regard to the lunar months, and that calculations had fallen into disorder, and that the zodiacal signs in the almanac had become involved in error. Sulṭān Malik Shāh commanded that the most learned men in the science of astronomy, and the most profound arithmeticians, should make fresh observations, and that the seasons and months should be again tested and adjusted; and the first day of spring, which is the first degree of the sign Aries, became named, after that monarch, the *No-roz-i-Jalālī*.

Niẓām-ul-Mulk, Ṭūsī, who has left in the world so many proofs of his goodness and nobleness, was his Wazīr; and Shaikh Abū Sa'īd-i-Abū-l-Khayr, and Imām Ghazzālī lived in his reign. Sulṭān Malik Shāh's reign extended over a period of twenty-six years, and, in the year 491 H.[1], he died. God alone is immortal.

[1] Sic in all copies of the work. Our author is greatly out of his reckoning here. According to the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, Guzīdah, Alfī, Faṣīḥ-ī, Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh, and all others of authority, Malik Shāh died at Baghdād in the month of Shawwāl, 485 H., *six* years before the date our author gives; and, according to the Niẓām-ut-Tawārīkh and others, in 471 H.

V. MUḤAMMAD[2], SON OF MALIK S̲H̲ĀH

When Sulṭān Malik S̲h̲āh took his departure from this world, three sons survived him: Muḥammad, the elder,

[2] Here we have a specimen of our author's mode of writing history; and, if we may judge of the rest of his work from this part, but little dependence can be placed in him. He leaves out the reigns of MAḤMŪD and BARKĪĀRŪK, the successors of Malik S̲h̲āh, entirely, a period of thirteen years! Space will only permit me to give a brief summary of those events.

After Malik S̲h̲āh's death, at Bag̲h̲dād, his consort, Turkān K̲h̲ātūn, who had previously been plotting to secure the succession of her son, Mug̲h̲īs̤-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, set him up at Bag̲h̲dād, and had the K̲h̲uṭbah read for him. She sent off swift messengers to Iṣfahān to secure the person of Barkīārūk, the eldest son, who had been nominated heir and successor by his father. Having succeeded in securing him, Turkān K̲h̲ātūn, with her son Maḥmūd, advanced towards Isfahān, the capital. Barkīārūḳ, aided by the slaves and partisans of the late Wazīr, Niẓām-ul-Mulk, who had been removed from office at Turkān K̲h̲ātūn's instigation, because he opposed her views, succeeded in escaping from Isfahān to Rai, where forces flocked around him from all parts. He defeated bodies of troops sent against him upon two occasions, but was not powerful enough, as yet, to attempt to regain Iṣfahān, and so he remained at Rai. Turkān K̲h̲atūn having died in Ramaẓān, 487 H., he moved against the capital, and Maḥmūd, his brother and rival, came forth to submit to him, and the brothers embraced each other. Some of Maḥmūd's partisans, however, succeeded *in seizing* Barkīārūḳ, *and* were *going to deprive him of his sight*, when Maḥmūd was seized with small-pox, and died on the third day. There is some discrepancy here, among a few authors of authority, who state that Barkīārūḳ's escape took place in 488 H., and that he again retired to Rai, where he was crowned and enthroned, and that he was again seized and imprisoned in 489 H., at which time his brother Maḥmūd died, as above related. However, on the death of his brother, Barkīārūḳ was brought forth from his prison, and raised to the throne, and, from this date, his reign properly commences. The K̲h̲alīfah acknowledged him, and the titles he conferred upon him were, according to Yāfa'ī, Guzīdah, and others, RUKN-UD-DĪN, ABŪ-L-MUZAFFAR, BARKĪĀRUḲ, but Faṣīḥ-ī and others say, RUKN-UD-DIN, ABŪ-L-FAWĀRIS, were his titles. There was no peace for him still, and he had constantly to take the field. In 488 H. his uncle, Takis̲h̲, revolted, but he was defeated; and, in the following year, he was moving against another uncle, Arsalān-i-Arg̲h̲ū, when a slave of the latter put his master [illegible], before Barkīārūḳ arrived. On the death of Arsalān-i-Arg̲h̲ū, [illegible] held the greater part of K̲h̲urāsān, in 489 H., Sanjar, the third son of Malik S̲h̲āh, and full brother of *Muhammad, was set up in* K̲h̲urāsān, and, in 490 H., when in his eleventh year, his brother, Sulṭān Barkīārūk, nominated him to the government of K̲h̲urāsān as his deputy. In 492 H., *the year in which* Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders, and Sulṭān Ibrāhīm of G̲h̲aznīn died, Barkīārūḳ's troops revolted against him, and he retired into K̲h̲ūzistān. On this, his other brother, Muḥammad, who appears to have been in revolt since 489 H. [some say 490 H.], moved from Arrān of Āẕarbāījān to Hamadān, during Barkīārūk's absence, and assumed the throne. In Rajab of the following year, Barkīārūḳ marched against him, but was defeated, and had to retire into K̲h̲ūzistān again.

they called by the name of Tīr, and the second son was named Sanjar, and the youngest, Maḥmūd³.

Muḥammad Tīr, the eldest, ascended the imperial throne,

He, however, regained sufficient strength during the next year to be able to march against Muḥammad again, and, in Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, he defeated him in 'Irāķ, and Muḥammad fled to Rai, at which time, according to Faṣiḥ-ī, Sanjar joined him from Khurāsān In 493 H, according to Faṣiḥ-ī, Barkīārūķ was again defeated by Muḥammad, and, in the same year, the former had to encounter Sanjar in Khurāsān, but he was again unsuccessful, and had to fly Barkīārūķ, notwithstanding he was exceedingly weak from severe illness, set out from Baghdād to oppose Muḥammad, but the great nobles on either side succeeded in effecting an accommodation between the brothers, and Muḥammad returned to Ķazwīn, of which part he had held the government previously Muḥammad, however, soon regretted what he had done, and further hostilities arose Barkīārūķ again marched against him, and, in Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 495 H, a battle took place between them near Sāwah, in which Muḥammad was defeated and routed, and he fled to Iṣfahān, followed by Barkīārūķ, who invested him therein. Muḥammad ventured out to try and raise the investment, but was again overthrown, and fled towards Khūe Barkīārūķ followed, and came up with him near Ganjah, and again defeated him In Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 496 H, a peace was brought about, on the agreement that Muḥammad should have the western parts of the empire, Āẓarbāījān, Shām, Arman, Gurjistān, and a part of 'Irāķ, and Barkīārūķ the remainder of the empire This having been agreed upon, Barkīārūķ set out on his return to Baghdād, but his illness assumed a more dangerous form on the way thither, and he died on the 12th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 498 H, after a stormy reign of twelve years, having nominated his son, Malik Shāh, his successor This is a mere outline of the events entirely left out by our author, and, in the account which he gives of Muḥammad's reign, he makes still more serious errors than before Gibbon [chap lviii.] destroys the empire of the Saljūķs in a few words He asserts that "The greatness and unity of the Turkish empire expired in the person of Malek Shah," and of course never mentions his successors, Maḥmūd, Barkīārūķ, or Muḥammad A little farther on he does say that "Sangiar, the last hero of their race," was unknown to the Franks, and that he "might have been made prisoner by the Franks, as well as by the Uzes" He means the Ghuzz tribe probably, but he omitted to state that the first Crusaders were opposed, really, by about the least powerful of the Satraps of the Saljūķ empire The eight successors of this "the last of his race," as well as himself, will be mentioned farther on

³ O[illegible] is totally incorrect here again. Muḥammad did not succeed his f[illegible]ady shown, neither did *three* sons [most of the copies of the wor[illegible]ly survive Malik Shāh There were *four*, the eldest of whom was [illegible] the youngest, Maḥmūd, an account of whom I have just given The other two sons were Muḥammad and Sanjar, who were full brothers an adopted son is also mentioned The name Tīr [تیر] and Tabr [تبر], for some copies say one, and some the other, given to Muḥammad by our author, is not mentioned in any other work, and the significations of either do not appear applicable. I am inclined to consider that he has confounded the name of Muḥammad with that of his uncle Tutish [تتش], the progenitor of the Saljūķ dynasty of Shām, out of whose hands the Franks wrested Antioch, in the first Crusade

and all the Maliks and great nobles, with their loins girded, stood before him ready to do his bidding. The Wazīrs, or ministers of the east and the west, by their tact and experience, succeeded in securing possession of the whole of the territories of the empire, and the Sultāns of the neighbouring countries submitted to his suzerainty.

Sulṭān Muḥammad Tīr, however, was a person wholly given to pleasure, and, having found his dominions tranquil and undisturbed, he was in the habit of abandoning himself wholly to wine He never led his forces in person towards any part of the frontiers of his empire, neither did he nominate any forces [under others for that service], consequently, no event worthy of record took place during his reign, nor did his territories acquire any extension His life of pleasure soon terminated, and, after passing two years in gaiety and jollity, he died, and the sovereignty passed to Sultān Sanjar[4]

[4] Muḥammad, born 474 H, whose correct titles are Ghiyāṣ ud-Dīn, Abū Shujā', Muḥammad, Ķasīm-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn, whom our author calls a wine-bibber, and wholly addicted to pleasure, and who, according to his account, but on what authority he does not mention, never led his troops or despatched any under his nobles upon any expedition whatever, was, on the testimony of authors of undoubted authority, one of the most intrepid of the Saljūķ sovereigns, of high principle, faithful to his engagements, truthful, just, a cherisher of his subjects, and moreover pious and temperate See Rauzat-uṣ Ṣafā for his character At the very outset of his reign, having claimed the whole empire as his right, he moved to Baghdād, against the adherents of Malik Shāh, son of Barkīārūķ, who had been set up as successor to his father's dominions, according to the terms arranged between Barkīārūk and Muḥammad already explained Ṣadaķah and Ayāz were defeated, Sadaķah slain [Faṣih-ī, however, says he was put to death in 501 H], Ayāz taken prisoner, and Malik Shāh was seized and kept in confinement In 504 H Muḥammad defeated the Mulāḥidahs, who had acquired great strength during the stormy period of Barkīārūķ's reign, and had occupied a strong fortress of Iṣfahān, named Kala' i Shāh The place was reduced, and the leader put to death After this, an expedition into Hindūstān—the western frontier must be referred to—the destruction of a famous idol-temple, and the removal of the idol to Iṣfahān, is mentioned in some authors of authority It seems improbable, but is distinctly mentioned, and further research may throw some light upon it Faṣiḥ-ī, however, does not mention it Subsequently Muḥammad despatched an army, under the command of one of his great nobles, against Almūt, the stronghold of Hasan-i-Ṣabbāh, the head of the sect of Mulāḥidahs, but the Sulṭān's death happening soon after prevented the expedition succeeding Muhammad died in 510 H, but some authors say in 511 H, so that he reigned *twelve* years and nine months

VI. SULṬĀN UL-A'ẒAM, MU'IZZ-UD-DUNYA-WA-UD DĪN[5], SANJAR, SON OF MALIK SHĀH.

Sultān Sanjar was a great, dignified, and mighty monarch. His birth took place in the country of Sanjār, in the year 479 H., at the time when his father, Malik Shāh, was engaged in the service of the Court of the Khilāfat, and occupied in the disposal of the affairs of the Lord of the Faithful.

When his father died, Sultān Sanjar was in his tenth year, and his brother Muhammad ascended the throne[6]. After his brother's death, Sanjar was raised to the sovereignty, and was distinguished by the Court of Baghdād with a dress of honour, a standard, and a commission of investiture. At the capital, Marw of Shāh-i-Jahān, and throughout the whole of the territories of Islām, over which his father and grandfather had held sway, the Khuṭbah was read for him, and his name was impressed upon the coin.

When he attained unto years of discretion, the flower of youth, and the bloom of manhood, the dominions of the east and of the west came under the control and administration of the slaves and vassals of his empire[7]. His first

[5] Yāfa'ī says his titles were Sulṭān-ul-A'ẓam, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and his patronymic *Abū Ḥāriṣ-i-Sanjar*. *Fanākatī calls him Mu'izz-ud-Daulah*, *Faṣiḥ-ī*, Saif-ud Daulah, Mirat-i-Jahān Numā styles him Sulṭān-us-Salāṭīn, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Abū-Ḥāriṣ, &c., and Niẓām-ut-Tawārīkh and Muntakhab say his patronymic was Abū-l-Ḥāriṣ-i-Aḥmad.

[6] On the death of Muḥammad, Sanjar, then the only surviving son of Malik Shāh, who had held the government of Khurāsān since his brother, Barkīārūḳ, conferred it upon him, assumed sovereignty over the whole empire, notwithstanding Muḥammad had bequeathed the sovereignty over 'Irāḳ to his son Maḥmūd. An engagement took place between Sanjar and his nephew, in which the latter was defeated, but Sanjar allowed him to retain the sovereignty, subject to himself. Mahmūd did not enjoy it long, for he died the same year, and his son, Ṭughril, succeeded, but he too died the same year, and Mas'ūd, another son of Sulṭān Muḥammad, succeeded. There having been two Mas'ūd's and three Ṭughril's, several authors, one of whom is generally so correct as to dates—the Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh—have confounded them. See note [6], p. 151, and note [5], p. 173.

[7] Sanjar did not succeed to the sovereignty over the whole empire until the death of his elder brother, Muḥammad, in 511 H. [Fasih-ī says in 510 H.], although he had held great part of Khurāsān, almost independent, for some time previously. In 511 H., he was just thirty-one years old, and he then assumed the title of Sulṭān.

hostile operations were directed against Muḥammad, Khān[8] of Samrḳand, whom he defeated; and, subsequently, Sulṭān Sanjar fought sixteen different engagements on different frontiers of his territories, and came forth victorious from the whole of them

His reign extended over a long period of time, and public affairs went on in the highway of legality, and on the beaten track of equity and justice The ordinances of the sacred law of Muḥammad, and the canons of the faith of Islām, conformable with the Divine commands, acquired fresh vigour and newness

The countries of Khurāsān, 'Irāḳ, and Māwar-un-Nahr, became exceedingly populous and flourishing, and, at Baghdād, royal palaces were erected in his name. The viceroyalty, and the command of the troops of Baghdād, under the same conditions and provisions as those under which his forefathers had held these offices, indeed upon even more favourable terms, came into the possession of him, and of his representatives.

He installed his slaves in the government, and administration of every country[9] Arrān, 'Irāk, and Āzarbāijān he conferred upon Iladd-giz[1], who was his slave, and he

[8] Sanjar fought several battles before he became supreme ruler, on the death of his brother, Muḥammad His first was with Daulat Shāh, Wālī of Balkh, who was his cousin-german This took place in 491 H, but, as Sanjar was only then in his *twelfth* year, he could not have taken part in it He may have been present with the army The second encounter was with his elder brother, Barkīārūḳ [who had nominated him to the government of Khurāsān in 490 H], in 493 H The third was with Ḳundūz Khān, near Tirmiz, in 495 H The fourth with Arsalān Shāh, Ghaznawī, in 511 H The *first* battle fought, after he became supreme sovereign in 511 H, was against his nephew, Mahmūd, in the neighbourhood of Sāwah, in 513 H, which appears to be that said to have been fought with Mas'ūd See page 151, and note [6] Sulṭān Sanjar fought *nine* battles, in the whole of which he was victorious, and was defeated in two, as our author himself allows a few pages farther on The expedition against Aḥmad [also called Muḥammad] Khān, son of Sulīmān Khān, styled "Bādshāh" of Māwar-un-Nahr, took place in 524 H The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh mentions an expedition against "Muḥammad Khān, Wālī of Samrḳand," in 514 H It appears to be the same which Fasīḥ-ī, Guzīdah, and Jahān-Ārā place ten years after Aḥmad Khān was taken prisoner, but he was restored to his sovereignty in 530 H

[9] Our author's statements here are contrary to facts See note [2] at page 168

[1] This name is wrongly given here in all the copies of the work but one, although, subsequently, when giving an account of him, the author calls him by his right name As *d* is interchangeable with *t*, it can be, and sometimes is,

was the father of the Atā-bak, Muhammad; and the Atā-bak, Ūz-bak, and the Atā-bak, Akhtān[2], are both descendants of his The territory of Fārs was given to Sanḳur, who was the ancestor of the Atā-baks of Fārs, and the Atā-bak, Zangī, the Atā-bak, Duklah, and the Atā-bak, Sa'd, and his sons, are all his [Sankur's] descendants The country of Khwārazm he conferred upon the son of Khwārazm Shāh, who was one of his [the Sultān's] servants, who was the father of I-yal-Arsalān, who was the father of Takish Khwārazm Shāh, father of Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh

The Sultān of Ghaznīn, Mas'ūd-i-Karīm [the Beneficent], son of Sultān Razzī-ud-Dīn, Ibrāhīm,—May the light of the Almighty illumine their resting place!—took the sister of Sultān Sanjar to wife During the reign of the last, through the death of Sultān Mas'ūd-i-Karīm, it is said that dissension arose between the Sultāns of Ghaznīn Malik Arsalān, son of Sultān Mas'ūd, ascended the throne at Ghaznīn, and Bahrām Shāh, another son of Mas'ūd, was with his father, in the district of Tigīn-ābād of Garmsīr[3], at the time of his father's decease, and, from that place, Bahrām Shāh proceeded to the presence of Sultān Sanjar[4] [his maternal uncle], and for a considerable period continued in attendance at his Court

After some time had elapsed, Sultān Sanjar came to Ghaznīn to the aid of Bahrām Shāh, and set Bahrām upon the throne of Ghaznīn, and in that territory, and in Hindūstān likewise, the Khutbah was read and the coin stamped, in Sultān Sanjar's name[5]

This dominion and power which Sanjar possessed was more extensive than had been possessed by any of his ancestors[6] He conferred the territory of Mauṣil upon one

written Ilatt-giz This person's name has been incorrectly written "Atlakīn," and "Ildekuz," in many translations See page 170, and note [8]

[2] No Atā-bak of this name occurs elsewhere

[3] See note [8], p 107

[4] At this period Sanjar was merely ruler of Khurāsān, subordinate to his brother, although he succeeded to the whole empire shortly after

[5] Sanjar imposed a tribute of one thousand *dīnārs* per day upon Bahrām Shāh, and, in 530 H, had to march to Ghaznīn to enforce payment, and reduce him to submission

[6] It is beyond a doubt that the Saljūḳ empire was of the greatest extent in Malik Shāh's reign See latter part of note [?], page 140

of his slaves[7],—and the Atā-baks of Mauṣil, who have been up to nearly this present time, are the descendants of this slave of his, who was a Turk of Khitā-ī,—and the whole of the territories of Shām were held by his slaves Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn, of Shām, likewise, was one of the descendants of the Atā-baks of Mauṣil, as will, please God, be hereafter mentioned. The Maliks of Ghūr, and the Sulṭāns of the Jibāl[8], were all subject to Sulṭān Sanjar.

During his reign hostility arose between the Sultāns[9] of Ghaznīn and the Maliks of Ghūr, and the latter were overcome. When, however, the territory of Ghūr came under the rule of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, he refused to pay submission to the Sultān, and an engagement took place between him and Sulṭān Sanjar in the neighbourhood of the mountain tracts of Hirāt, at a place named Sih Goshah-nāb[1], and the forces of Ghūr were routed, and Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn was taken prisoner[2]. After some time he obtained his release, and became one of the especial confidants and intimate companions of Sultan Sanjar

About the time of the troubles consequent on the out-break of the Ghuzz tribe, when 'Alā-ud-Dīn was in company one day with Sultān Sanjar, and engaged in a carousal, Sanjar, who was seated upon the throne, thrust out one of his august legs, and let the foot, on the sole of which there was a black mole, dangle over the throne[3] On 'Alā-ud-

[7] See note [2], page 168

[8] Jibāl here signifies the northern parts of Ghūr, Bāmīān, &c, not of 'Irāḳ

[9] Petty chieftains at this time, and holding but a very small tract of country See note [8], page 106

[1] This encounter took place before the gate of Aobah.

[2] Our author, being such a warm partisan of the Ghūrīs and their Turk successors, would not probably mention, if he knew of it, the circumstance of Bahrām of Ghaznīn sending the head of Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, son of Husain, son of Sām, to his uncle Sulṭān Sanjar encountered the Ghūrīāns upon two occasions The first time, in 501 H, in which affair Husain, son of Sām, was made captive, and Sanjar gave orders to put him to death, but he was saved at the intercession of Shaikh Ahmad, Ghazzālī, and, it is stated, that for two years Ḥusain used to light the fires for the cooks of the Sulṭān's army, to such misery was he reduced For further details see Section XVIII The second occasion, when, according to our author, "'Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥusain, refused to pay submission to the Sulṭān," was in 547 H, just before Sanjar moved against the Ghuzz tribe, in which affair he was taken prisoner and at the time when the Sultān's power was almost at the lowest ebb See note [3], page 155

[3] This statement is much more probable than that of the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā,

Dīn's noticing this mole, he stood up and solicited that he might be allowed the honour of kissing it, and repeated these lines suitable to the occasion —

> "Verily the dust at the gate of thy palace is [my] diadem,
> [And] this, the collar of thy service, is my adornment
> In the same manner as I kiss the mole on the sole of thy foot,
> Even so good fortune [likewise] salutes my head[4]"

Sultān Sanjar acceded to his request, and, when 'Alā-ud-Dīn knelt down and kissed the mole, the Sultān contrived to twist his toes in the hair about the face of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and to keep him on the floor 'Alā-ud-Dīn desired to raise his head from the ground, but was held down by his hair Those present laughed, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn became disturbed, and his countenance changed Sultān Sanjar, noticing his mortification, out of his princely beneficence and sympathy, said —" 'Alā-ud-Dīn, this jesting hath hurt thy feelings; let the dominion of Ghūr be [my] amends to thee I congratulate thee! Return again to thy capital and throne: thou art my brother! Now that the troubles with the Ghuzz tribe have arisen, take along with thee all the flocks of sheep and herds of horses and camels belonging to me, my own private property If victory aid my efforts against hem, and the outbreak of this tribe should be quelled, send them back to me again, but, if not, let them be It is far better that they should remain with thee, than that they should fall into the hands of such ingrate rebels"

Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn returned to Ghūr, and through the magnanimity and generosity of Sultān Sanjar regained his throne This was a tradition of Sanjar's beneficence and kindliness, but the author of this Ṭabakāt will here relate that which sets forth his sovereignty I, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, in the year 611 H, when at Fīrūz-koh, which was the capital and seat of government of the Sultāns of Ghūr, heard [the following] from Amīr 'Alī, the Chā-ūsh [pursuivant], who said that his grandfather was the Marshal of the retinue[5] of Sultān Sanjar and that his grandfather stated, that, when Sultān Mas'ūd of 'Irāk, who was one of Sultān Sanjar's

and far more cleanly The throne of state is not meant, but a chair or raised seat used on ordinary occasions See Dorn's "Afghans," part ii, p 85

[4] The point of the original, of course, is partially lost in translation

[5] This seems to be about the only meaning applicable to the term الحشم سر

brothers' sons[6], broke out into rebellion, and Ḳarājah, the Sāḳī [cup-bearer], who was one of Sanjar's slaves, became his supporter in that revolt, the Sultān marched an army from Marw, with the object of falling upon the rebels unawares.

He reached the summit of the Sāwah Pass, at the foot of which, on the 'Irāk side, the rebels were encamped, and issued from it with a few followers; but, when his eye caught sight of the forces of the enemy, he reined in his horse, and came to a halt. A party of nobles, who had reached the spot where he was, he summoned to his side, and said to them:—"We have come upon this gathering,

[6] Some discrepancy exists among historians respecting the sons of Muḥammad, son of Malik Shāh, the nephews of Sulṭān Sanjar. Guzīdah and others mention an encounter between Sanjar and his nephew, Maḥmūd, in 513 H., in 'Irāḳ, who was defeated and fled to Sāwah, but mention no revolt on the part of Mas'ūd, who only succeeded to the subordinate sovereignty over 'Irāḳ-i-'Ajam, on the death of his brother Ṭughril, in 529 H., who succeeded Maḥmūd, the other brother. In the enumeration of the different victories obtained by Sulṭān Sanjar during his reign, the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh mentions one gained over his nephew, Maḥmūd, in the neighbourhood of Sāwah, in 513 H., and a second gained over another nephew [?], Mas'ūd, near Dīnawr, in 526 H.; but Mas'ūd only succeeded his brother in 529 H. He *may* have been, however, rebellious before he succeeded. The cause for such discrepancy appears to have arisen from there having been two Mas'ūds and three Tughrils, who held 'Irāḳ-i-'Ajam under Sanjar, on the authority of Faṣiḥ-ī, who gives the events of each year in chronological order. That work states, that "Mahmūd, son of Muḥammad, Sanjar's brother, at his father's death in 510 H. [some say it took place in 511 H.], notwithstanding he had opposed his uncle in battle, was allowed to retain the government of 'Irāḳ[-i-'Ajam]," but that he died in that same year. Tughril, his brother, succeeded him, but in that same year Tughril likewise died. On this, Mas'ūd, the third brother, succeeded, and he became disaffected towards his uncle, who marched against him, and defeated him in 513 H. in sight of Hamadān [a long way from Sāwah]. Mas'ūd fled to Jurjān, but he was permitted, shortly after, to resume his government, but under supervision. There is no mention of his having been taken prisoner, yet this is the account which agrees best with the statement of our author. This Mas'ūd died in 525 H. The Jahān-Ārā, and Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh state, that Mahmūd died in that year [Ibn-i-Khalkān says in 524 H.], and was succeeded by his brother, Tughril, who died in 529 H., and was succeeded by Mas'ūd; but, if Mas'ūd only succeeded in 529 H., how could he, according to the same authors, have been defeated by his uncle in 526 H.? According to Faṣiḥ-ī, Mas'ūd was succeeded by Tughril, his brother, but probably his son, as the same author states that his brother Tughril died in the same year as Maḥmūd, who died in 525 H. [this date agrees with Jahān-Ārā and the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh above quoted], when Mas'ūd, *son of Mahmūd* [son of Muhammad], Sanjar's nephew, succeeded. He died in 547 H., and is said to have always been loyal to Sanjar. He was succeeded by his brother, Mughis-ud Dīn, Malik Shāh.

but we have but a weak following, while the enemy are very numerous: what is it advisable to do?" Some among the nobles replied, that whatsoever, in accordance with his Majesty's opinion, he might be pleased to command would be most advisable, but, if his Majesty would defer any movement until such time as the whole of the force should come up, and then dash upon them, it would be still more advisable Others of the nobles said —"These people too are his Majesty's servants it is necessary that he should be pleased to show clemency towards, and have compassion on them, and give them intimation of the arrival of the imperial standards, so that the whole of them may be able to come and tender their services, and rest in safety under the shadow of the imperial protection and pardon." In short, each one of the great lords and nobles made representation of such opinions as entered their minds

Sultān Sanjar [then] turned his face towards the Amīr-i-Chā-ūsh, who was also Marshal of his retinue, and said —"Chā-ūsh, what is it advisable to do?" The Chā-ūsh dismounted from his horse, and, bowing his head to the ground, repeated the following lines —

"Great monarch! we ought to give battle
We should close with the foe
All the fierce lions of the forest
Must be brought into the field,
All the huge elephants of war
Should doubtless be brought into the fray
It is the day of battle it is meet to engage
It is the hour for action it is well to be doing
If thou wouldst render the kingdom stable,
It is essential that the sword should be plied"

The Sultān replied —"It is necessary to act as the Chā-ūsh advises," and at once, without any further delay, with as many cavalry as had come up, Sultān Sanjar dashed upon the rebel forces Ḳarājah, the cup-bearer, and Mas'ūd of 'Irāk were both taken prisoners, and the forces of this gathering were defeated and put to the rout, and the countries of 'Irāk and Āẓarbāijān were recovered anew.

The Sultān returned to Khurāsān, and it was a constant practice with him to pass the hot season at Bukhārā, and the winter at Marw of Shāh-i-Jahān It so happened, one year, that he remained longer than was his wont at Marw

The temperature began to rise, and not one of his Court had the courage to represent that it would be well to return to the land of Buḵẖārā. The climate of Buḵẖārā agreed with a number of the nobles and great men They urged Amīr-i-Mu'azzī that he should, by means of verse, bring the charms and beauties of the villas and gardens of the city of Bu-ḵẖārā to the imperial hearing, so that Kamāl-uz-Zamān might, at an opportune time, sing it, accompanied with lutes

Amīr Mu'azzī, who was the Chief of Poets, or Poet-Laureate, and who, along with forty other adepts [in the art], was in the habit, on days of entertainment and at banquets, of recounting the deeds of the Sultān, and [of whom] it is related, that the whole of these [poets] were of his clan and followers, accordingly composed the following strophe[7] and the Minstrel, Kamāl-uz-Zamān, early one morning, when the Sultān had taken his morning draught of wine, played[8] it with such feeling and touching effect, that the Sultān, half-dressed as he was and in his slippers, came forth, mounted on horseback, and took neither

[7] Our author is unfortunate with regard to his quotations very often These lines were neither composed by the poet Mu'azzī, nor were they composed to influence Sulṭān Sanjar to return to Buḵẖārā It was neither his capital, nor did he "use" to pass the hot seasons there The lines were composed more than two hundred years before Sanjar was born, with the title "Mīr" instead of "S̲h̲āh," by Farīd ud-Dīn, Abū 'Abd ullah, Muḥammad, born at Rūdak of Ṣamrḳand, and hence known as Rūdakī, a famous poet, blind from his birth, but endowed with a very melodious voice, and he played enchantingly on the *barbat*, a kind of lute He was also the first native of 'Ajam who composed a Dīwān The lines in question were composed to try and influence the Amīr, Abū-l-Ḥasan-i-Naṣr, son of Aḥmad, Sāmānī, to return to his capital, which was Buḵẖārā. One author states that he went to Hirāt, and was so delighted with the place that he remained a long time, and even thought of taking up his residence there His ministers, nobles, and troops, who longed to return to Buḵẖārā, were much put out at this, so much so that they, finding all remonstrance useless, even contemplated rebelling Another writer, who gives a biography of Rūdakī, states that the place was Marw with which Naṣr was so much taken up But, be this as it may, the poet, Rūdakī, was induced to use his efforts upon the Amīr He accordingly composed these lines, and in the Sarāe or villa, in which Naṣr had taken his morning collation, the poet sang them accompanied by his lute Naṣr became so enchanted on hearing some of the lines, that he did not stay to hear all; but, without either turban or shoes, he at once mounted and rode off the *first stage* on the way to Buḵẖārā

[8] "Lutes" are mentioned above in all the copies, whilst here, it appears, the minstrel sang it, accompanying it with his lute

est nor repose until he reached the appointed destina-ion :—

"The breeze from Mulīān's rivulet reacheth me the same,
Even as cometh the fragrance of a loving friend
The gravel of the Amū, and the roughness thereof,
Appeareth like as the softest silk beneath my feet
The river Jīḥūn, with its wide-spread surface,
Reacheth, even now, to my white steed's very girths[9]
O Bukhārā ! rejoice, and be thou glad once more,
For the Shāh even now cometh a guest[1] unto thee
The Shāh is a moon, and Bukhārā a firmament,
The moon likewise riseth the celestial vault within
The Shāh is a cypress, and Bukhārā is a garden,
The cypress also cometh unto the garden now"

After a great part of his reign had elapsed, a body of people from Ḳarā-Khaṭā-ī, from Tamghāj, and the dependencies of Chīn, entered the confines of Ḳarā Ḳuram of Turkistān, and solicited Sultān Sanjar to assign them grazing-lands, and, with the Sultān's permission, they took up their quarters on those confines, in Bilāsāghūn, Ḳabālik, and Almālik, and made those parts their grazing-grounds

When their progeny became very numerous, during the Sultān's reign, they rebelled against his authority, and fought a battle against him Tānīko of Tarāz, at the domination of Sunkam and Ī-mā, was at the head of the Khaṭā'īs. The Sultān's forces, from a long period of inaction, and enervated by protracted ease and luxury, were unable to cope with or stand before the enemy, and were overthrown, and they took Turkān Khātūn, who was the Malikah-i-Jahān [Queen of the Universe], and consort of Sultān Sanjar, captive[2]

[9] The only other signification the word used will admit of is a boat, which does seem more appropriate, for I do not think the Jīḥūn can be forded on horseback I have doubts whether the word is correct in the original

[1] Sic in MSS

[2] In 534 H Sanjar marched to Samrḳand, and fought a battle with Āt Khān, but he was defeated, and had to retreat to the fortress of Tirmiz, or Tirmid, as it is also called Turkān Khātūn, and the Malik of Nīmroz, and many other great men, were left in the hands of the enemy These infidels of Khaṭā-ī, and Mughals likewise, overran Māwar-un-Nahr, slaying, devastating, and making the people captives, and, included in the numbers put to the sword by the invaders, were many great and learned men The Khaṭā-ī's and Mughals remained in Māwar-un Nahr until driven out by Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh Guzīdah and Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh state that this reverse took place in 535 H

As soon as this disaster befell Sanjar, his vassal, Utsuz [it is written "Itsiz"

This was the first reverse the Sultān had ever sustained, and, subsequently, he concluded a peace with them, and the pasture-lands of Turkistān and Bilāsāghūn, along with the cities and towns included in those frontier tracts, were left in the hands of the Khatā-ī invaders After the peace was concluded they sent back Turkān Khātūn to the Sultān again The Hakīm [philosopher] Koshakī has written much satire upon this unfortunate event, which is contained in Dīwāns and [other] books

When this reverse became public, the affairs of the empire began to decline, and to grow weak[3], and, of the reign of Sanjar, sixty years[4] had passed away A body of the Ghuzz tribe, from Khandān[5], now rose in revolt against the Sultān's authority[6], and withheld the yearly tribute which had been previously fixed The Sultān marched an army against them, and the Ghuzz were willing to pay a *kalāh* [ingot] of silver[7] for each family, but the Sultān would not

in Burhān-i-Kāṭa', and in the Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī, "Utsiz," and by our author, "Utsuz"], son of Ḳuṭb ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Nūsh-Tigīn, upon whom Sanjar's father conferred the rule over Khwārazm, threw off his allegiance Sanjar invested him in Hazār-asp in 535 H, which was taken, but he treated the rebel leniently, and still allowed him to retain that territory In 537 H [Guzīdah says in 535 H, while the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh says it happened in 536 H] Gūr Khān, who, in concert with Āt Khān, defeated Sanjar in the Dasht, or Desert of Ḳaṭrān [قطران], on the frontier of Samrḳand, died, and, after this happened, Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh expelled the infidels from Māwar-un-Nahr

[3] It was, according to Guzīdah and others, after Sanjar's defeat by the Khaṭā-ī's and Mughals that 'Alā-ud-Dīn, chief of Ghūr, ventured to show hostility towards him Sanjar defeated him before Aobah in 547 H, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn was taken prisoner, but was subsequently released Our author has mentioned this as about the first event of Sanjar's reign

[4] See note [1], page 157

[5] A tract of territory on the frontier of Chīn. A few MSS have Khutlān.

[6] Fanākatī says that, when the Ghuzz tribe crossed the Jīhūn, Badr-ul-Mulk, 'Ajamī, the Sulṭān's Wazīr, advised Sulṭān Sanjar to attack them This he did, and was overthrown and taken prisoner, and Khurāsān, Kirmān, and Fārs were seized by them!

The Sulṭān marched against the Ghuzz in 548 H The details are far too long for insertion here Upwards of a hundred thousand persons, not including women and children, were afterwards massacred by the Ghuzz, and the territory of Khurāsān was devastated In the following year was born Tamūchīn, afterwards known by the name of Chingīz Khān.

[7] Guzīdah says "a *maun* [which signifies two pounds of twelve ounces each] of silver" Price, quoting the Khulāṣat-ul-Akhbār, says "*a quarter of a hundredweight of gold*, besides 100,000 dīnārs," which is ridiculous Our author's account is the most probable one.

agree to it, and, on this account, gave battle to them, and was defeated and taken prisoner.

On the Sulṭān falling into their hands, the whole of the Ghuzz dismounted before his stirrup, and saluted him, and tendered their services. The Ghuzz chieftains, such as Ṭūṭī, Ḳurgharat, Malik Dīnār, Ibrāhīm, and Khutalī, besides others, girded up their loins before the Sultān's throne [to serve him], and began themselves to issue mandates [in his name], and they divided Khurāsān among themselves. Whatever it was requisite to do they did, and they used to state, "The Sultān commands this and that." The slaves and servants of the Sanjarī dynasty became dispersed and separated, and the affairs of the country became disorganized, and the thread of sovereignty snapped asunder.

After some time had passed—about a year, more or less[8]—one of the slaves, who was one of the Sultān's nobles, proceeded to the Sultān Sanjar's presence, and presented himself, and, as if going out on a hunting excursion, mounted the Sultān on horseback, and brought him away [out of the hands of the Ghuzz], and restored him to liberty once more. He conducted the Sultān to Marw[9], and placed him on the throne again, and some of the still remaining adherents of the dynasty collected around him; but the Sultān's days had now drawn towards their close, and the sovereignty had grown antiquated and gone to decay. On Monday, the 24th of the month Rabī'-ul-Awwal, in the year 552 H., Sultān Sanjar died at Marw, and was there buried. His age was seventy-three years.

[8] Our author generally eschews dates. Here again we have a specimen of his mode of writing history, when he asserts that Sanjar remained in captivity "about a year, more or less." Sanjar remained nearly four years in the hands of the Ghuzz, and, during this period, no efforts were made to effect his escape, lest his consort, Turkān Khātūn, who appears to have again fallen into captivity, might remain in their hands. She having died, however, in 551 H., Sultān Sanjar succeeded in gaining over the Ghuzz chief who had charge of him, so far as to get him to take him out on a hunting excursion to the banks of the Jīhūn. Arrangements had been made for the occasion, and Amīr Aḥmad-i-Kamāj, governor of Tirmiz, was awaiting him on the bank, where he had got boats in readiness. The Sultān succeeded in throwing himself into one, and his people got into others, and then made their escape. In Ramaẓān of that year, the Sultān succeeded in assembling a force at Tirmiz, and he then set out, under its escort, to Marw.

[9] See latter part of preceding note.

and a little over, and his reign lasted sixty-two[1]. The *mercy of the Almighty be upon him!*

ACCOUNT OF THE SULṬĀNS OF RŪM[2], OF THE SALJŪḲĪAH DYNASTY.

THE Sultāns of Rūm were of the race of Saljūk, and were great and powerful monarchs; and, in the territories of Rūm and the country of Afranj[3], numerous signs and marks of their goodness and benevolence, their expeditions and holy wars, their conflicts with unbelievers, buildings of public utility and charity, in the shape of colleges, mosques, monasteries for darwes͟his, karwānsarāes, bridges, and charitable and pious foundations, remain to this day, and the accounts of their descendants, their Maliks, and their Amīrs, and of their heroic achievements in that country, are recorded in trustworthy books

When the Sultān of Sultāns, Sanjar, on whom be the mercy of the Almighty, ascended the throne of his father, and became established in the sovereignty of the world, and, when the territories of Islām, both east and west, were taken possession of by his servants, and the K͟huṭbah was read for him from all the pulpits of Islām, and the money of the world became adorned with his name and titles, he conferred the kingdom of Rūm upon his brother, Maḥmūd, son of Malik S͟hāh[4] The whole of the Sulṭāns [of that country]

[1] Guzīdah says Sanjar died of grief on the 16th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal 552 H, aged seventy-two years The length of his reign must be calculated from the death of his brother Muḥammad in 510 H, at which period he was thirty-one years old Previous to this he was but subordinate ruler of K͟hurāsān, and historians calculate his reign from the date above mentioned Other authors state that he reigned forty-one years

[2] Our author completed his work in 658 H, and Sanjar died in 552 H, and, although the Saljūḳ dynasty existed for thirty two years after Sanjar's death, and had terminated ninety-eight years before our author closed his history, he says nothing about Sanjar's successors.

[3] Europe, the countries of the Christians, and the Roman empire of the east

[4] All the copies of the text are alike here Our author has made a precious hash of this Section of the Rūmī dynasty of the Saljūḳs Sanjar *did not*, as he states, first establish that dynasty, neither was Sanjar's brother, Maḥmūd, the first subordinate sovereign of Rūm, nor was his son, Mas'ūd, the second, nor were they ever its rulers He has confounded the Sulṭāns of 'Irāḳ and those of Rūm together Sanjar's brother, Maḥmūd, moreover, died when in

[his

are his [Maḥmūd's] descendants, an account of every one of whom is recorded in this Ṭabaḳāt, in order that its readers may call to remembrance, with a blessing, those who have passed away, and acquire some information respecting that dynasty*.

* I will now demonstrate what I have referred to by giving a brief account of the rulers of Rūm, of the Saljūḳ dynasty.

Ḳil-timish [قلمش—written likewise Kīl-timish قلمش and Kat-limish قتلمش—but the last syllable is evidently the same as occurs in the name of the Turkish slave-sovereign of Dihlī, "I yal-timish,"] son of Isrā'īl, son of Saljūḳ, Alb-Arsalān's great uncle's son, according to the Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh, rebelled against him [Alb Arsalān], but, in an action near Dāmghān in Muharram, 456 H., Kil-timish was defeated, and was found dead on the field. Alb-Arsalān desired to put Kil-timish's sons to death, but was dissuaded from doing so by his Wazīr, and was induced to make Sulīmān, son of Kil-timish, viceroy of certain territories of Shām, and he was the founder of the Saljūḳ Sultāns of Rūm. Guzīdah states that Kil-timish received the investiture of the government of Damashk, from Malik Shāh, at the time when he conferred so many territories upon others. See note ², page 168. Sulīmān, who was employed against the Christians in 467 H. [A.D. 1074-5]—but Faṣiḥ-ī and a few others say in 469 H.—succeeded by stratagem in wresting Anṭākīah out of the hands of Firdaus [Philaretus], Rūmī, after it had been in the hands of the Christians

his tenth year, in 489 H., only twenty-one years *before* Sanjar succeeded to the throne and when Sanjar was about the same age. The first two sovereigns here mentioned as rulers of Rūm, who undertook expeditions against "the infidel Afranj," were the first two rulers of 'Irāḳ, subordinate to Sanjar, as will be seen on reference to the second Rūmī sovereign, so called, and Sanjar's reign where Karājah, the cup-bearer, is referred to, page 151. From the third to the ninth, the rulers mentioned in this Section are correctly given as far as their names and a very meagre account of their reigns go, but the tenth ruler, again, was the last ruler of 'Irāk, not of Rūm. I noticed, when reading the work, that, at the latter part of the reign of Mas'ūd, all the copies of the original contained matter totally unintelligible with regard to that sovereign. It is strange too that all the copies of the work should be the same, for some of the MSS. I have collated, one in particular, are certainly five or six hundred years old. Still more strange is it, however, that, not only should the author in his preliminary notice of the Sultāns of Rūm mention Maḥmūd, brother of Sanjar, as the first, but, that he should subsequently mention his undertaking expeditions against the Christians, and, with reference to the second ruler, Mas'ūd, Maḥmūd's son, he says that Sanjar, *at first*, conferred the throne of 'Irāḳ upon him [Mas'ūd], thus inferring that, subsequently, that of Rūm was given to him. The heading of a chapter or paragraph might be put in incorrectly by a copyist, but the sense of the matter cannot be, nor could Rūm have been inserted for 'Irāḳ. It is therefore evident that our author himself made a muddle of his work, and confounded the rulers of 'Irāḳ with those of Rūm, which, from other errors he has made, is not improbable. It will also be noticed that he makes no mention whatever of the Saljūḳs of Kirmān, consisting of eleven sovereigns, whose dynasty outlasted all the others—but he has also left out all the other 'Irāḳī rulers, except the two first and the last, who do duty for the Rūmīs—neither has he given any account whatever of Sanjar's successors, nor does he notice at all other less powerful dynasties.

I. MAḤMŪD, SON OF MALIK SHĀH

On the throne of the territory of Rūm having been conferred upon him by Sulṭān Sanjar, his brother, he undertook many holy wars in that region, and on the frontiers of Islām He marched armies against the infidel Afranj, and carried on holy war according to the canons and ordinances of the sacred law. He captured fortresses and cities, and ruled over the servants of Almighty God with justice and beneficence. After he had reigned for a considerable time he died.

II MAS'ŪD, SON OF MAḤMŪD SHĀH

Sulṭān Mas'ūd was the son of Mahmūd, son of Malik Shāh At first, Sultān Sanjar conferred the throne of 'Irāk upon him, and, on one occasion, through the power and authority which he had acquired in that territory, he combined with Ḳarājah, the Sākī [cup-bearer], and they rebelled against the Sultān

The Sultān came upon them suddenly, and attacked them[5], and took both Mas'ūd and Ḳarājah, the cup-bearer, prisoners After that occurrence the affairs of Mas'ūd went to ruin, and he never ascended the throne again, but, in the person of his son, Ḳazil-Arsalān by name, he acquired considerable power, and became sovereign, and carried on the government[6]

* * * * * * *

[Twelve copies of the original are all hopelessly defective here, and no two copies are alike No break occurs in either MS. to indicate that any portion whatever has been lost or misplaced, or that any omission has been made in copying[7].

since 358 H This was effected during the reign of the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus I. SULĪMĀN [the Solyman of Tasso] acquired great renown by this, and, in 480 H, Malik Shāh [not Sanjar, as our author states, for he was then only an infant in his *first* year], conferred the sovereignty on him He reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by his son, II DA'ŪD, who

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[5] See the particulars, at page 151

[6] This is the only sense that is to be gathered from the original, and the statement is incorrect See note [4], page 157

[7] Not even in the precious Paris copy, which M Tascherau so fondly imagines to be in our author's own handwriting

The context, in fact, proves that Minhāj-i-Sarāj considered Ḳazil-Arsalān to be the son and successor of Mas'ūd, and, such being the case, the extent of our author's knowledge of history is impressively indicated]

*   *   *   *   *   *   *

III. ḲAZIL ARSALĀN[8], SON OF MAS'ŪD, SON OF MAḤMŪD, SON OF MALIK SHĀH

After the decease of his father, Ḳazil-Arsalān acquired some little power, and possessed himself of some of the frontier districts of the territory of Rūm. He ruled for a short period and died.

IV. KULIJ-ARSALĀN, SON OF ḲAZIL ARSALĀN

Kulij-Arsalān was the son of Kazil-Arsalān, who was the son of Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd, son of Malik Shāh. He assumed the sovereignty of Rūm after the death of his father, and became a very great and powerful monarch. He possessed himself of the territories upon the confines of Rūm, captured many fortresses and strongholds, performed many heroic exploits, and acquired a great name on account of the infidel Afranj having been often worsted and overthrown by him.

All the Sultāns of Rūm glory in their connexion with him; and he obtained the felicity of martyrdom. He was interred at Ḳūnīah[9], which is a large city in Rūm.

ascended the throne at Ḳūnīah. He gained some successes over the Christians, and, after a reign of eighteen years, died in 518 H. His brother, III. KULĪJ-ARSALĀN, succeeded, who is said by one author to have fought a naval battle with the Christians, and, after an arduous struggle, to have been victorious; but there is some discrepancy with respect to the date, and the story may refer to the previous reign. He reigned until 539 H., but some say until 537 H.; but, having been defeated in a battle with the 'Irāḳī Saljūḳs, he was drowned whilst crossing a river, when retreating before them. His son, IV. SULṬĀN MAS'ŪD, succeeded, who, after a reign of nineteen years, died in

[8] Mas'ūd, brother of Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, Sanjar's brother, had no son so named. The lines which follow are meaningless, but are alike in all the copies.

[9] Called Koniah by Europeans.

V 'IZZ-UD-DĪN, KAI-KĀ-ŪS, SON OF ḲULĪJ-ARSALĀN.

Sultān 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḳai-Kā-ūs, ascended the throne after his father's death, and brought the country under his rule. He carried on holy war against the infidels of Afranj, and fought several battles with them in that country. He founded colleges and masjids, and left many monuments of his goodness and bounty behind He was interred by the side of his father in the city of Ḳūnīah.

VI KAI-KUBĀD, SON OF KAI-KĀ-ŪS

Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Kai-Ḳubād, ascended the throne on the decease of his father, Kai-Kā-ūs, and brought under his sway the territories of Rūm, and parts adjacent.

558 H He was succeeded by his son, V 'IZZ-UD-DĪN, ḲULĪJ-ARSALĀN, who ascended the throne at Ḳūnīah He annexed some of the territories of the Christians, and, after a reign of twenty years, died in 578 H. After him came his son, VI RUKN UD-DĪN, SULĪMĀN SHĀH, the eldest, and, between him and his brother Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Kai-Khusrau, who had been nominated successor by his father, hostilities arose, which went on till 588 H Kai-Khusrau fled to the Christians Sulīmān annexed Arẓ-i-Rūm and Ḳārṣ [Kars], with their dependencies He reigned twenty-four years, and died in 602 H His son, VII 'IZZ-UD-DĪN, ḲULĪJ-ARSALĀN II, son of Sulīmān, succeeded He was an infant, and his uncle, Kai-Khusrau, having been recalled from the Farang, in 603 H, succeeded, after a year, in depriving him of the sovereignty, and Ḳulīj-Arsalān was shut up in a fortress, where he died in 609 H VIII GHIYĀS-UD-DĪN, KAI-KHUSRAU, after dethroning his young nephew in 603 H, assumed the sovereignty He took Anṭākīah from the Christians, into whose hands it had again fallen, in 603 H, and was himself killed in a battle with the ruler of Istanbūl [Constantinople], after a reign of six years, in 609 H, but some authors say in the preceding year, and some, 610 H This probably is the fifth monarch referred to by our author, under the name of Ḳulīj Arsalān, as he is the only one mentioned who attained the felicity of martyrdom in having been slain by the Christians. His brother, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Kai-Ḳubād, rose against him, but had to submit, and was confined in a fortress

Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Kai-Khusrau, having been slain in battle with the Christians, was succeeded by his son, IX 'IZZ-UD-DĪN, KAĪ KĀ-ŪS, but he died after a short reign of about a year Most authors do not mention this prince at all He was succeeded by his uncle, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Kai-Ḳubād, who is about the first of the sovereigns of this dynasty that can be traced by his correct name and title, from our author's account of them X 'ALA-UD-DĪN, KAI-ḲUBĀD, who had been immured in a fortress, succeeded his nephew, 'Izz-uḍ-Dīn, Kai-Kā ūs, in 610 H, and is accounted one of the greatest sovereigns of the dynasty Hostilities arose between him and the

He fought battles with the infidels of Afranj; and many indications of his goodness exist to this day.

He had sons, who acquired great renown, and became great men. He died on the 5th of the month Shawwāl, in the year 633 H., and he, likewise, was buried at Ḳūniah.

VII. KAI-KHUSRAU, SON OF KAI-ḲUBĀD.

Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Kai-Khusrau[1], was a great monarch of noble disposition and excellent qualities, just and impartial. Having ascended the throne after the death of his father, he took possession of the territories of Rūm, and assumed the government of them.

In this reign, the disturbance and disorder consequent upon the irruption of the army of infidel Mughals had reached the frontiers of Rūm[2]. The Sultān, in such manner as he was able, entered into friendly relations with the Farang[3]. He was assembling an army upon the frontiers bordering upon the territory of Islām, when, suddenly,

unfortunate but gallant Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the last of the Khwārazm Shāhīs. They fought a battle, in Ramaẓān, 627 H., in which Kai-Ḳubād was victorious. The Mughal, Uktāe Ḳā'ān, sent him a Yarlīgh [diploma] congratulating him, and the Khalīfah [for overthrowing a good Musalmān perhaps] conferred upon him the title of Sultān-i-A'ẓam, wa Ḳasīm-i-Mu'aẓẓam. He reigned twenty-six years, and died in 634 H., having been poisoned, *by mistake* some authors say, by his son, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Kai-Khusrau, who assumed the throne.

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[1] Our author is correct here as to the name and title. GHIYĀS-UD-DĪN, KAI-KHUSRAU, the eleventh of the dynasty, is the man who poisoned his own father, of whom our author gives such a glowing account.

[2] An army of Mughals marched against him, under Tājū, Nūyān, and the Mughals obtained sway over the territory of Rūm, after an engagement at Koshah-dāgh, in 641 H. Kai-Khusrau died in 642 H., but Guzīdah says in 644 H., and Jahān Ārā and Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh say in 643 H., but Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā says in 640 H., which is certainly incorrect. His son Sulīmān succeeded.

[3] The word "Farang" is used here in all the copies, but Afranj is the word previously used. This, doubtless, is what Gibbon refers to in grandiloquent style, which often covers great errors:—"Flying from the arms of the Moguls, those shepherds of the Caspian [whom he styles '*the strange and savage hordes of Carizmians*,' thus indicating the extent of his knowledge of the matter] rolled headlong on Syria, and the union of the Franks with the Sultans of Aleppo, Hems, and Damascus, was insufficient to stem the violence of the torrent." The "torrent" of course signifies the fugitive Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn flying from the Mughals, who was defeated by Alā-ud-Dīn, Kai-Ḳubād, as related in a previous note.

he was deserted and left alone by his troops The Mughal forces made an inroad into that territory; and, after they again retired, Kai-Khusrau died in the beginning of Muḥarram, 643 H [4]

He reigned for a period of eleven years, and named his son, 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kai-Kā-ūs, his heir and successor.

VIII 'IZZ-UD-DĪN, KAI-KĀ-ŪS, SON OF KAI-KHUSRAU

According to his father's nomination as successor to the sovereignty, Sulṭān 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kai-Kā-ūs, ascended the throne of Rūm in the beginning of the year 643 H, and the Maliks and other great nobles submitted to his authority [5]

As he was celebrated for his energy, his warlike accomplishments, and his nobility of mind, he strengthened his frontiers on the side of Afranj, and, as a matter of necessity,

[4] Died in 644 H according to Guzīdah and Faṣiḥ-ī, and in 642 H according to the Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh

[5] As is often the case towards the termination of a dynasty, authors here are at variance one with another respecting the succession Some say that Ghiyaṣ-ud-Dīn, Kai-Khusrau, was succeeded by his son, 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kai-Kā-ūs, and that he, as our author states, *despatched* his brother Rukn ud-Dīn, Kulīj Arsalān [called by others Rukn-ud-Dīn, Sulīmān], to the camp of the Mughal Kā'an The facts, however, appear to be as follow On the death of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Kai-Khusrau, in 642 H, his son, XII RUKN UD-DĪN, SULĪMĀN, succeeded It was he who despatched his brother, 'Alā ud Dīn, Kai-Kubād, to the Court of Ab-ghā [called also Ab kā] Khān, where he continued for a considerable time in distress and trouble Having at length succeeded in his mission, he set out on his return, but Rukn ud-Dīn, Sulīmān, suspecting he was coming with designs against him, had him put to death as soon as he entered his territory, and another brother, 'Izz ud-Dīn, Kai Kā-ūs, fled to the camp of Barkā Khān After a reign, so called, of twenty years, Sulīmān was himself put to death, by order of Ab-ghā Khān, in 664 H

Others, on the contrary, say that Rukn-ud-Dīn, having succeeded in obtaining from the Mughal Kā'an, a grant of investiture for himself, on his return into Rūm, was the cause of great disorders, and that 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kai-Khusrau, fled to Istanbūl, and was proceeding to the Dasht-i Kabchak to lay his case before the Kā'an, but died on the way, Rukn ud-Dīn having in the meantime, with Mughal aid, assumed the sovereignty, but, after a short time had elapsed, Rukn ud Dīn [called Kulīj Arsalān by some and Sulīmān by others] was found to have been intriguing with the ruler of Misr, and was put to death in 664 H

As our author finished his history in 658 H I have no occasion to say more than that he records events respecting the Mughals which, evidently, belong to the reign of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Kai-Khusrau, the seventh ruler, by his account, and has confused the events of the following ones

consequent upon the power and predominance of the infidel Mughals over the dominions of Islām, he, in order to ward off [the inroads of] that race, despatched his younger brother into Turkistān to the Court of Mangū Khān, the Mughal, so that he might, under terms of peace, be left in possession of his dominions.

On Rukn-ud-Dīn, Ḳulīj-Arsalān, the envoy and brother of Sultān Kai-Kā-ūs, reaching the presence of Mangū Khān, the Mughal, he preferred requests, and made solicitations *contrary* to the mandate of his brother. He sought from Mangū Khān the territory of Rūm for himself, and likewise assistance from him to enable him to liberate that country from the hands of his brother. Mangū Khān gave him the daughter of the Nū-īn[6] [a Prince, or a great noble,] Aljaktā, the Mughal, and despatched Aljaktā, with his troops, to aid Rukn-ud-Dīn, Ḳulīj-Arsalān [against his brother].

When they reached the Rūmī territory, 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kai Kā-ūs, retired before them, and Ḳulīj-Arsalān and the Mughals became dominant over Rūm. Kai-Kā-ūs went to Aor Khān of Rūm, and, having obtained aid from him, came and suddenly attacked the Mughals, and overthrew them[7]. He captured his brother, and immured him in a fortress.

After some time, he, Ḳulīj-Arsalān, succeeded in escaping, and went to the Mughals; and, as what has happened since has not become known to the author, this [notice of him] has been thus much abridged.

IX. ḲUTB-UD-DĪN[8], ḲULĪJ-ARSALĀN.

Trustworthy persons call him Rukn-ud-Dīn, Ḳulīj-Arsalān, and say that he is among the Mughals, along with Hulāū, the Accursed, in the direction of the territory of Āzarbāījār. What the upshot of his affairs may be no one can say; but, please God, may they end well[9]!

[6] Also written Nūyīn.

[7] Who Aor [in one copy Ūz] Khān of Rūm might have been, it would require our author to explain. No overthrow of the Mughals by the Saljūḳs of Rūm is mentioned by other writers.

[8] One copy has Rukn-ud-Dīn.

[9] This short account varies, and is somewhat less in some of the copies of the work. Hulāū is also styled Hulākū.

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[The author now returns to the last of the Saljūḳs of 'Irāḳ[1]. All the MSS are alike here]

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X ṬUGHRIL, SON OF ṬUGHRIL

Respecting the descent of this Prince two different accounts have been given Some relate that he is Ṭughril, the son of Ṭughril, son of Ḳazil Arsalān[2].

Sulṭān Ṭughril was a sovereign, and the son of a sovereign, and a person of great magnificence, and his reign was contemporary with that of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Takish, Khwārazm Shāh[3]

His strength was so very great, that not a warrior of his day could lift his mace[4] from the ground, and he was a man of great stature and of awe-striking presence Persons of credit relate, that the hair on his upper lip was so long, that he used to draw his moustaches back, and put them behind his ears

He was one of the brother's sons of Sultān Sanjar[5], and was [left] very young in years on the decease of his father. The sons of the Atā-bak Īladd-giz—who was one of Sanjar's slaves, and had, previously, been ruler of that territory, and had espoused Ṭughril's mother [grandmother of Tughril, widow of Arsalān, Ṭughril's father], after his father's death—had acquired power over 'Irāk, and, when their father died, they immured Sultān Tughril in one of the fortresses of 'Irāk, and took the country into their own possession[6]

[1] All the copies are alike in this respect, and no hiatus whatever occurs in the different MSS to show it I merely discovered it from the names and events mentioned

[2] Not so Tughril, the last of the dynasty, was son of Arsalān Shāh, and his title was Rūkn-ud-Dīn There are no contrary accounts that I know of One copy has Tughril, son of Arsalān, son of Ḳulīj Arsalān

[3] In some copies this paragraph is placed at the end of his reign.

[4] See note [9], page 91

[5] He was Sanjar's brother's great-grandson, if not one generation farther removed

[6] I have been obliged to take a little liberty with the text of this paragraph, which, in all twelve copies, is in a hopeless state of muddle No two copies are alike, and, as the text now stands, it is a mere jumble of words without any observance of grammatical rules The literal translation of this passage, as it now stands, is as follows —"He was one of the brother's sons of Sulṭān

When Sulṭān Ṯug͟hril reached man's estate, and became famous for his vast strength, his great bodily vigour, his nobility of mind, and his warlike accomplishments, a party [of adherents] rendered him aid, and set him at liberty from imprisonment He came forth, and great numbers of the servants of his father and grandfather flocked around him. He assumed the Chatr [canopy of royalty], and became Sultān. The following are two lines from a poem composed on his escape from confinement, and his rise to dominion and power [7] —

> "The tidings reach'd Rai—'The Sulṭān is come!'—
> And that august canopy of his is to Hamadān come"

After Sultān Ṭug͟hril had acquired supremacy over the territory of 'Irāk, and had reigned for a considerable period, a number of his servants despatched letters to Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Takis͟h, K͟hwārazm S͟hāh, and invited him to come into that country. In accordance with that request, Sultān Takis͟h invaded 'Irāk with a large army When the two armies came into proximity with each other, one or two ingrate slaves acted treacherously towards Sultān Tug͟hril, and came up behind his august back and martyred him

At this period his other followers were engaged in front, at the head of a pass, fighting bravely, and did not become aware of this piece of treachery, until those treacherous ingrates brought the august head of their sovereign to Sultān Takis͟h, K͟hwārazm S͟hāh, who despatched it to that staunch and steadfast band of Tug͟hril's followers

Sanjar, and had been left, after his father ['s death] very young [in years] The *sons* of the Atā bak Iladd-giz, who was a slave of Sanjar's, having acquired power over 'Irāḳ, because *his* [sic] father was ruler of 'Irāḳ, [and], when he died, *they* imprisoned Sulṭān Tug͟hril in one of the fortresses of 'Irāḳ, took his mother to wife [sic], and possessed themselves of the country " For a correct account of these matters see the following note, and note [7], page 169

[7] Jahān Pahlawān, the Atā bak, on the death of his half-brother [see under Atā baks of Āẕarbāījān and 'Irāḳ, page 171, and note [9]] Arsalān S͟hāh, set up the latter's son, Tug͟hril, as sovereign of 'Irāḳ, who was then seven years old While his maternal uncle, Jahān-Pahlawān, lived, Tug͟hril's affairs prospered, and he reigned in some splendour Jahān-Pahlawān, however, died in 582 H, and Kazil-Arsalān, his full brother, desired to take his place as Atā-bak to Ṭug͟hril The latter, being impatient of restraint, would not brook it, and, accordingly enmity arose between them For further particulars respecting Ṭug͟hril and Ḳazil-Arsalān, see note [9], page 171, and note [8] page 172.

When they found what had happened, they declare that they would not cease fighting and using the swor until he, Sulṭān Takish, should deliver up to them th murderers of their sovereign, whereupon they would yiel to him Sultān Takish complied, and delivered up th murderers, whom they sent to the infernal regions Thei taking along with them the head of Sultān Ṭughril, the proceeded to the presence of Sultān Takish, and sul mitted to him. He took the head in his arms, and, alon with them, performed the customary mourning [for the de ceased], and Sulṭān Takish, Khwārazm Shāh, took po session of 'Irāk[8].

[8] Tughril's death occurred in the following manner —Takish of Khwārazn having invaded 'Irāḳ at the instigation of Kutlagh Īnānaj, encounter Tughril's forces within three farsakhs of Rai, where Tughril had pitched h camp According to several authors Tughril and Kutlagh Īnānaj we engaged hand to hand, when Tughril struck his own horse a blow with h mace, which was intended for his opponent, and the horse fell with him, a Tughril was slain by Kutlagh Īnānaj I prefer, however, the circumstanti account of Yafā'ī, who says that whilst Ṭughril was leading his troops in charge, his horse stumbled, and Tughril was thrown to the ground At th moment Kutlagh Īnānaj reached the spot, and desired to give Tughril finishing blow, and slay him before he was recognized This he accomplishe and the body was then placed upon a camel and taken to the presence Takish, "who, on seeing his enemy in this condition, knelt down and ga thanks to the Almighty for the mercy vouchsafed to him" His head w sent, as an insult, to the Khalīfah at Baghdād, and his body was exposed up a gibbet in the bāzār of Rai, on Thursday, the 29th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 590 Thus ended the first dynasty of the Saljūks, who ruled over Khurāsān a 'Irāḳ for a period of 161 years This account of Ṭughril and his death widely different from our author's The Khalīfah was hostile to Takish S under his reign, Section XVI

Our author does not give any account of the Saljūk dynasty of Shām, of that which ruled so long in Kirmān

SECTION XIII

ACCOUNT OF THE SANJARĪYAH RULERS

THE humblest of the servants of the Almighty's Court, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Jūrjānī, states, that, when the period of the dynasty of the Sanjarīyah expired, and no son remained unto Sultān Sanjar, nor brother's sons[1] [likewise], every one of his slaves held some territory among the dominions of Islām. These slaves assumed the title of Atā-baks [guardians and preceptors], and, to the brother's sons of Sultān Sanjar, they accorded the title of Sovereign, whilst they possessed themselves of the different territories of the empire.[2]

These Atā-baks were of different races. One was the descendant of the Atā-bak, Ilatt-giz, to whom Sultān Sanjar had given the territories of 'Irāk and Āzarbāījān; the second, the Atā-bak, Sankur, to whom he had given

[1] So in all the copies, but a few lines under our author contradicts himself.

[2] Our author appears quite as much in the dark with respect to the Atā-baks, if not more so than he is with regard to the Sultāns of Rūm. It was Sultān Malik Shāh, the father of Sultān Sanjar—not Sanjar himself—who made several of his Mamlūks or slaves, as well as some of his relatives and nobles, rulers over different parts of his vast empire [see page 138], as the dates which I shall give will prove, and on the authority of authors of undoubted authority, such as have been already mentioned. For the information of the general reader uninitiated in Oriental lore, I would mention that the words Mamlūk and Ghulām, signifying "slave," must not be understood in the sense "slave" conveys in our language. These slaves were sometimes captives, but more often boys of Turkish origin, purchased by kings and their great nobles of traders—slave dealers—and trained for the highest offices. They were sometimes adopted by their masters, and were frequently made governors of provinces, and leaders of armies. Numbers of these Turkish slaves possessed the throne of Dihlī, as will hereafter be mentioned in these pages.

The Atā-baks, it must be remembered, notwithstanding our author's assertions, were, at the outset, more or less, subject to the sovereigns of the house of Saljūk, and acted as tutors and guardians of various young princes, which the word Atā-bak means, from the Turkish *atā*, father, and *bak*, a lord, a great man. Sanjar himself was put in charge of Khurāsān in the thirteenth year of his age, which signifies that the government was administered in his name, and that his Atā-bak carried on the administration.

the territory of Fārs; and, third, the Atā-baks of Mauṣil, and the Maliks of S̲h̲ām[3]. Trustworthy authorities have related some little respecting the events [in the lives] of two of these dynasties, as has been [herein] recorded, and, with regard to the Atā-baks of Mauṣil, as much as has been written respecting the affairs of Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn of S̲h̲ām is all the information that has been obtained, with the exception of that of which the K̲h̲udāwand-Zādah [son of a lord or great man] of Mauṣil informed me, which was this much, that his eighth ancestor was a Turk of K̲h̲atā-ī, and the slave of Sultān Sanjar[4] Such being the case, this dynasty [of Atā-baks] has been classified into three sections[5]

FIRST DYNASTY

THE SANJARĪYAH MALIKS OF 'IRĀK AND ĀZARBĀĪJĀN

Be it known that one night, at a convivial entertainment, Sulṭān Sanjar conferred sovereignty upon three persons—to Malik Utsuz[6] he gave the throne of K̲h̲wārazm, to the Atā-bak, Īlatt-giz, the throne of Āzarbāījān, and the throne of Fārs to the Atā-bak, Sankūr[7]

[3] Respecting both of which dynasties he gives no account From the remarks which follow, our author seems to have been at a loss for materials, and his statements fully prove it

[4] A vast deal of information, certainly.

[5] It will be noticed that our author, who generally eschews dates, never gives a single date throughout his account of the three following dynasties, so called

[6] Also written Utsiz, and in the Burhān-i-Ḳāṭa', Itsiz

[7] Sanjar's father, Malik S̲h̲āh, who certainly held a greater extent of territory than any other of the Saljūḳ sovereigns, bestowed territories, that is the viceroyalty over them, upon his Mamlūks and officers K̲h̲wārazm he gave to Nūsh Tigīn-i-G̲h̲arjah, who was also a slave, on his conquest of that territory, in 475 H [He was the progenitor of that dynasty], and this happened *five years before Sanjar was born* The latter, during his reign, in 535 H, endeavoured to reduce Itsiz, the grandson of Nus̲h̲-Tigīn, who died *when Sanjar was in his twelfth year*, but was unable, and Itsiz became an independent sovereign On Āḳ Sankur the progenitor of the Atā-baks of Fārs and of Diyār-i-Bakr, Muḥammad, Sanjar's predecessor, bestowed the government of Ḥalab, in 487 H, upwards of *five* years *before* Sanjar came to the throne of the empire he had only held K̲h̲urāsān before It was Maḥmūd, nephew of Sanjar, who gave Īladd-giz the widow of his brother in marriage, and the government of Aẓarbāījān, as mentioned farther on I have been thus particular here in order to show the value of our author's statements with respect

When the next day came round, a number of his Wazīrs, confidants, and advisers, represented to the Sultān, that, on the previous night, his Majesty had given thrones away to three different persons, out of whose hands he would not, hereafter, be able to disengage them. He inquired what three persons they were, and, when they informed him, he confirmed the appointments, saying:—"Those two first mentioned are my slaves, and the other is in my service. As there is no son to interpose, who would be heir to the sovereignty, it is better that my slaves should be paramount."

I. THE ATĀ-BAK, ILATT-GIZ[8], US-SANJARĪ.

The Atā-bak, Īlatt-giz, was a slave of Sultān Sanjar's, and he was possessed of great strength and nobility of mind. Having brought the territory of Āzarbāījān under his sway, he performed many great acts, and many monuments of his goodness still remain in that country.

to the Atā-baks, whatever may be the value of what he says about Hindūstān. As the other slaves, who were appointed rulers at the same time, are not mentioned by our author, I need not refer to them here.

[8] The Atā-bak, Īladd-giz [or Ilatt-giz, *t* and *d* being interchangeable], was the slave of Kamāl-ud Dīn, 'Alī, Samīramī, the Wazīr of Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Sultān Muḥammad, son of Sultān Malik Shāh. [See note [6], page 146. As the author leaves out Maḥmūd's reign, it is not surprising that he makes errors with respect to Īladd-giz.] Samairam is one of the dependencies of Iṣfahān, and is said to have been founded by Sām, the son of Nūh [Noah], who gave it the name of Sām Ārām—Sām's resting-place [or place of rest]—but, from constant use, in course of time, the name got corrupted into Samairam. After the Wazīr, Kamāl-ud Dīn, was put to death, in the month of Ṣafar, 516 H., Īladd-giz became the servant of Sultān Maḥmūd, during whose reign he rose to the highest rank and dignity, and great power. Maḥmūd gave the widow of his brother Tughril, the mother of Arsalān Shāh [see page 165, where the author falls into utter confusion: this note tends to throw some light upon his statements there], in marriage to Īladd-giz, and bestowed upon him the government of Āzarbāījān. He became very powerful, and annexed Ganjah and Shīrwān to his territory. He set up Arsalān Shāh, son of Tughril, his wife's son, as sovereign, and, at once, assumed the entire direction of affairs, and all the power, Arsalān possessing nothing of sovereignty except the bare name. Īladd-giz died at Hamadān, according to Faṣīḥ-ī, in 567 H., but some say in 569 H. In 557 H., an army of 30,000 Gurjīs [Georgians] invaded Āzarbāījān, destroyed the city of Dū-īn, and slew 10,000 Musalmāns, carried off a number of captives, and burnt the great Masjid. Shams-ud Dīn, Īladd-giz, took the field with 50,000 horse, at Tabrīz, in order to aid the ruler of Akhlāt and the lord of Marāghah, and to revenge this invasion, which he effected in the following year.

The Almighty gave him worthy and accomplished sons; and he carried on wars with the infidels of Afranj and Karkh, and reduced the country, as far as the frontiers of Rūm, under his subjection, and conquered a great part of 'Irāk. He died after reigning a considerable time.

II. THE ATĀ-BAK, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF ĪLATT-GIZ.

The Atā-bak, Muhammad, was a great monarch, and succeeded his father on the throne[9]. He took possession of the territories of 'Irāk and Āzarbāījān, and performed many illustrious deeds. He was just and of implicit faith, he founded colleges and masjids, and undertook many expeditions against the unbelievers. He likewise performed many gallant exploits in the direction of Karkh, and reduced the territory, as far as the frontiers of Rūm and Shām, under his sway.

He reigned for a considerable period, and had slaves who attained great eminence and grandeur, who, after him, took possession of the territories of 'Irāk[1], such as Ī-tagh-mish, and Ada-mish, and others besides them, the whole of which they held up to the time of Khwārazm Shāh, when the territories of 'Irāk passed out of their hands, and they died.

In the length of his reign[2], his justice, and his beneficence, the Atā-bak, Muhammad, was a second Sanjar.

[9] Īladd-giz was succeeded as Atā-bak by his son, Jahān Pahlawān, Muḥammad, by the widow of Sulṭān Tughril, and half-brother of Arsalān Shāh. The latter having died in 571 H., the Atā bak set Arsalān's son, Tughril, a child in his seventh year, upon the throne of 'Irāk, but he was a mere puppet, and, except in name, the Atā-bak was sovereign. Jahān Pahlawān then despatched his full brother, Ḳazil-Arsalān, as his deputy, to Āẓarbāījān. Jahān Pahlawān died at Rai in 582 H. There is a good deal of discrepancy among authors as to the dates of the deaths of these two Atā-baks.

[1] As the Atā bak, Muḥammad Jahān Pahlawān, had several sons, who succeeded to his territories, the mention of his "slaves," who held them "up to the time of Khwārazm Shāh," is, like many other statements of our author, inexplicable. No other writer makes such a statement.

[2] The Atā-bak, Īladd-giz, died in 567 H., some say in 568 H., and others, 569 H. He held sway about 35 years. The Atā-bak, Muhammad, who, our author says, was "a second Sanjar in length of reign," only held power from the date of his father's death, until 582 H., just 15 years. He has confounded the father with the son.

III THE ATĀ-BAK, YŪZ-BAK, SON OF MUHAMMAD, US-SANJARĪ

The Atā-bak, Yūz-bak, was sovereign of Āzarbāījān Some have said[2] that he was the brother of the Atā-bak, Muhammad, son of the Atā-bak, Ilatt-giz, the Sanjarī

Yūz-bak was a man of energy and experience, and reigned over the territory of Āẓarbāijān for a considerable time.

[2] An absurd way of writing history, when he is not even certain of the names and descent of the people he pretends to write about, who flourished only a short time before he compiled his work The Atā bak, Jahān Pahlawān, Muḥammad, was succeeded by his brother, Kazil Arsalān, not by Yūz bak At the decease of the former, Kazil presented himself before Sulṭān Ṭughril, in expectation that he would permit him to act as his Atā-bak, but he, having experienced severity from Jahān Pahlawān, and having now grown older, was not inclined to have another master, and would not consent Kazil, becoming hopeless of gaining his object, retired into Āẓarbāījān, and rebelled, but was defeated in an engagement with Tughril's partisans In 583 H, Ḳazil had gained sufficient strength to be able to renew hostilities, and, in 586 H, he made Ṭughril prisoner, with his son, named Malik Shāh, and immured them in a strong fortress in Āẓarbāījān, and Kazil-Arsalān assumed independent sovereignty Ḳazil-Arsalān was assassinated by the disciples of the Mulāḥidah in 587 H, after reigning five years See pages 165 and 166

He was succeeded by his nephew, Nusrat-ud Dīn, Abū-Bikr, the son of Jahān Pahlawān, in the territory of Āẓarbāījān only, and 'Irāḳ passed to his brother, Ḳutlagh Ināna̤j In 587 H the year after Abū-Bikr's death, Sulṭān Tughril effected his escape from imprisonment, and succeeded in reaching 'Irāḳ Ḳutlagh Ināna̤j, after marrying his mother to Tughril, combined with her to administer poison to Tughril in his food, but, having received a warning, Tughril compelled his wife to take it, upon which she almost immediately died Kutlagh Ināna̤j was imprisoned for a time, but was subsequently set at liberty He went to the Court of Takish, Sulṭān of Khwārazm, and brought him with an army upon Tughril, and, in a battle which took place between them, Tughril was slain, and the first dynasty of the Saljūḳs terminated This will throw some light upon the almost unintelligible and confused account given by our author respecting the reign of Sulṭān Tughril, at page 166, and the very romantic, but not very authentic account of his death It will be noticed that, up to this time, even the Atā-baks were nominally but the ministers of the Saljūḳ sovereigns, and not "great monarchs" who ascended "thrones," as our author asserts

The Atā bak, Ūz-bak, or Yūz-bak [the name is written both ways], son of Jahān Pahlawān, was the *last* of the Atā baks of Āẓarbāījān, and succeeded Nusrat-ud Dīn, Abū Bikr, in the government of that territory He was the Atā-bak whose city of Tabrīz, Sultān Jalāl ud-Dīn, the last of the Khwārazmī Sulṭāns, invested Yūz bak had left it, and had placed his consort in charge, and she, having fallen in love with Jalāl-ud-Dīn, became his wife, and surrendered the city to him Yūz-bak died of grief and chagrin For an account of this circumstance, see the reign of Jalāl-ud Dīn, Section XVI

He continued in possession of it until the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh Upon several occasions the forces of Khwārazm Shāh were appointed to act against him, but he did not fall into their hands, until he advanced into 'Irāk, being eager for the possession of Iṣfahān, and hostilities were going on between him and the Atā-bak of Fārs, Sa'd [son of Zangī].

Unexpectedly, Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, came upon them. The Atā-bak, Yūz-bak, was defeated and completely overthrown, and Āẕarbāījān passed out of his possession, and he died

IV THE ATĀ-BAK, ABŪ-BIKR, SON OF MUḤAMMAD

The Atā-bak, Abū-Bikr, was a great monarch, and the territory of 'Irāk, and the Jibāl [the mountain tracts of 'Irāk] came into his possession He ruled his subjects justly and beneficently, and cleared the frontiers of his territory of enemies.

He founded colleges and masjids in 'Irāk, Arrān, and Āzarbāījān, and a very large college at Marāghah, and was the patron of ecclesiastics and learned men He had numerous slaves, both of his father's and of his own, each of whom was Malik [ruler] in one of the cities of 'Irāk He was the elder brother of the Atā-bak, Yūz-bak, and he reigned for a considerable time, and died, leaving no children behind him

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SECOND DYNASTY.

THE SANJARĪYAH MALIKS OF FĀRS

I THE ATĀ-BAK, SANḲUR[4], US-SANJARĪ.

As soon as the throne of Fārs[5] was conferred upon the Atā-bak, Sankur, by Sultān Sanjar, Sanḳur brought that

[4] Guzīdah says that Āḳ-Sankur [turned into "Ascansar" by Gibbon], who held Halab of Sulṭān Malik Shāh, is the progenitor of these Atā baks of Fārs.

[5] We now come to the Atā baks of Fārs, whom our author continually styles "great monarchs," who ascended thrones, although, at the very outset, he says the brothers' sons of Sanjar retained the title of Bādshāh He begins with the Atā-bak, Sanḳur, and would lead his readers to imagine that he was the first of the rulers of Fārs who bore that title, and that Sulṭān Sanjar bestowed the

territory under subjection[6], and acted with justice and beneficence to the people under his sway.

On the death of Sultān Sanjar, some of the brothers' sons of that monarch came into the territory of Fārs from 'Irāḳ. Sanḳur sent them to Iṣtakhur, in that territory,

sovereignty of that territory upon him, as he did upon others of his *slaves*. Such, however, is *not* the case The Atā-baks of Fārs were of the race of Salghur, a Turkmān chief, who, about the time of the great movement of the Saljūḳs towards Khurāsān, made raids into that territory, and committed great ravages, until the Saljūḳs became complete masters of it, when that chieftain is said to have taken service under Sulṭān Tughril Beg, and Salghur and his tribe took up their quarters in Fārs, Khūzistān, Luristān, and parts adjacent From the downfall of the Dīālamah dynasty to the rise to independent sovereignty of the Sanḳuríah, of whom our author's Sanḳur is the first, *seven* persons ruled over Fārs, six of whom were governors on the part of the Saljūḳ sovereigns The first of these was Fazl, son of Hasan, who in 459 H, after Alb Arsalān, the previous year, had inflicted chastisement upon the Shabānkārah, seized Mansūr-i-Fūlād Sutūn [Pillar of Steel], the last of the Dīlamī sovereigns of the family of Būwaih, and imprisoned him He then seized upon Fārs, which he appears to have been *allowed to retain*, but, subsequently, having become disaffected, he was replaced by the Amīr Khumār-Tigīn To him succeeded the Atā-bak, Jāwlī [also written Chāwlī], who reduced the power of the Shabankarah He was succeeded in the government by the Atā-bak, Karājah, who was slain at Hamadān [Guzīdah says in Fārs] He was followed by the Atā-bak, Mangū [also called Mangūs], his son Subsequently, the Atā-bak, Būzabah [also written Fūzābah, *f* being interchangeable with *b*], was made governor by Sultān Mas'ūd, son of Muhammad, son of Malik Shāh, Saljūḳī He rebelled against Mas'ūd, son of Mahmūd, and was taken in an engagement with him, and put to death in 542 H After this, Sulṭān Mas'ūd made his brother's son, Malik Shāh [Guzīdah says, Muḥammad], ruler of Fārs He was a youth wholly given to pleasure, and, after a time, he put to death, without cause, the Atā-bak [his own Atā-bak in all probability], Salghur On this, Sanḳur-Tigīn, son of Maudūd, son of Zangī, son of Āḳ Sanḳur, son of Salghur, rose against Malik Shāh, and expelled him from the territory of Fārs Malik Shāh went to his uncle's court, obtained assistance, and again entered Fārs, but was unable to effect any thing, and, in 543 H, Sanḳur assumed independent sovereignty The account given in Guzīdah is somewhat different, but to the same purpose It says, "Būzābah, having rebelled against Sulṭān Mas'ūd in 541 H, was defeated before Hamadān, taken prisoner, and put to death in 543 H The brother's son of Būzābah, Sankur, son of Maudūd, in revenge for his uncle's death, seized upon the territory of Fārs" All these events took place in Sanjar's *lifetime* Sanḳur assumed the title of Muzaffar ud Dīn, and ruled for a period of thirteen years, and died in 556 H He was succeeded, not by his son, but by his *brother*, Tuklah It must be borne in mind that all these Atā baks were, more or less, subject to the successors of Sulṭān Sanjar, while the dynasty lasted Mas'ūd died in 547 H, and Malik Shāh succeeded See latter part of previous note, and note [6] page 146, and note [6], page 151

[6] The constant recurrence, throughout the work, of this stock phrase of our author's, may be partly accounted for from the fact that confusion, more or less, arose on the death of each ruler

and assigned a stipend, and furnished them with all things necessary for their support. Those princes were allowed to retain the empty title of Bādshāh, whilst Sanḳur, under the name of Atā-bak [guardian and preceptor], ruled over the territory of Fārs. He reigned for a lengthened period, and died.

II. THE ATĀ-BAK, ZANGĪ[7], SON OF SANḲUR.

The Atā-bak, Zangī, ascended the throne of Fārs after the death of his father He was a great monarch, and was just, and ruled with a firm hand, and he brought the dominions of his father under his control and government.

With respect to the rulers of the countries around, he guided his policy as the circumstances of the times rendered feasible; and he held the sovereignty of Fārs for a long period, and died[8]

III THE ATĀ-BAK, DUKLAH, SON OF SANḲUR

The Atā-bak, Duklah, after the decease of his brother, ascended the throne of Fārs He was an energetic and rigorous monarch, and brought the territory of Fārs under his control

Hostilities broke out between him and the Maliks of 'Irāk, and he collected together, from all parts of the country, a vast quantity of material and munitions, the like of which, to such an amount of wealth and treasure, none of his predecessors in the rule of Fārs had ever possessed.

He reigned for a long time, and died[9].

[7] Our author here again has made a great blunder. There were two Zangīs and two Tuklahs [or Duklahs, *d* being interchangeable with *t*] The first, according to the Muntaḵẖab-ut-Tawārīḵẖ, Sanḳur's brother, Tuklah, having become suspicious of his brother's intentions, retired among the Faẓlawīahs. The chief rendered Tuklah assistance, and he, one night, suddenly fell upon Sanḳur by surprise, seized him, and immured him in the Ḳala'-i-Safīd Tuklah then assumed the authority, and held it four years He died in 553 H, after which Sanḳur again obtained power, and in 556 H he died He was succeeded by his *brother*, Zangī, son of Maudūd

[8] Zangī, son of Maudūd, only reigned for a short period, and died in the following year, 557 H. He was succeeded by his son [not his brother our author confounds the two Tuklahs into one], Tuklah, or Duklah, as our author now states He was confirmed in po session of Fārs by Sulṭān Arsalān, son of Ṭughril, son of Muḥammad, son of Malik Shāh

[9] Tuklah died in 590 H, but the Muntaḵẖab-ut-Tawārīḵẖ says in 591 H

IV. THE ATĀ-BAK, SA'D, SON OF ZANGĪ[1].

The Atā-bak, Sa'd, was a great monarch, and ascended the throne of Fārs after the decease of his uncle [the Atā-bak, Duklah], and brought the different parts of that country under his rule, in the manner which has been described[2].

He was a most just and intrepid sovereign, and trustworthy authorities have related this, that the weight of his arms and armour was so great, that a powerful man could not lift from the ground the armour he used to wear.

He led armies against 'Irāk upon several occasions, and in some engagements he was victorious, but, in others again, he was defeated, as happened when a battle took place between him and Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, undesignedly, and in the following manner. The Atā-bak, Sa'd, was marching an army into 'Irāk, with the object of capturing Iṣfahān, and the Atā-bak, Yūz-bak, son of the Atā-bak, Muḥammad, had come out of Āzarbāijān also, with the object of gaining possession of that city.

The two armies, of Fārs and of Āzarbāijān, were marching towards the same point from opposite directions, when Sultān Muhammad[3], Khwārazm Shāh, arrived [with an army] upon the frontier of 'Irāk. He obtained information that the Atā-bak, Sa'd, was marching an army from Fārs, towards the gate of Isfahān, in order to give battle to the Atā-bak, Yūz-bak, and he [Sultān Muḥammad] advanced with his troops towards the Atā-bak, Sa'd.

When the troops of Khwārazm Shāh came in sight[4], the Atā-bak, Sa'd, imagined that this was the army of the Atā-

[1] Duklah was succeeded by his cousin, the Atā-bak, Tughril, brother of Zangī, and son of Sanḳur, son of Maudūd, son of Zangī, son of Aḳ-Sanḳur, the other brother of the first ruler, and hostilities went on between him and Sa'd, son of Zangī, for a considerable time, during which Fārs suffered great desolation. At length Tughril was taken captive by Sa'd, who deprived him of his sight, and immured him within the walls of the fortress of Iṣṭākhur, where he died, 599 H. He was succeeded by Sa'd, son of Zangī, son of Maudūd, who is *fourth* according to our author.

[2] Not mentioned in any other place in the work.

[3] Sulṭān 'Alā-ud Dīn, Muḥammad.

[4] The Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh and Jahān Ārā say this affair took place on the confines of Rai.

bak, Yūz-bak, and at once marshalled his ranks in order, and attacked the Sulṭān's army, and threw it into confusion. Suddenly, one of the champions of Khwārazm Shāh's army joined spears with him, and the name of that champion was Kashkah[5], who was the [Sulṭān's] Amīr-i-Ākhūr [lord of the stables]. The champion hurled the horse of Sa'd to the ground, and wanted to slay him; but the Atā-bak cried out to him:—"I am the Atā-bak, Sa'd, do not slay me. Say, Whose army is yours?" The champion replied:—"The army of Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh" The Atā-bak rejoined:—"Take me to the Sultān's presence."

On reaching the Sultān's presence, Sa'd kissed the ground, and said:—"King of the Universe, by the great God, this your servant knew not that this was the king's army, otherwise he would never have drawn his sword." The Sultān comforted and encouraged him, and forthwith had him remounted; and, on account of what had reached the ears of the Sulṭān respecting the great energy, manliness, and intrepidity, of the Atā-bak, Sa'd, he treated him with honour and reverence, and restored to him the dominion of Fārs, upon this stipulation—that one half of that territory should be held by the Maliks, or great nobles, and trusty retainers of the Khwārazm Shāhī dynasty, and the other half should belong to the Atā-bak[6].

The Sultān likewise appointed a force to accompany him, for this reason, that, on the Atā-bak, Sa'd, having been taken prisoner, his son, the Atā-bak, Abū-Bikr, had taken possession of the territory of Fārs, and had read the Khuṭbah in his own name

When the Atā-bak, Sa'd, with the forces of Khwārazm Shāh, and the Sāhib [lord] Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk, Amīr-i-Ḥājī, who was despatched along with Sa'd by Khwārazm Shāh,

[5] In some few copies Kashilī, in others Kashkī

[6] In the year 603 H, Sa'd was taken prisoner on the confines of Rai by the troops of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh He was released on the stipulation "that he should pay four *dāngs* [a dāng is the fourth part of a dram, and the meaning here signifies a fourth part of any thing some writers say a third] of the revenue of Fārs and 'Irāḳ, which he appears to have then held, into the Sulṭān's treasury," and, upon these terms he was allowed to retain these territories The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh calls the Sulṭān by the title of Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn, and says that Sa'd was released on the intercession of the Malik of Zawzan

reached the frontier of Fārs, the Atā-bak, Abū-Bikr, advanced to oppose them, and the father and son came to blows. The Atā-bak, Sa'd, wounded his son, Abū-Bikr, in the face with his sword, and the ranks of the Fārsī army became disorganized

The Atā-bak, Sa'd, again ascended the throne of Fārs, and imprisoned his son After this, Sa'd reigned for a considerable period over [half of ?] that territory, and died after the misfortunes attending the irruption of the infidel Mughals[7]

The Atā-bak, Sa'd, was endowed with many distinguished virtues, and excellent qualities In the first place, the flag, which, every year, he used to send along with the caravan of pilgrims on the journey to the Ka'bah [at Makkah], when the pilgrims returned, he used to have kept constantly set up before the entrance of his palace or pavilion ; and, every time he came to the hall of audience, or his private apartments, he used to perform a prayer of two genuflexions under the flag in question, after which he would mount his throne This circumstance indicates how excellent was his faith ; but, respecting his ostentation and pomp, a trustworthy person has related, that the revenues of one of the provinces of the territory of Fārs was set apart for the expenses of his own wardrobe The revenue of the province in question amounted, every year, to three hundred and sixty thousand golden dīnārs[8], and, every day, one thousand dīnārs of red gold used to be expended upon his attire, in the shape of head-dresses, tunics, mantles, robes, and expensive fabrics, girdles, jewel-studded collars, and the like

If any surplus remained over and above the necessary expenses of his wardrobe, he would purchase therewith

[7] Sa'd died at Baiẓā in 625 H , but the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh says his death happened in 628 H , which is evidently incorrect His Wazīr, Khwājah Ghiyāṣ ud-Dīn, kept his death secret, and sent Sa'd's signet-ring to the Ḳala'-i-Safīd, and released Sa'd's son, Abū Bikr, who had been confined in that fortress for a considerable time, had him brought into the pavilion, and then said, as though Sa'd were still alive, "The Atā-bak is pleased to command 'the Atā-bak, Abū Bikr, is his heir,'" and he succeeded accordingly The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh says that Abū-Bikr was confined in the fortress of Iṣṭakhur Guzīdah, on the other hand, says that, when Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the last of the Khwārazm Shāhīs, entered Fārs, on his return from Hind, he set Abū-Bikr at liberty Yāfa-ī says much the same

[8] I rather expect this is much more than *all* the revenues of Fārs at present.

valuable gems and jewels, which used to be arranged about his head-dress, his tunic, and girdle He never wore a suit but one day; the next day he would invest one of his nobles or grandees with it May the Almighty have mercy upon him, and pardon his sins!

V.[*] THE ATĀ-BAK, ABŪ-BIKR, SON OF SA'D

The Atā-bak, Abū-Bikr[1], is a great monarch, and he has brought under his sway the territories of Fārs

When the Atā-bak, Sa'd, was sent back again to ascend the throne of Fārs by Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, under the agreement that one half the territory of Fārs should remain in the possession of Sa'd, and the other half be held by the Sultān, the latter despatched [a body of troops] along with the Atā-bak, Sa'd, under the Amīr-i-Ḥājī, Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk, Nīshāpūrī, to enable Sa'd to re-possess himself of that half

The Atā-bak, Abū-Bikr, and his two brothers, Tahamtan and Sankur Shāh, with the troops of Fārs, advanced against their father, determined that they would not give up their dominions into the hands of their enemies[2] When the battle on both sides had been duly ordered, the Atā-bak, Sa'd, issued from the ranks of his forces, while his son, the Atā-bak, Abū-Bikr, came forth from the ranks of the troops of Fārs to encounter his father. Sa'd struck and wounded his son in the face with his sword, [and, seeing this,] the ranks of the Fārsī army gave way Sa'd took his son, Abū-Bikr, prisoner, and put him in confinement

When Sa'd departed this life, they brought forth Abū-Bikr from his place of confinement, and raised him to the throne of Fārs; and he brought under his rule the territories of his father, and his grandfather, and chastised his enemies

After some time, he sent an army towards the sea [of Fārs[3]], and took the capital of the country of Kīsh[4],

[*] He is the eighth, not the fifth, of the Atā baks of Fārs.

[1] Shaykh Sa'dī dedicated his Gulistān and Bostān to this prince

[2] See page 178, and note [7]

[3] He annexed the greater part of the tracts lying on the side of the Gulf of Persia, such as Hurmūz, Ḳaṭīf, Baḥrain, 'Ummān, and Laḥ-ṣā [لحسا], the Al-Ḥasā [الحسا] seemingly of Ibn-i-Baṭūṭah, which he says was previously called Hajar The Khwārazm Shāhī dynasty, at this time, had fallen

[4] Kīsh is described in old geographical works as a city, on a hill, on an

[together with] Baḥrain and Hurmūz He also despatched one of his brothers to the infidel Mug͟hals, and entered into a treaty of peace with that race He engaged to pay tribute and revenue to them, and brought reproach and dishonour upon himself by becoming a tributary of the infidels of C͟hīn[5], and became hostile to the Dār-ul-K͟hilāfat.

Up to the time this history was written, affairs are in this state[6] May the Almighty God continue the Sultān of the Sultāns of Islām, and the great nobles and lords of his Court, in sovereignty, and in rendering bounden duty to the Dār-ul-K͟hilāfat, and the house of 'Abbās, for the sake of Muhammad, his family, and the whole of his companions and friends!

THIRD DYNASTY

THE SANJARĪYAH MALIKS OF NĪS͟HĀPŪR.

I MALIK MU-AYYID, US-SANJARĪ

Malik Mu-ayyid was a slave of Sultān Sanjar's, and a Turk[7]. He held the government of the territory of

island, in the sea of Fārs, called Hurmūz, and is said to be so called from its resemblance, when viewed from the hills, to a quiver for arrows, which Kīs͟h signifies The word is sometimes spelt Kis͟h, and sometimes Kes͟h See note [2], p 46

[5] At the time of the interregnum after the death of C͟hangiz K͟hān, Abū-Bikr sent his brother, Tahamtan, to the presence of Ūktāe Ḳā-ān with rich presents, and received from him a charter, and the title of Ḳutlag͟h K͟hān He likewise obtained a charter from Hulākū K͟hān, and reigned for a period of thirty-three years.

[6] The Atā-bak, Abū-Bikr, died in 558 H, the very year in which our author completed his History The dynasty did not terminate for several years after, and three persons, including a female, ruled over the territory remaining to them, tributary to the Mug͟hals, until 685 H

[7] The first of the Mu ayyidīah dynasty was Mu-ayyid-ud-Dīn who was one of the slaves of Sulṭān Sanjar As he was the Ā'īnah-dār, or mirror-bearer, to that monarch, he became known by the name of Mu-ayyid i-Ā'īnah After Sulṭan Sanjar's death, he for a short time pretended to be obedient to Rukn-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd, the son of Muḥammad K͟hān, son of Bug͟hrā K͟hān, who had married Sanjar's sister, who, when Sanjar fell into the hands of the G͟huzz tribe, was raised to sovereignty in K͟hurāsān, but he soon threw off his disguise, and, having seized Maḥmūd, in the fifth year of his sovereignty, deprived him of his sight, and assumed the sovereignty over the tract of territory extending from Hirāt to Rai In 569 H, he undertook an expedition against Māzandarān, and made great bloodshed and devastation therein. He subsequently

Nīshāpūr, and the parts adjacent, such as Jām, Bākhurz, Shangān, Sabrās[8], Jā-jurm, Shāristānah, Khūjān, and other cities and towns which are dependencies of Nīshāpūr.

He was a Malik of good disposition; and, when the Sanjarī dynasty passed away, Malik Mu-ayyid, the sovereign of Khwārazm, the Maliks of 'Irāk, and the Sultāns of Ghūr, entered into terms of friendship and amity together for mutual support and security. Under the shelter and support of this arrangement, Malik Mu-ayyid continued for some years, and died.

II. MALIK ṬUGHĀN SHĀH, SON OF MU-AYYID

Malik Ṭughān Shāh was a monarch of blooming prospects, and of handsome person, and greatly addicted to pleasure and gaiety. He used to spend his days in pleasure, in singing, and convivial meetings, along with his confidants and favourites, minstrels and singers and boon companions[9].

When the territory of Nīshāpūr passed from his father under his own control, he entered into relations of amity and dependence towards the neighbouring Maliks and Sultāns, and rendered homage unto them; and, as he was incapable of injuring or molesting them, they all refrained from troubling him.

He passed his whole time in pleasure and jollity, dancing

[but, according to Faṣiḥ ī, in the same year], in concert with Sulṭān Shāh, Khwārazmī, the rival of Sulṭān Takish, encountered the latter in battle, was taken prisoner, and put to death by Takish. A portion of the territory of Sanjar's nephew, on the usurpation of Mu-ayyid, had passed into the possession of the Khwārazmī sovereign. See reign of Takish, V. of the Khwārazm Shāhīs.

[8] Some of these names are rather doubtful. Some copies have Sangān, and Shagān, and Sabrāsh, Bihrās, Sīrān, and Shīrān. Possibly, Sunkhās and Samnakān are meant.

[9] The accounts of other writers differ considerably from our author's as to this prince and his doings. Ṭughān Shāh, in 576 H., fought a battle with Sulṭān Shāh, the Khwārazmī, and rival of 'Alā-ud Dīn, Takish, near Sarakhs, after Sulṭān Shāh had returned from Gūr Khān's territory, whither he had fled after his previous defeat in which Ṭughān's father was made prisoner. Ṭughān was routed, and sought protection from Sulṭān Takish, and also from the sovereign of Ghūr, but without avail; and Sulṭān Shāh possessed himself of Ṭūs and Sarakhs. Ṭughān died in 581 H.

and wine-drinking; and, for the sake of his own pleasure and merriment, he had the sleeves of his vest made each about ten ells in length, to which small golden bells were fastened, and he would himself join in the dance. He soon took his departure from this world

III. SANJAR SHĀH, SON OF TUGHĀN SHĀH

When Ṭughān Shāh ascended the throne of Nīshāpūr, he entered into connexion with the Maliks of Ghūr, and despatched a confidential agent, and demanded the hand of the daughter of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muhammad Sām, for his son, Sanjar Shāh The chief men among the ecclesiastics and theologians of Nīshāpūr accordingly came [into Ghūr], and the knot of that marriage contract was tied

When Tughān Shāh died, Takish, Khwārazm Shāh, marched an army from Khwārazm, and advanced to Nīshāpūr, and possessed himself of that city and territory, seized Sanjar Shāh, and carried him away to Khwārazm[1].

Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn released his daughter, Malikah-i-Jalālī[2], from her betrothal; and, according to the statement of Imām Shāfi'ī, he gave her in marriage, in Ghūr, to Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn[3] Sanjar Shāh died in Khwārazm.

[1] Sanjar Shāh succeeded to his father's territory, and Mangulī Beg, a slave of his grandfather's, through the youthfulness of Sanjar, acquired the whole power, and was in consequence put to death by Sulṭān Takish After this, Takish married Sanjar's mother, and gave a daughter of his own to Sanjar in marriage In 591 H, Sanjar was accused of meditating rebellion, and was deprived of his sight He died in 595 H, and his territory was taken possession of by the Khwārazm Shāhī sovereign

[2] A title, not her name

[3] In three copies Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn

SECTION XIV.

THE MALIKS OF SIJISTĀN AND NĪMROZ

AS this Ṭabakāt[1] is being written in the name of the great Sultān, the king of kings [over] both Turk and 'Ajam, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Muzaffar, Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān I-yal-timish—May his sovereignty endure!—and, as an account of all rulers and their Ṭabakāt is being penned, the author, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Jūrjānī, would state that he desires, to the extent of his capability, to commit to writing what has come to his hearing, and what he has himself seen respecting the Maliks of Nīmroz.

They were able and just monarchs, virtuous, and cherishers of the indigent, whose country, from the Sanjarī era up to this time, when the territories of Īrān have, through the cruelty and rapine of the infidels of Chīn, become ruined, was adorned by the grandeur, the justice, the munificence, and the nobility of mind of those monarchs, and, therefore, the author desires that he himself, and those Maliks, may continue to call forth the favourable mention of those under whose notice this [account] may come, and, that a benediction may be offered for the sovereign of the present time

The origin and lineage of these rulers from the previous Amīrs, did not seem clearly deducible in History[2].

[1] The word Ṭabaḳāt being a portion of the title of the original work, it has been used here, for convenience, in the singular form, although really the plural of طبقه

[2] As in scores of other places, our author is also very incorrect here He has already given us a Section on the Ṣuffārīāns of Sijistān or Nīmroz, and has mentioned the names of the other sons of Laiṣ, the Brazier, but he does not appear to have known that the descendants of 'Umro, son of Laiṣ, subsequent to his captivity, ruled over Fārs [for a time] and Sijistān, although these events took place some *three centuries before our author composed his work* There is consequently an hiatus of the reigns and struggles of no less than *six* princes of this family, and the events of just one century are entirely passed over, and two Sections are given, and two dynasties made, of *one* and the *same* family, whatever claims Khalaf may have had to descent from the Kai-

I ṬĀHIR, SON OF MUḤAMMAD

Trustworthy persons have related, that, when the dominion and sovereignty of the Maḥmūdī dynasty passed

ārīāns. Our author appears here to greater disadvantage, as an historian, than even in his accounts of the Saljūḳs and the Kurds, which are sufficiently incorrect

I will here briefly supply an account of the Ṣuffārīāns, passed over by our author, *in order to make the subject intelligible to the reader*

When 'Umro, son of Laiṣ, was defeated under the walls of Balkh by Ismā'īl, Sāmānī, in 287 H, as related at page 25, his grandson, ṬĀHIR, son of Muḥammad, son of 'Umro, was set up as his successor His career was a chequered one He at first possessed himself of Fārs, and drove out the Khalīfah's officers, but was subsequently obliged to relinquish it. Subsequently, however, the administration of the affairs of Fārs was conferred upon him by the Court of Baghdād, but, shortly after, a slave of his grandfather's rose against him, in that territory

[*In nearly every history in which this slave is referred to, his* name *is said* to be Saikzī, Sabkrī, Sankrī, and the like, but further research, since note [6], page 34, was written, tends to show that this could not have been intended for the *name* of the slave, but of his race He was a Sigzī, one of a people often mentioned in the following pages "Sigiz, and Sigzī, is the name of a lofty mountain [range of hills?] in Zābulistān, and the people dwelling thereabout are called after that mountain, Sigzīs and Sigzīān Rustam-i-Zāl is also called Sigzī on the same account Some consider, however, that the meaning of Sigzī is Sīstānī, because the 'Arabs change the *g* into *j*, and call Sigistān, which is the proper name of that country, Sijistān, and Sigzī, by the same fashion, Sijzī" The Sigzīs are not Afghāns, so must not be turned into Paṭāns, but there is a small tribe of that people called Sekarī]

A battle took place between Ṭāhir and the Sigzī slave, and Ṭāhir was worsted, and fell into the hands of the rebel, who sent him, together with his brother Ya'ḳūb, to Baghdād, through which city they were paraded on a camel [one author says on two elephants] This happened in the year 293 H, and Ṭāhir died after having ruled for a period of six years. Some say he died in 296 H

On this, in the same year, LAIṢ, son of 'Alī, entered Fārs [from Sijistān], and the rebel Sigzī slave fled, but, being supported by an army sent by the Khalīfah under his general, Mūnis-i-Khādim, he was enabled to march against Laiṣ Although Laiṣ made a gallant and vigorous dash upon their forces near Ūjān, he was unsuccessful, and fell a captive into their hands, and the Sigzī again acquired possession of Fārs Soon after, however, the Khalīfah had to despatch Mūnis into Fārs again, as the Sigzī withheld the revenue [the Khalīfah's share], which amounted to 400,000 dirams The Sigzī now offered to pay 1,000,000 dirams, but this offer was not accepted, and, after several encounters with Muḥammad, son of Ja'far, the Khalīfah's general, the Sigzī fled to the fortress of Bamm, in Kirmān, but, as he was followed by that officer, he fled from Bamm, and retired into the wilds of Khurāsān, and Muḥammad was entrusted with the administration of the affairs of Fārs and Kirmān

over to the family of Saljūḳ, the nobles who were exercising authority in the country of Sijistān acquired power, and,

In that same year, Abū Naṣr-i-Aḥmad, Sāmānī, took possession of Sijistān, and, as he had succeeded in making prisoner of Muḥammad, son of 'Alī, brother of Ya'ḳūb, 'Umro, and Mu'addil, sons of Laiṣ, and the Sigzī also, they were despatched to Baghdād, by the Khalīfah's directions, and entered it paraded on elephants, and rich presents were sent by the Khalīfah to the Sāmānī prince, in return for this service

In 299 H [some say in 298 H], Laiṣ, son of 'Alī, died in Fārs, and his brother, MU'ADDIL, assumed the sovereignty over Sijistān, and drove out the Sāmānī governor, Abū Ṣāliḥ-i-Manṣūr, Sāmānī, cousin of Amīr Abū Naṣr-i-Aḥmad, on which, the latter despatched a large army under some of his greatest nobles, such as Ḥusain 'Alī, Marw-ar-Rūdī, Aḥmad, son of Sahl, Muḥammad, son of Muẓaffar, Sīmjūr-i-Dowātī, &c Mu'addil, on becoming apprized of this, sent his brother Muḥammad for supplies, to enable him to stand a siege, into Zamīn-i-Dāwar, but, as he happened to fall into the hands of the Sāmānī forces, Mu'addil, on receipt of the news of this disaster, came and surrendered on terms to those leaders, and was taken to Bukhārā, from whence he was sent to Baghdād See page 34

In the year 300 H, 'UMRO, son of Ya'kūb, son of Muḥammad, son of 'Umro, son of Laiṣ-i-Ṣuffār, rose in Sijistān, and assumed the sovereignty Amīr Abū Naṣr-i Aḥmad, Sāmānī, again despatched a force under Husain 'Alī, Marw-ar Rūdī, against him After defending the capital for a period of nine months, 'Umro surrendered on terms of capitulation, and the territory of Nīmroz received a Sāmānī governor

In the year 309 H, AHMAD, said by Guzīdah to have been the grandson of Tāhir, but by others to have been the son of Muḥammad, son of Khalaf, son of Abū Ja'far, son of Laiṣ [which Laiṣ is not mentioned, but, if the Brazier be meant, Abū Ja'far must have been a *fifth* son, but no doubt he was a grandson], who was living in great distress and misery at Hirāt, chanced to come under the notice of Amīr Abū-l-Ḥasan-i-Naṣr, son of Aḥmad, the fifth of the Sāmānī rulers, who bestowed upon Aḥmad-i-Ṣuffār the government of his native country, Sijistān

Faṣiḥ-ī, among the occurrences of the year 310 H, says, that by command of the Khalīfah, Al-Muktadir, honorary dresses were bestowed upon Ṭāhir and Ya'ḳūb, sons of 'Umro, Laiṣ, but this must refer to Laiṣ, son of 'Alī, son of Laiṣ the Brazier, as Ṭāhir, son of 'Umro, the second of the dynasty, died at Baghdād many years previous to this In 311 H, according to Faṣiḥ-ī, Shāh Malik, son of Ya'kūb-i-Laiṣ, Ṣuffārī, with a body of Sigzīs, attempted to gain possession of Hirāt, but after a time left, and proceeded to Fūshanj He returned to the Dasht of Mālān of Hirāt again, and invested Hirāt for four months, but had to abandon it, and he and his party retired discomfited Sīmjūr held Hirāt on that occasion

Aḥmad was succeeded as ruler of Sijistān by his son, KHALAF, but the date of the former's death or the latter's accession is not mentioned—it was probably in 331 H—but, in 353 H, Khalaf set out on a pilgrimage to Makkah, leaving as his deputy, his son-in-law, Ṭāhir, son of Al-Husain, to administer the government of Sijistān. Ṭāhir coveted his dominions, and, when Khalaf returned from the pilgrimage, he would not allow him to resume his authority Khalaf proceeded to the Court of Manṣūr, son of Nūḥ, Sāmānī, the eighth of that dynasty, who sent a force with Khalaf, which, after ousting Ṭāhir and reinstating Khalaf, returned to Bukhārā.

having tendered their allegiance to the Sultāns, Alb-Arsalān and Malik Shāh, the states of Nīmroz came under their sway, and they took possession of those territories.

Ṭāhir now returned, and again dispossessed Khalaf, who, a second time, received aid from Mansūr, Sāmānī; but, by the time the Sāmānī forces reached Sīstān, Tāhir was dead, and Husain, his son, had succeeded to the authority. After considerable fighting, Husain retired to one of the fortresses of that territory, and was therein invested. He despatched an envoy to Amīr Manṣūr's presence, who sent a mandate directing him to appear before him, and so Husain was allowed to proceed to Bukhārā. This was at a period when the Sāmānī power was much weakened, and in the same year that Is-ḥāḳ, son of Alb-Tigīn, the Turk, encountered Abū-Alī i-Lawīk, previously ruler of Ghaznīn.

Nothing more is mentioned about Khalaf except his rebellion against Nūḥ, Sāmānī, and the seven years' investment of his capital, until the year 390 H., in which year, Bughrājak, the uncle of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, was slain by Khalaf's son, Ṭāhir, at Kūshanj. On this, Maḥmūd marched against Khalaf, who retired for shelter within the walls of the fortress of Tāḳ, and he was invested therein. In 393 H., Khalaf again withdrew from public life, and gave up the government of Sijistān to his son Ṭāhir, but, soon after, he regretted what he had done, resumed the authority, and put his son Tāhir to death. Some say he put two sons, Tāhir and 'Umro, to death with his own hand. This ruined Khalaf's affairs, and his nobles rose against him on account of this abominable conduct, and they invested him in the city which he had made his capital, and read the Khuṭbah, and coined money in the name of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn.

Maḥmūd, on account of this last act of Khalaf, again entered Sijistān, and Khalaf was defeated and retired once more to the fortress of Ṭāḳ, but it was taken by assault and Khalaf was captured. It was on this occasion that Khalaf, when brought before Maḥmūd, addressed him by the name of "Sulṭān" [see note [8], page 76], and his life was spared. The district of Jūzjānān was assigned for his future residence, and, with his family and dependents, he left Sijistān for ever and proceeded thither. Sijistān was conferred by Maḥmūd upon his brother Naṣr, and that territory continued for a considerable time in the possession of the Ghaznawīs.

In 398 H. Khalaf was found to have been intriguing against Mahmūd with Ī lak Khān, ruler of Turkistān, and was, in consequence, confined within the walls of the fortress of Juzdez. He died in the following year, and Maḥmūd directed that his property and effects should be made over to his son, Abū-l-Ḥifṣ. Khalaf was a learned and intelligent man, and, by his command, the learned men of his time compiled a commentary on the Ḳur'ān in one hundred volumes, and at the expense of 100,000 dīnārs; yet, with all this, he committed the cruel act of slaying his own sons. See also note [8], p. 76.

The sovereignty of Sijistān, or Nīmroz, having been taken from Khalaf, remained in the possession of the kings of Ghaznīn for a considerable time. At length, by the support of the Sultāns, Alb-Arsalān, and Malik Shāh, a great grandson of Khalaf, TĀHIR, son of Muḥammad, son of Tāhir, son of Khalaf, obtained the government of his native country; and the ruler's palace in Sīstān is called the Sarāī-i-Tāhirī after him. This is the *first* of the rulers of Nīmroz by our author's account, but the *sixth* of chroniclers of authority, after Ya'kūb and 'Umro, the founders of the Ṣuffārīān dynasty. A few authors

When the throne of sovereignty became adorned by the phœnix-like splendour of Sanjar, the territories of Nīmroz passed to Amīr Ṭāhir, and, in the service of that monarch, he gave proofs of his loyalty and good faith The Sarāe-i-Ṭāhirī, or Ṭāhirī Palace, in Sīstān, which was the seat of government, was founded by him He instituted regulations and precepts of government, brought under his control the different districts and dependencies of the country of Nīmroz, reigned for a considerable time, and died These Maliks claimed descent from the race of Kai-Kā'ūs May the Almighty reward them!

Trustworthy persons have related that Sijistān is called Nīmroz for the reason that, in ancient times, the whole of that tract was a sea, and, when Mihtar[3] Sulīmān, reclining on the couch which the winds used to bear, had to pass over that country on his way from Fārs to the mountains of Sulīmān, which are opposite Multān, he commanded that that sea should be filled with sand The Dīws, in the space of half a day, completed the task, and the sea became dry land, and the name by which it was called was Nīm-roz, signifying mid-day, and that designation continued to be applied to that country God alone is eternal, and His kingdom only is eternal, without intermission and without wane

II MALIK TĀJ-UD-DĪN, ABŪ-L-FATḤ[4], SON OF ṬĀHIR

Tāj-ud-Dīn was a great and a just monarch, and, when his father departed this life, in conformity with the mandate of Sultān Sanjar, Saljūkī, he assumed authority over the territory of Nīmroz, and brought it under his sway He spread the carpet of justice, and the people became obedient to his authority, and, both in the city and round about Sijistān, numerous monuments of his goodness remained

mention that some writers consider Khalaf to have been a descendant of the ancient kings of Īrān

[3] See the short account of the descent of the Afghāns in the Introduction to my Afghān Grammar, last edition, page 7, respecting Mihtar Sulīmān and the Sulīmān mountains

[4] Styled Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Fazl-i Naṣr, son of Ṭāhir, by others He succeeded to the sovereignty in 480 H He was just, valiant, and beneficent, and was loyal to the utmost degree towards Sulṭān Sanjar

He accompanied Sultān Sanjar in the campaign against Khiṭā, and took along with him the troops of Sijistān; and, when Sultān Sanjar's army was defeated, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Fath, was taken prisoner. When they had taken him to the place where the camp of the Khitā-īs was situated, his feet were confined in a pair of wooden stocks[5] and secured with a heavy chain, and he was kept in imprisonment.

A number of trustworthy persons[6] have related, that one of the ladies of the Great Khān [of Khitā] got a sight of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, and, secretly, used to entertain great affection for him, and to have all his wants, and even more, liberally supplied, and have great care and attention paid to him. That lady left not the least thing undone, or a moment to be lost, until, by her endeavours also, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn was suddenly set at liberty, and was enabled to fly from the camp of the Khitā-īs, and he brought back his chain and the stocks along with him to Sīstān.

The territory of Nīmroz, which, during his captivity, had been deprived of his comeliness and munificence, now began to acquire fresh grace and elegance. The stocks and chain, which he had brought away with him [when he escaped], were, by his orders, hung up in the most sacred place in the great mosque [where the Imām stands during the prayers], and Minhāj-i-Sarāj, the writer of this Ṭabakāt, in the year 613 H., arrived in the city of Sīstān[7], and, in

[5] This battle having taken place in 534 H. [some say in 536 H.], and Tāj-ud-Dīn being above a hundred when he died in 559 H., he must have been about eighty years of age when taken prisoner.

[6] "Trustworthy persons" are constantly mentioned by our author, but it is strange that they are *nameless*.

[7] I have constantly noticed, in several authors, that, when mentioning the *country*, the names Nīmroz and Sijistān are applied, and that Sīstān almost invariably signifies the *city*, the capital of the country, but I have also noticed that the latter name is sometimes, but not often, applied to the country also. There is one rather astonishing thing, however. Our author invariably says the city of Sīstān was the capital, while travellers, such as Pottinger and Christie, and other European authors also, say that Dooshak, or Jalālābād, is the capital. "Who shall decide when doctors disagree?" The author of the MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK, who visited it before our author wrote, says that *Zaranj* is the capital, and that there is no city in the territory of Nīmroz so large, and, further, describes the buildings and gates and other matters in such manner, that there can be no doubt whatever but that Zaranj was the name of the capital of Sijistān, or Nīmroz, and no such city as Sīstān is ever mentioned in that work.

the great mosque there, saw that chain and stocks; and whoever may have reached that great city, will also have seen them.

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Fatḥ, was a learned and enlightened sovereign; and they relate that, sometimes, he would himself read the Friday's Khutbah, and this fact is an indication of the extent of his wisdom and knowledge.

He reigned for a considerable time[8], and died, and his mausoleum is at Sīstān.

III. MALIK-US-SĀ'ĪS[9], SHAMS-UD-DĪN MUḤAMMAD, SON OF TĀJ-UD-DĪN

When Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Fath[1], passed away, several sons survived him, and the eldest of them was Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad. He succeeded to the sovereignty, and brought the territory of Nīmroz under his sway. He deprived one of his brothers, 'Izz-ul-Mulūk, of his sight, and put the rest of them to death, and he caused a great number of the Amīrs and Maliks of Nīmroz and Sīstān to be executed.

He was a sanguinary man, and it is related of him, that, at the outset of his reign, he killed eighteen of his brothers in one day. The royal palace, which he founded in Sīstān, is [on this account] called by the name of Sarāe-i-Siāsạtī, or Palace of Slaughter, and, through his excessive murders and executions, the people's hearts became filled with terror.

At the time when the reign of Sultān Sanjar came to a termination, and the territories of Khurāsān, Ghaznīn, and Kirmān fell into the hands of the tyrannical tribe of Ghuzz, Malik Shams-ud-Dīn had already established his authority over Nīmroz. On several occasions the Ghuzz forces resolved to subvert his rule, but they did not succeed in their design.

The grandfather of the author of this work, Maulanā

[8] He died in 559 H., after having reigned over Nīmroz, subordinate to the Saljūk Sulṭāns, for just eighty years, and his age was above a hundred. It seems strange our author did not know the year of his death.

[9] Torturer, executioner.

[1] It was with this ruler that Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, the conqueror of Hindūstān, passed one cold season, after he and his brother, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, had been released from confinement.

Minhāj-ud-Dīn, 'Usmān, Jurjānī, who was on his way to Ghaznīn and Lohor, on his return from the pilgrimage to Ḥijāz and the sacred Ḳa'bah [at Makkah], reached Sīstān during the reign of Malik Shams-ud-Dīn At that time there was residing there one of the great theologians, whom they called Imām Awhād-ud-Dīn, Bukhārī, one of the most eminent men of Khurāsān He was also one of the incomparable ones of the world, and one of the colleagues of the Khwājah—a second Imām Nu'mān[2]—Abū-l-Fazl, Kirmānī There was likewise there another man of learning, who went by the name of Imām, Ḳawām-ud-Dīn, Zawzanī, a talkative, open-mouthed, staring-eyed fellow, who was in the constant habit of annoying Imām Awhād-ud-Dīn, and of behaving insolently towards him in public

Imām Sharaf-ud-Dīn, 'Attār, related this anecdote, which was told to him, respecting this man that, when Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn arrived at Sīstān, it was customary with the rulers of Nīmroz to treat strange 'Ulamā with respect and kindness, and they used to command them to deliver a discourse, and expound some religious dogma, in their presence, at the Court Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, accordingly, commanded that Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn should expound a dogma at the Court

The 'Ulamā of that city having presented themselves there, Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn expounded the dogma of defiling emissions[3] When the exposition was concluded, Ḳawām-ud-Dīn, Zawzanī, wishing, by his insolence, to annoy and mortify Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn, and to clash with him, said —"We had heard great report of thy eminence, of thy learning and thy reputation, but this much was incumbent on thee, that, in the presence of such a great monarch, thou shouldst not have mentioned the precept of defiling emissions" When Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn perceived that he intended insolence and rudeness, he replied, saying —"Maulānā Ḳawām-ud-Dīn, it is not necessary to make a long story of it, thou art filthiness itself I beheld thee, and that precept came to my recollection"

At this rejoinder, Maulānā Ḳawām-ud-Dīn was com-

[2] The celebrated Imām, Abū Hanīfah of Kūfah, was called Nu'mān

[3] Emissions in sleep, &c, requiring ablution afterwards

pletely silenced, and Malik Shams-ud-Dīn was so overcome with laughing, that he rolled over and over, almost beside himself, on his couch[4] That day Imām Awḥad-ud-Dīn was made himself again by this rejoinder of Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn, who also gave *éclat* to that dogma likewise, and that monarch showed abundant kindness and consideration towards Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn

Malik Shams-ud-Dīn reigned for a considerable time, and was put to death, and passed away[5]

IV MALIK-US-SA'ID, TĀJ-UD-DĪN I ḤARAB, SON OF MUḤAMMAD[6]

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn was a great, learned, and just sovereign, and a cherisher of his subjects He had a number of children, and, during his lifetime, two of his sons succeeded to the throne of Nīmroz, as will, please God, be hereafter mentioned[7]

The first incidents in his career were these When Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, his uncle, came to the throne, he deprived his, Tāj-ud-Dīn's, father of his sight, and put the rest of his brothers to death Malik Shams-ud-Dīn had a sister, who was aunt to Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Ḥarab, who possessed great influence, and, when the tyranny and oppression of Shams-ud-Dīn became unbearable, the people became quite sated of his rule, and prayed the Almighty to grant them redress

A party of the nobles and chief men of the country of Nīmroz sought the aid and assistance of that Malikah, the aunt of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Ḥarab, and they held counsel

[4] A couch or sort of throne or seat spread with four cushions

[5] Our author, who has a peculiar way of his own for relating important events, says this ruler was martyred He was such a blood-shedder and tyrant that his troops rose against him, attached themselves to his sister, and put him to death. Our author relates it among the events of the following reign instead of here

[6] Styled Tāj-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, son of 'Izz-ul-Mulūk by Faṣiḥ-ī, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Ḥarab, son of 'Izz-ul-Mulūk, by others Why he and some others are styled Ḥarab [in the very old MS I have previously referred to the vowel points are given], and what the real signification of the word may be, it is difficult to tell, but some of the Mughal officers—not Mughals probably—are designated by this same appellation

[7] How could they possibly "attain the throne during his lifetime," unless they previously dethroned him?

together, and made arrangements for a change [of rulers], and fixed upon Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn by general consent At that time he was sixty years of age, and none else remained of the descendants of the Maliks who was eligible for the sovereignty

There is a place, outside the city of Sīstān, where, in ancient times, there was an old city, which place they call Ḥas͟hnūe[8] At night, all the populace of Sīstān and the soldiery assembled there, and, in the morning they rose against Malik S͟hams-ud-Dīn, and put him to death with eighteen of his sons, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Ḥarab was raised to the throne His father, 'Izz-ul-Mulūk, was still living, but deprived of the blessing of sight[9]

When Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn ascended the throne, he governed the people with equity and justice, and all submitted to his authority He entered into communication with the Sulṭāns of G͟hūr and K͟hurāsān, and became feudatory to them, and read the K͟hutbah[1] in the name of the Sulṭāns of G͟hūr He used his utmost endeavours in the support and encouragement of ecclesiastics and learned men[2], and in securing the rights of the weak and helpless, and it was a rule with that family to show great honour and respect to strangers and travellers Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, in this respect, greatly surpassed his ancestors He commanded, likewise, that for every mosque of Buk͟hārā a prayer-carpet should be woven, according to the size of each, and despatched to that city, and for the sacred mosque at Makkah, and the holy Ka'bah, he despatched carpets, mats, and the like, as well as vessels of different kinds, in great quantity.

During the reign of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, the father of the author of this volume, Maulānā Sarāj-ud-Dīn-i-Minhāj[3]

[8] Rather doubtful, as the MSS are all at variance here Some have Ḥas͟hūe, others K͟hus͟hūdī and Ḥus͟hnūdī, some Hasūe and Ḥas͟hnūe I do not find either of these names in the ancient accounts of Sijistān.

[9] Therefore he was precluded from the succession

[1] The coin also was stamped with the titles and name of the Sulṭān of G͟hur

[2] It must have been in this reign, not during that of the Blood-Shedder, that our author's grandfather met with such a good reception at the capital of Sijistān, as blood thirsty tyrants are not generally those who patronize priests and learned men This seems confirmed by the author's own remarks a little farther on

[3] Sometimes he writes Minhāj-i-Sarāj, and at others Sarāj-i-Minhāj

came to Sīstān on two occasions. The first time, he went there on a mission from the august Sultān, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām; and on the second occasion[4], when he was proceeding from the presence of that monarch to present himself at the Court of the Khalīfah, Un-Nāṣir-ud-Dīn 'Ullah, by way of Mukrān, he likewise passed by way of Sīstān, and received great kindness and benevolence at the hands of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Ḥarab

During his own lifetime, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn made his eldest son, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, 'Uṣmān, his heir-apparent; and, subsequently, when Nāṣir-ud-Dīn died, he nominated another son, Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, as his heir and successor

Towards the end of his reign, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn became totally blind He had reigned for a period of sixty years, and his age was a hundred and twenty He died in the year 612 H.

V. MALIK NĀṢIR UD-DĪN, 'USMĀN-I-ḤARAB, SON OF MALIK TĀJ-UD-DĪN

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn was a just monarch[5], and 'Āyishah Khātūn, the daughter of the Malik of Khurāsān, 'Umr-i-Maraghanī, was married to him He had good and worthy sons, and, upon several occasions, he marched from Sīstān with numerous forces, and joined the Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn[6], Muḥammad-i-Sām, in Khurāsān At the time of the success at Nīshāpūr, he was present with that monarch's Court

He was a Malik of good disposition, and the patron of learned men, and passed his life among men in [the exercise of] justice, beneficence, and humanity

During the reign of his father, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, he acted as his representative and lieutenant, in the adminis-

[4] See page 244 This was the occasion when the author's father, whilst proceeding by way of Mukrān to Baghdād, lost his life

[5] He died during his father's lifetime, consequently, he is not entitled to be considered as one of the sovereigns of Sijistān, and he is not accounted such by other writers He was a regent or lieutenant only, and, on account of the extreme age of his father, at his [Nāṣir's] death, his son, Yamīn ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, became regent

[6] His suzerain. See account of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn in Section XVII

tration of the government of the territory of Nīmroz; and, outside the city of Sīstān, on the bank of the river Hīrmand, he founded a large and noble palace.

He ruled the country for a considerable period, and likewise died during his father's lifetime.

VI. MALIK-UL-GHĀZI, YAMĪN-UD-DAULAH WA UD-DĪN BAHRĀM SHĀH, SON[7] OF TAJ-UD-DĪN-I-ḤARAB.

Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, was a firm and stern ruler, very severe but strictly just; and he continued to observe the rule established by his ancestors, of treating learned men and strangers and travellers with respect and reverence.

During the lifetime of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, his father, he became greatly distinguished, and was famous for his valour, sagacity, activity, and magnanimity. He ruled over the territory of Nīmroz for a considerable time during the lifetime of his father; and, when his father died, the sovereignty passed to him.

Both Bahrām himself and two other brothers were borne by a Turkish slave-girl; and, previous to his time, all the sovereigns and nobles, according to ancient custom, allowed their hair to hang loosely, and used to wear conical caps on their heads, with two or three fillets wound round them, with a black fillet over the others; but, when Malik Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, came to the throne, his mother being of the Turkish race, he assumed the cap of sable, and camlet garments, and curling ringlets like the Turks; and both his brothers, one, Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, and the other, Malik Shāh, likewise adopted similar costume.

The author of this work, in the year 613 H., set out from the city of Bust for the purpose of proceeding to Sīstān. When he arrived within a short distance of that capital, where there is a place which they call by the name of Gumbaz-i-Balūch—the Cupola of the Balūch[8]—on the east side [of Sīstān], at this place, a deputation received him, and

[7] The *grandson*, not the son of Tāj-ud-Dīn. Bahrām Shāh was the son of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn. See note [5], preceding page.

[8] One copy has Balūṭ, but the rest have Balūj and Balūch. The place is not mentioned in the ancient accounts of the country. Balūṭ means an oak.

brought him to the city; and[9] there, at a place which is named the Madrasah-i-sar-i-Ḥawz—the College at the head of the Reservoir—to the south of the city, which they call Dar-i-Ṭa'ām[1] and Bāzār-i-Faiod, he alighted and took up his quarters[2]

The author delivered a discourse in the private audience hall of that dignified sovereign, within the Sarāe-i-Sīīsatī, and, upon two occasions, he was honoured with robes of distinction from that beneficent monarch, consisting, each time, of three dresses, and, as long as the author remained at Sīstān, every month, Malik Yamīn-ud-Dīn sent him a liberal allowance in money and grain, and treated him with the utmost kindness and respect After sojourning there for a period of seven months, the author returned again to Khurāsān

Malik Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, ruled with great firmness and sagacity It had been a practice of old, in the territory of Nīmroz, among the tribes [therein], to be constantly quarrelling and fighting among themselves; and no person entered a city or town without being fully armed When the sovereignty devolved upon Bahrām Shāh, he made every tribe give hostages, and kept them shut up in different fortresses, so that, in whatever tribe blood might be shed unjustly, the chiefs and head men of the tribe were held responsible for the crime Through this stringent order such acts of bloodshed decreased

Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, on two occasions waged holy war against the heretics of Ḳuhistān[3], and carried on hostilities against them for a long time Imām Sharaf-ud-Dīn, Ahmad[4] of Farāh, who was the most eloquent man of his time, composed these lines on those successes, and in praise of them —

[9] One or two copies omit the "and"

[1] See page 20, and note [3]

[2] The places noticed here were at *Zaranj*, and their mention proves the statements of the author of the MASALIK WA MAMĀLIK to be correct See also note [7], p 188

[3] The chief place of which is Kā'īn, formerly of considerable importance He led troops against those heretics upon several occasions

[4] Several other authors, and among them the author of the Nusakh-i Jahān Ārā, say, that Abū Naṣr, Farāhī, was the composer of these lines. He was the author of the celebrated lexicographical work entitled "Niṣāb-i-Niṣābīān"

"August and auspicious unto the world's people
Is the revered countenance of the Shāh of exalted descent
At this warfare, which thou didst in Kuhistān wage,
The globe is with justice, with equity, and requital, full
Thou art the king of mid-day [5], and of thy day's reign
'Tis as yet but the propitious early dawn thereof
Like as the warriors of Muḥammad exult in thee,
In such wise the soul of Muḥammad in thee rejoiceth
Continue in the world whilst the world hath freshness
From water and from fire, from earth and from air
From the remembrance of the great king will not be obliterated
The encomiums of the Farāh-ī, if aught of memory remain [6]"

After Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, had reigned for a considerable time, the calamities attending the irruption of the infidel Mughals arose, and Khurāsān became desolated by them, and the kingdoms of Islām fell

There is a fortress on the confines of Neh, in the territory of Nimroz, which they call the castle of Shāhanshāhī, and the nephew of Bahrām Shāh, the son of Nāsir-ud-Dīn, 'Usmān, had sold the fortress of Shāhanshāhī to the heretics of Kuhistān, and it was in their possession Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, at this time, despatched an agent to demand the restoration of that fortress, and further, to intimate that, in case any difficulty should arise, a force would be speedily brought against it.

On this account, disciples were nominated by the heretics of Kuhistān to remove him, and, in the year 618 H, on a Friday, when proceeding on his way to the mosque to perform his devotions, in the middle of the bāzār, four fidā'is, or disciples, surrounded him and martyred him

VII MALIK NUṢRAT-UD-DĪN, SON OF MALIK YAMĪN-UD-DĪN, BAHRĀM SHĀH

On the death of Malik Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, the great nobles and chief men of Nīmroz agreed together and raised to the throne Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, the middle son of the late ruler This caused agitation and commotion to

[5] A play upon the word Nīmroz, signifying mid-day See p 187

[6] Like all translated poetry, these lines, which are fine enough in the original, lose by translation, and the play upon words is generally lost Two copies of the text contain one distich more, but the second line is precisely the same as the sixth line above, and therefore it must be an interpolation, or the first line has been lost

arise in the country of Nīmroz, and, in every direction, disorder and confusion occurred

The eldest son of Bahrām Shāh, named Rukn-ud-Dīn, was detained in confinement[7] [as a state prisoner]. The orthodox people of both parties were all partisans, well-wishers, and under allegiance to Amīr Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, while the whole of the heretics of the districts of Nīmroz were friendly towards, and submissive to Rukn-ud-Dīn[8] After some months had passed away from the accession of Amīr Nusrat-ud-Dīn, the heretics broke out into rebellion and brought forth Rukn-ud-Dīn, and, between Amīr Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn and his brother, Rukn-ud-Dīn, an encounter ensued, in which Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn was defeated, and he retired into Khurāsān and Ghūr

He returned a second time to Sīstān, and liberated the country from the hands of Rukn-ud-Dīn, but, at last, as a body of troops of the infidels of Chīn and Mughals[9] advanced against Sīstān, it fell into the hands of those infidels, and Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn obtained martyrdom, and died[1]

VIII MALIK RUKN UD-DĪN, MAHMŪD, SON OF YAMĪN-UD-DĪN, BAHRĀM SHĀH

Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, was a prince harsh, sanguinary, and cruel The author of this work saw him, during the lifetime of his father, in attendance upon that sovereign Rukn-ud-Dīn was a person of middle height, ruddy, and fair; and his mother was a Rūmī slave-girl During the lifetime of his father he had been guilty of several perverse and contumacious acts, and his father, Malik Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, on two occasions, had imprisoned him on account of his misdeeds

Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, sent a mandate from Khwārazm to Bahrām Shāh, requesting him to despatch a force from Nīmroz to join him In conformity

[7] Rukn ud-Dīn had been kept in confinement by his father, and was still imprisoned when his brother succeeded, for reasons afterwards explained He soon after made his escape

[8] This accounts partly for his being kept imprisoned in his father's reign

[9] *Sic* in MSS, and this difference between Mughals and infidels of Chīn often occurs in the text

[1] Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn was slain early in the Mughal troubles by those infidels.

with this command, Malik Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, nominated his son, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, to proceed with this army, and despatched it towards the confines of Khurāsān along with the applicant for assistance, who had come from Khwārazm Shāh, to the presence of that Sultān [Bahrām Shāh].

When he had reached the limits of Fūshanj, and arrived near Hirāt, Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, while engaged in a drinking bout, slew the applicant in question, who was a Turk of distinction, and, out of fear for what he had done, returned towards Sīstān again. Malik Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, on account of this misconduct, put him in durance, and despatched a numerous force under Amīr Shams-ud-Dīn, together with presents of silks and fine linen, and numerous expressions of obligation, with many apologies, to the presence of Khwārazm Shāh.

In that same year the calamities caused by the infidel Mughals happened, and those troops of Nīmroz were ordered to the [frontier] fortress of Tirmiz[2]. Chingiz[3] Khān, the Accursed, advanced with his forces against it in person, and took Tirmiz, and the whole of the troops of Nīmroz were martyred therein.

When Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, after overcoming his brother, assumed the sovereignty over Sijistān, he began to tyrannize, and stretched out the hand of violence and oppression; upon which, at the solicitations of the inhabitants of Sīstān, his brother, Amīr Nuṣrat, returned from Khurāsān, and between the brothers contention again ensued.

At this crisis an army of Mughals unexpectedly reached Sīstān, and the whole were either slaughtered, exterminated, made captive, or martyred. The city of Sīstān became desolate, and its inhabitants obtained martyrdom[4].

IX. MALIK SHIHAB-UD-DĪN, MAHMŪD, SON OF HARAB[5]

When the army of infidels, after having reduced it to desolation, turned their backs upon Sīstān, Malik Shihāb-

[2] Sometimes spelt Tarmaz, but incorrectly.

[3] Chingiz and also Chingīz. The word is spelt both ways; the latter appears to be the most correct.

[4] Killed in battle with the Mughals, or slaughtered afterwards.

[5] He is said to have been the son of Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, 'Usmān, brother

ud-Dīn, who had kept in concealment, came forth and took possession of Sīstān, but, as it was in a very ruinous state, and no inhabitants remained, he did not acquire much strength or power.

A party of heretics gathered together in some force, and besought Shāh 'Usmān, the grandson of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, 'Usmān[6], Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Ḥarab, to come from the city of Neh, and occupy Sīstān. He called in the aid of a force of Khwārazm-Shāhī troops, from the Malik of Kirmān, whom they styled Burāk, the Ḥājib [chamberlain]. When that body of troops, from Kirmān, joined Shāh 'Usmān and came to Sīstān, Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, was martyred, and his brother, Amīr 'Alī-i-Zāhid[7] [a recluse, a holy man], ascended the throne. Still the government did not acquire stability, and he died.

X. MALIK TĀJ-UD-DĪN, BINĀL-TIGĪN[8], KHWĀRAZMĪ

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Binăl-Tigīn, was of the same family as the Maliks [sovereigns] of Khwārazm, and was a son of one of the maternal uncles of Sultān, Khwārazm Shāh[9], and, at the period that the Sultāns of Ghūr took Nīshāpūr[1], Tāj-ud-Dīn, Binăl-Tigīn, with his cousin, Malik Fīrūz-i-I-yal-timish, came into Hindūstān.

At the time of the irruption of the infidels of Chīn, and consequent calamities, this Tāj-ud-Dīn was in the service

of Bahrām Shāh. In some copies of the text he is styled son of Ḥarab, and simply Maḥmud-i-Ḥarab in others.

[6] See page 196.

[7] Neither of these persons is mentioned in Jahān-Ārā as ruler in Sijistān, but Binăl-Tigīn is. Rauẓat-us-Safā, copying from our author, of course mentions the two first, but not the last. Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, encountered Shah 'Uṣmān and Binăl Tigīn, and was slain in battle; but Faṣiḥ-ī, under the events of the year 646 H., mentions a Malik 'Alī, ruler of Nīmroz, having been put to death by Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Kurt.

[8] Nīāl-Tigīn, in some copies and in some other works, is totally incorrect. The name, as above, is corroborated by other writers, and, in the old copy of the text, the vowel points are also given. It appears to be an error of copyists writing نيال for بنال.

[9] Which is not said. Some copies have Sultāns. Rauẓat-uṣ-Safā says Sulṭān Muḥammad. He certainly was of the same tribe as the Khwārazm Shāhī rulers.

[1] See under reign of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, Section XVII.

of Malik Karīm-ud-Dīn, Ḥamzah, at Nāg-awr[2] of Siwālikh. All at once he sought an opportunity, slew Khwājah Najīb-ud-Dīn, and an elephant, which was there, he sent on in advance[3], and then set out towards Ūchchah[4], and joined Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳubājah[5]. When Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mangabarnī, Khwārazm Shāh, reached the territory of Sind, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Binăl-Tigīn, left Ūchchah and went and joined Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn. He accompanied him into the territory of Kirmān, and, in that country, the district of Khūk and Lūk[6] was entrusted to his charge.

As the rival Maliks of Nīmroz were struggling against each other, the grandson of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, 'Usmān, whom they styled by the name of Shāh, sought assistance from the Malik[7] of Kirmān, who was the chamberlain, Burāk, Khitā'ī. He despatched Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Binăl-Tigīn, to Neh, to his aid, in the year 622 H., and, when he reached that place, he rendered him assistance, and assumed the authority himself, and took possession of the territory and city of Neh on his own account[8].

A body of people from the city of Sīstān presented themselves before him, and sought his help and assistance, saying that, as they had killed[9] Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn, and

[2] The proper mode of spelling this word, on the authority of the Shams ul-Lughat and others, is اگور—Nāg awr, and Siwālikh is said to have been the name applied to the territory. Karīm-ud-Dīn was the governor of the province.

[3] This sentence is the same in all the copies of the text on which dependence can be placed. He slew Karīm-ud Dīn, and carried off a number of horses and several elephants.

[4] Written اُوچّه— Ūchchah, and at times اُچّه— Uchchah, according to native authorities, but which English writers have turned into Uch and Ooch.

[5] See Section XX, the third ruler.

[6] In the majority of copies these words are thus written, but in some copies they are Juk and Kūk, Jūk and Lūk, and Hūk and Kuik or Kark, and Khūk and Kuk. These places are not mentioned in MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK. The *Gouk* of modern maps probably.

[7] Styled Burāk Khān in one or two copies of the text. He was the brother of Tanīko of Tarāz, the Amīr-ul-Umrā of Gūr Khān, who was defeated in battle and taken prisoner by Sultan Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh. See under the tenth sovereign, Section XVI.

[8] All the copies of the text, with two exceptions, say *he did* render assistance to Shāh 'Usmān, but the only assistance he appears to have afforded was in joining Shāh 'Usmān to overcome his rival, Shāh Maḥmūd, and, after the latter's defeat and death, Binăl-Tigīn showed no further regard or respect to 'Usmān, but took possession of the country for himself.

[9] See note [7], p. 199.

Sīstān remained without a ruler, he should take Shāh 'Usmān to Sīstān and set him up there Tāj-ud-Dīn, Binăl-Tigīn, accordingly moved to Sīstān, took possession of the city, and brought the territory of Nīmroz under his own sway.

At this juncture, Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, of Khāesār[1] of Ghūr, despatched this, his dependent, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, from Ghūr, on a mission to Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn The author found him at the city of Farāh, in Dāwarī[2], and waited on him, and a firm compact was concluded

After returning from thence, and reaching Ghūr again, between Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn and the Mulāhidah heretics hostility arose, and an engagement ensued between them, and he was defeated. After this, he returned to Sīstān again, and overthrew a body of Khārijī schismatics who had revolted against him

In the year 623 H, the author of this work was despatched a second time[3], and he proceeded again to his presence, and, after that, Tāj-ud-Dīn came himself into Ghūr, and took possession of the fortresses of Tūlak and Isfirār, and, in this same year, after his return from Nīmroz, the author had occasion to undertake a journey into Hind

In the year 625 H, an army of Mughals advanced into the territory of Nīmroz a second time, and Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn, was invested within the walls of the fortress of Arg[4] of Sīstān For a period of nineteen months he

[1] This journey is again referred to by our author towards the end of his work, under the heading "Downfall of the Mulāhidahs," Section XXIII, and this place is again mentioned, but is there written in two different ways—Khāesār and Khaisār

[2] This word is used in all the copies of the text, with one exception, which has داروئی [dārūe or dārū-ī] This can scarcely refer to the district of Dāwar [not Dāwarī], which lies more to the east In the MASALIK WA MAMALIK the وادی [wādī is a valley, low lying ground, &c] of Farāh is mentioned, but this is an Arabic term, not a proper name The "compact" here referred to could not have been very "firm," as may be seen from a more detailed account of these journeys of the author, under the head of "Downfall of the Mulāhidahs," towards the end of the Section above mentioned

[3] The author contradicts himself, not an unusual thing, in the Section referred to in the previous note, which see

[4] The Burhān-i-Kāṭi' says, one of the meanings of the word Arg is "a citadel," but that it is also the name of a fortress in the *territory*, not the city, of Sīstān See note [8], p 34, and the account of the investment of Sīstān [as our author calls it] by the Mughals in Section XXIII, where the situation of this fortress is mentioned

defended the place, and the whole of his followers with him in that stronghold, consisting of Ghūrīs, Tūlakīs, Sigizīs[5], and Turks, all perished. Tāj-ud-Dīn himself received an arrow in one of his eyes, and he straightway fell from the battlements to the ground, and became a captive to the Mughals.

The fortress was taken, and the remainder of the people within the walls were martyred, and Tāj-ud-Dīn, Binal-Tigīn, was brought from Sīstān to the fortress of Safīed Koh[6], and at the foot of the walls of that castle they martyred him. The mercy of the Almighty be upon him!

[5] See fourth paragraph to note [3], pp. 183-4.

[6] Also called Sufed Koh. Our author was once detained within the walls of his fortress by Binal-Tigīn.

SECTION XV.

THE KURDĪAH MALIKS OF SHĀM.

MINHĀJ-I-SARĀJ, Jūrjānī, the humblest of the servants of the threshold of the Most High, begs to mention, that, as an account of the Maliks of the East and West, both infidel and of the true faith, has been detailed and recorded, to the best of his ability and power, and a small portion, in a condensed form, has also been related from the annals of the Maliks of 'Ajam and the East, this work has been embellished [!] with a description of the Maliks of Shām, Miṣr, Ḥijāz, and Yaman, who were Sultāns in Islām, and Maliks and warriors of the true faith, of great renown, and who, subsequent to the Sanjarī and Saljūkī dynasties, held sway over those countries. He has done so in order that the readers of this Tabakāt, when these pages come under their observation, may remember the author with a pious benediction, and the Sultān of the Musalmāns with a prayer for the stability and permanency of his sovereignty and dominion, and the increase of his conscientiousness and beneficence.

I. SULṬAN NŪR-UD-DĪN, MAḤMŪD-I-ZANGĪ[1]

Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd-i-Zangī, was one of the Atā-baks of Mauṣil, and the Atā-baks of Mauṣil were

[1] Sulṭān Nūr-ud-Dīn was not the first of this dynasty, neither was he a Kurd, nor one of the Atā-baks of Mauṣil, but, by our author's own account, "the descendant of a Turk of Khiṭā," and yet he places him at the head of the dynasty which he calls the Kurdīah Maliks of Shām! In this Section, above all the others in his work, and that is saying a good deal, he has greatly exposed his ignorance, and appears to have concocted, out of his own fertile imagination, the greater part of what he has here adduced, beyond what he heard of the rulers of Mauṣil and Shām from a fugitive at Lakhnautī, in Bengal, who called himself one of their descendants.

The first of this dynasty was ABŪ SA'ĪD-I-ĀḲ-SANḲUR [turned into ASCANṢAR by Gibbon], son of 'Abd-ullah, styled the Ḥājib, and Ibn-i-

descendants of slaves of Sultān Sanjar; and this bondman of Sanjar, who was the first Malik of Mauṣil, was a Turk of Khiṭā

This relation the author heard, in the city of Lakhnautī, from one of the descendants of that family, and the son of one of the Lords of Mauṣil himself In the country of Hindūstān, and at the capital, Dihlī, he was known as the Khudāwand-Zādah of Mauṣil He was of the same progenitors[2] as the august Sulṭān, Shams-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn [I-yal-timish][3].

Ḥājib, according to some In 478 H, *the year before Sanjar was born*, Tāj-ud-Daulah, Abū Sa'īd, surnamed Tutish, son of Alb-Arsalān, the Saljūḳ, gained possession of Halab and its dependencies Āḳ-Sanḳur, who was one of his brother's slaves, in whom he placed great dependence, he made his Deputy there Tāj-ud-Daulah i Tutish at this time resided at Damashḳ Āḳ-Sanḳur became disaffected, and Tutish marched against him, and, in a battle which took place between them, near Halab, in 487 H, Āḳ-Sanḳur was slain

He was succeeded by his son, 'IMĀD-UD-DĪN, ZANGĪ, who had previously held the government of Baghdād under Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Muhammad, son of Malik Shāh, Saljūḳī, but, in 521 H [some say 522 H], through the efforts of the Khalīfah of Baghdād, Mustarshid, 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Zangī, was appointed to the government of 'Irāk-i-'Arab, the capital of which was Mauṣil—so called from being situated between 'Irāḳ and the Jazīrah [Mesopotamia], and derived from the 'Arabic وصل, —and Sultān Mahmūd sent two of his sons, Alb Arsalān and Farrukh Shāh, to Zangī to be brought up, hence he was styled Atā-bak or Preceptor In the same year he took Halab, and, in 523 H, the fortress of Himār, in Kurdistān, which he razed, and erected a fortress in place of it, which he named after himself, and it is still known as 'Imādīah He acquired sway over the greater part of Shām, Diyār-i Bakr, the Jazā'ir, and Mausil Zangī was slain while besieging the fortress of Ja'bar He was killed, some say, by his own slaves, in Muḥarram [Yafā'ī says in Rabī' ul-Akhir], 541 H We now come to Nūr ud-Dīn, whom our author places as first of the Kurdish sovereigns of Shām

On the death of Zangī, his two sons, Saif ud Dīn i Ghāzī, and ABŪ-L-ḲASIM, NŪR-UD DIN, MAHMŪD, styled AL-MALIK-UL 'ĀDIL [the Just Malik], divided their father's dominions among them The former took Mauṣil and its dependencies, and the latter Shām and its dependencies Nūr-ud-Dīn proceeded to Halab, and began to extend his authority In 549 H he gained possession of Damashḳ, and his power and dominions were greatly extended He also gained possession of Hims, Hāmah, Marbij, Ba'albaḳ, and other fortresses in the territory of Rūm, and numerous strongholds in the country of the Farangs [the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem], more than fifty in number in all He sent the Amīr, Asad ud-Dīn, Sher i-Koh, on *three* different occasions into Misr, and, on the third occasion, Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf, became the Deputy of Nūr-ud-Dīn in that country See under Ṣalāh-ud Dīn, p 214

[2] The word used is هم سلك another signification of which, but not applicable here I think, is the affinity between two men who have married two sisters

[3] And so the first—the *Turk* of Khiṭā—is here made "*a Kurd*," while his

This Khudāwand-Zādah stated to the author, that the whole of his ancestors were descendants of a slave of Sanjar Shāh; and, that he himself was the eighth in descent from that Turk of Khitā previously mentioned.

In short, Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn, who was Malik of Shām, was a just and conscientious monarch, and did a great deal of good. He undertook many expeditions against the infidels, and engaged in many conflicts with them A number of Maliks [chieftains], Kurds, Turks, 'Ajamīs, and 'Arabs were in his service.

Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn left numerous marks of his goodness behind him in the territory of Shām[4], and reigned for very many years[5].

At the time of his death he left one son, named 'Alī, who succeeded him.

II MALIK-UṢ-ṢĀLIḤ, 'ALĪ[6], SON OF MAḤMŪD-I-ZANGĪ

Malik-uṣ-Ṣāliḥ, 'Alī, ascended the throne of Shām at the city of Damashk, and the great nobles and chieftains paid

brother *Turk*—the slave king of Dihlī—is turned into "*a Paṭān*," i e an Afghān, by Dow and his copyists.

[4] Nūr-ud-Dīn reigned for a considerable time in great grandeur and glory, and the laudable course of his life, and his conduct towards his people, were such that he was accounted, by them, as one of the saints, and it is said, that prayers, offered up before his tomb, are effectual. He founded a great hospital at Damashk, and a university or college, and died in the month of Shawwāl, 569 H, but some say in 568 H, when leading an army towards Miṣr against Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, who had become disaffected Ibn-i-Khalkān says he died in the citadel of Damashk

[5] His descendant, apparently, did not know how long his ancestor reigned

[6] Nūr-ud-Dīn does not appear to have had any son called 'Alī, but certain it is that he was not succeeded by one of that name, as our author states, but by his son ISMĀ'ĪL, entitled MALIK-UṢ-ṢĀLIḤ, then a mere child, being only in his eleventh year. Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn, at first, read the Khuṭbah for him, and coined the money in his name, as he had done for his father previously; but in 570 H, the year after his accession, when in his twelfth year, Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, taking advantage of his extreme youth, brought an army before Damashk, and seized upon it and the greater part of Shām, leaving nothing to his benefactor's son but the city of Ḥalab and its environs, to which place Malik-uṣ-Ṣāliḥ retired He dwelt there till 577 H, when he died in his nineteenth year, much regretted by the people for his virtues, and, with him, this branch terminated.

If this account be compared with our author's, the absurdity and incorrectness of his statements will be sufficiently apparent, more particularly those contained in the last paragraph of his account of them. Of the Atā-baks of Mauṣil and several other dynasties, he gives no account

allegiance and submission to him; and the districts around Shām, and Ḥalab, and Diyār-i-Bakr, came under his sway.

When intimation of the decease of Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn reached Misr—and at this time the sovereignty of Miṣr had passed to Sultān Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf—as he owed a heavy debt of gratitude for favours conferred, Sultān Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn determined to proceed from Misr to the presence of Malik-us-Ṣāliḥ, pay his obeisance to him, and perform the forms of condolence, and congratulate Malik-uṣ-Sāliḥ on his succession to the dominion of Shām, and then return again.

He set out from Misr [accordingly] with a body of troops and conducted it to Shām[7], and, as soon as he reached the frontier of that territory, information of his arrival was brought to Damashk. The heart of Malik-uṣ-Sāliḥ was filled with affright and consternation, and he asked advice of everybody as to what he ought to do. There was a servant of Malik-us-Ṣāliḥ, who had also been an old follower of his father, Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn, who was named Aymin, and he said to Malik-uṣ-Sāliḥ:—"It is advisable, when Salāh-ud-Dīn comes, to turn your face towards Ḥalab and proceed thither, and relinquish Damashk and Shām to him, since fear of him has taken root in people's hearts

[7] A novel mode of expressing his gratitude. A traitor in Damashk, who had been gained over by Salāh-ud-Dīn, gave out that Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn was coming merely to adjust the affairs of the child. Our author either forgets to allude to, or did not know of, the hostilities that took place between Salāh-ud-Dīn and Saif ud Dīn-i Ghāzī, the latter of whom sent his troops to aid his brother 'Izz ud Dīn, Mas'ūd [they were sons of Maudūd, sons of Zangī, cousins of Malik uṣ-Sāliḥ], who advanced to Halab, and, taking his cousin Malik uṣ-Ṣāliḥ and the latter's troops with him, marched to give battle to Ṣalaḥ ud-Dīn. The latter offered peace, which 'Izz ud-Dīn refused, and, in Ramaẓān of 570 *H*, a battle took place near Hāmah, in which Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn was victorious. After this, Malik-us-Ṣāliḥ entered into terms with him for Halab and some other places. Further hostilities took place between Saif ud-Dīn-i-Ghāzī, supported by his brother, and—but I might fill a volume by merely naming our author's misstatements, and other important matters which he has left out, without giving any details of the facts. He omits *nothing that is* childish and ridiculous, the ball, for example, overshadowing the sun [p. 215], the rings for the Christian captives [p. 221], and such like nonsense: it is the important events only that he eschews. Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn subsequently endeavoured further to "express his gratitude," by attempting, *in* 571 *H*, to gain possession of Ḥalab. He remained a long time before it, without being able to take it. At last, a daughter of the late Sulṭān Nūr-ud-Dīn was made over to him, and, for her sake, he left Malik-uṣ-Ṣāliḥ unmolested.

He has great resources and a large army, and he is able to reduce the territories under his sway He is likewise legitimately born, and has a well-disposed mind, and will respect your rights and the gratitude he owes to your father. If you should enter into hostilities with him, you have neither the means nor the power to oppose nor to resist him" The opinion of Malik-uṣ-Ṣāliḥ was in accord with this fact; and he left Damashk, and retired to Ḥalab, and consigned the territory of Shām into the hands of Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn.

Malik-uṣ-Ṣāliḥ passed the remainder of his lifetime at Ḥalab; and Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn served him in all honour and reverence, guarded his rights, and, in the observance of the laws of good faith, and the fulfilment of his engagements, he failed neither to observe nor to neglect the most minute thing

III MALIK AIYÚB, SON OF SHÁDÍ*.

This Malik Aiyūb, son of Shādī, and his brother, Malik Asad-ud-Dīn, were two brothers, and sons of one of the

* The correct titles and name of Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn's father were Malik-ul-Afẓal, Najm-ud-Dīn, Abū-Lashkar-i Aiyūb

Shādī, their father, son of Mardān, was born in a village of Āẓarbāījān, and belonged to a Kurdish tribe, which he left and proceeded to Baghdād, with his two sons, Asad-ud-Dīn, Sher-i-Koh, and Najm-ud-Dīn, Aiyūb The sons entered the service of Bahrūz, the prefect of Baghdād, and were entrusted by him with the charge of the fortress of Takrīt, and there Shādī died His tomb was still to be seen there when Yāfa'ī wrote, and within the walls of that stronghold Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn was born The brothers continued there for a considerable period, and, at the time when 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Zangī, in 526 H., came to the aid of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, Saljūḳī, and his brother Saljūḳ Shāh, and his Atā-bak, Ḳarājah, the cup-bearer, were routed, Zangī passed the Tigris near the fort of Takrīt, by means of boats provided by the brothers Subsequently, Asad-ud-Dīn having slain a person, they had to leave the fortress of Takrīt, and they proceeded to Mauṣil, and presented themselves at the Court of Zangī. He received them with great favour, and bestowed fiefs upon each of them.

Subsequently, when Zangī was assassinated, and his son, Saif-ud-Dīn-i-Ghāzī, succeeded him as ruler over Mauṣil, Najm-ud-Dīn-i-Aiyūb, who had been assigned the territory of Ba'albaḳ by Zangī, finding Saif-ud-Dīn-i-Ghāzī unable to protect him, had to give it up, and went and entered the service of the then ruler of Damashk, named Majīr-ud-Dīn, Artūḳ [Artūḳīah], who gave him a fief. Asad-ud-Dīn, Sher-i-Koh, Aiyūb's brother, went to Ḥalab and took service under Nūr-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, Saif-ud-Dīn's brother, who had seen the honour with which he had been treated in his father's time, and he raised Asad-ud-Dīn to the highest position among his nobles, and, at the

Kurdish chieftains in the territory of Shām; and they passed a number of years in the service of Sulṭān Nūr-ud-Dīn. They performed great deeds, and on the confines of Maghrab and of Shām, with numerous forces, they waged holy war, and fought engagements against unbelievers.

When Malik Aiyūb, son of Shādī, departed this life, he left four sons behind him: first, Malik Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf; second, Malik 'Adil-i-Abū-Bikr; third, Shāhan-shāh; and fourth, Saif-ul-Islām[9]; and Malik Asad-ud-Dīn, son of Shādī, as before stated, was the brother of Malik Aiyūb[1].

When the latter died, his sons were in the service of their uncle, Malik Asad-ud-Dīn; and the first person among them [sic in MSS.] who became sovereign of Miṣr was this same Asad-ud-Dīn; and the first one who acquired sovereignty in Shām was Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf, son of Aiyūb, as will, please God, be hereafter recorded[2].

IV. MALIK ASAD-UD-DĪN[3], SON OF SHĀDĪ, IN MIṢR.

Trustworthy persons have related after this manner: that a body of Maghrabī 'Alawīs laid claim to the Khilāfat[4],

taking of Damashḳ, Asad-ud-Dīn, Sher-i Koh, and Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, were in Nūr ud Dīn's service; and the former held the government of Ḥimṣ.

[9] Abū-l Lashkar-i Aiyūb had six renowned sons, the titles and names of whom, according to the years of their birth, are as follow:—1. Amīr-Nūr-ud-Daulah, Shāhan-Shāh. 2. Malik-ul-Muaẓẓam, Shams-ud-Daulah, Tūrān Shāh. 3. Malik-un Nāṣir, Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn, Yūsuf. 4. Malik-ul-'Ādil, Saif-ud-Dīn [Daulah], Abū Bikr, Muḥammad. 5. Malik-ul 'Azīz, Ẓahīr ud-Dīn, Abū Faras-i-Ṭugh-Tigīn, Saif ul Islām. 6. Tāj-ul-Mulūk, Majd-ud-Dīn—the least in years, the greatest in learning and accomplishments.

[1] Any one reading this would imagine that Aiyūb had been an independent ruler in Shām, and one of the dynasty, and that he had died before Asad-ud-Dīn, and before Salāḥ ud-Dīn rose to power; but neither of these is the fact. Aiyūb merely held Ba'albaḳ of Zangī and another fief under his son. See note [9], page 215.

[2] Here is another specimen of an author who "narrates his facts in a plain, straightforward manner, which induces a confidence in the sincerity of his statements, and the accuracy of his knowledge." He begins this Section with an account of the Kurdish rulers of Shām and Miṣr, the two first of whom were Turks, and the third never reigned at all; while he himself states, subsequently, that the fourth was the first Kurd that ruled in Miṣr, and the fifth, the first Kurdish ruler of Shām!

[3] His correct name and titles are Abū-l-Hāriṣ, Sher-i Koh [the Lion of the Mountains], Asad-ud-Dīn, surnamed Al-Malik-ul Manṣūr.

[4] Nearly three hundred years before Nūr-ud-Dīn despatched Asad-ud-

and brought an army from Maghrab into Miṣr, and wrested it out of the hands of the governors and nobles of the 'Abbāsī Khalīfahs

The chief of them was named Al-Muntaṣir[5]; and some theologians regard them as Ḳarāmitahs The territory of Miṣr had continued in the possession of his descendants up to the period that an army of Afranj set out towards Miṣr, and plundered and sacked the country. The 'Alawīs of Miṣr had not the power to resist them, nor to drive out that host of infidels, so they solicited aid from Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn of Shām He nominated Malik Asad-ud-Dīn, son of Shādī to proceed into Miṣr, and expel the Afranj infidels from that country[6]

Dīn into Miṣr, viz in 296 H In 351 H they removed from the territory styled Maghrab, and took up their abode in the former country

[5] Abū Tamīm-i-Sa'd, Al-Mustanṣir B'illah, was the eighth of the Ismā-'īlīāns or Fāṭimites They had been in Egypt, and had founded Ḳāhirah upwards of sixty years before Al Mustanṣir succeeded to the Khilāfat All the copies of the text have "Muntaṣir"

[6] Our author's statements here are totally incorrect Asad-ud-Dīn, Sher-i-Koh, was despatched into Miṣr—or more correctly Diyār-i-Miṣrīah, for Miṣr is the name of the ancient capital of Egypt, and Yāfa'ī and others make this distinction—upon three different occasions The first occasion was in this wise Shā'ūr, the Wazīr of Miṣr, who held the chief power, for the Ismā'īlīān Khalīfahs appear to have possessed little authority, had been ousted from office by a powerful rival, Zir-ghām by name, who obtained the chief authority, and put Shā'ūr's son, Tae, to death On this, Shā'ūr came to the presence of Nūr-ud Dīn to solicit his aid in restoring him to power, and, in Ramaẓān, 558 H [according to some in 559 H], Nūr-ud-Dīn despatched a numerous army into Miṣrīah for the purpose, under Asad-ud-Dīn, Sher i-Koh, and Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn, his nephew, accompanied him

The objects of Nūr-ud-Dīn, in sending this expedition, were twofold One was to aid Shā'ūr, and the second was his desire to know the exact state of the affairs of that country, as he had been informed that there was really no ruler in it, and that it might be easily annexed Asad was therefore selected to command, as Nūr-ud Dīn had implicit confidence in him He accordingly entered the Miṣrīah territory in Jamādī ul-Ākhir, 559 H [some say in 558 H], and Zir-ghām was put to death, his head placed on a spear, and his body left to the dogs and jackals, but his remains were subsequently buried Shā'ūr again assumed the Wazīr-ship, but, finding the presence of Asad and his army irksome, and fearing treachery on Asad's part, he sought an alliance with the Farangs [Latin Christians of Jerusalem] to counteract it Asad in consequence was unable to hold his own in the Miṣrīah territory, and he accordingly retired into Shām again and returned to Damashk, and entered it in Ẕī-Ḥijjah, 559 H [some say in 558 H] Asad-ud-Dīn's thoughts, however, were concentrated on Miṣrīah, and he was constantly pondering the subject Shā'ūr, becoming aware of his ambition and covetous designs, entered into a treaty with the Farangs to aid him, in case of need, against the ruler of Shām

On the news of these negotiations reaching the ears of Nūr ud-Dīn and

Malik Asad-ud-Dīn preferred a request to the Sulṭān that he would appoint Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf, his nephew, to accompany him on the expedition. This was granted; and Malik Asad-ud-Dīn, along with Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, set out from Shām towards Miṣr.

When they reached the frontier of that country, the infidel Afranj, having gained information of the arrival of the troops of Shām, reined in the bridle of their audacity, and they halted in that part of the country which they had then reached.

The troops of Shām entered the territory of Miṣr, and acquired predominance over it, and, as they possessed great power and magnificence, the 'Alawīs of Miṣr became timid of them, and repented of ever having sought their assistance, as they were not sufficiently strong to hinder them [the Shāmīs] from the usurpation of power and authority over the country.

The Sayyid, who filled the *masnad* of the Khilāfat in Miṣr, had a Wazīr, who bore the name of Shā-ūr, and he summoned him privily, and commanded that he should write a letter, secretly, to the infidel Farangs, and tell them "neither we nor our troops will render any help to the Shāmīs, and we will not send them sufficient succour. It behoveth you to advance upon them, put forth your strength, and drive them out of this country, and all the

Asad, they consulted together, and the former, fearing lest the Farangs might gain a footing in Miṣrīah, and thereby acquire dominion over the whole of the parts adjacent, determined to despatch Asad with a large army against Shā'ūr, which commenced its march in Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 562 H., and Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn attended him, being in his service.

Shā'ūr, on this movement, called in the Farangs, and, with those allies, encountered Asad and his forces in several engagements, but without decisive advantage on either side. Nūr-ud-Dīn now created a diversion by sending a force against the Farangī territory, and succeeded in taking Montreal [? مسطرا]. The news of this having reached Almeric [عريق], king of Jerusalem, an accommodation was entered into by the contending parties, under the agreement that not a man of either the Shāmīs or Farangs should remain in the Miṣrīah territory, and that both armies should retire into their respective countries.

Asad-ud-Dīn, Sher-i-Koh, in 564 H., again advanced into the Miṣrīah territory, accompanied by his nephew, Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, and a large army, and sought to subdue it. Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn succeeded in getting possession of Iskandarīah, but Shā'ūr invested him therein with the forces of Miṣr, and Asad had to evacuate Sa'īd and march to his succour. At last a peace was come to, and Asad and Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn returned to Shām again. For an account of the third expedition see note [1], page 212.

spoil taken from them shall be yours" In short, the Miṣris sought, by such like treachery, to betray the army of Shām into the hands of the troops of the infidels of Rūm[7] and the Farangs[8].

In accordance with the solicitation contained in the letter referred to, the Farang infidels advanced upon the forces of Shām to give them battle, and drive them out of Miṣr. The army of the infidel Farangs amounted to 80,000 men, and that of Shām numbered 700 horse[9].

When the two armies came into contact with each other and the conflict and struggle began, the troops of Shām, on account of the smallness of their numbers, were unable to withstand their opponents, and, as a matter of necessity, they were discomfited, and fled, fighting, from the gate of Miṣr until they reached a place which is called Talbis. This place had a fortified wall all round it, and a citadel; and, in it, they sought shelter, and they shut themselves up within the walls The troops of the infidel Farangs completely surrounded it, pitched their camp, and commenced their preparations for taking the place.

When the Shāmī forces perceived the extreme danger they were in, and that they were completely invested, besides the treachery of the 'Alawīs of Miṣr, they all, of one accord, deliberated together and discussed a plan of escape Malik Asad-ud-Dīn and Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn told them, saying: —"The plan of saving yourselves consists in staking your lives, in victory or death" They all, accordingly, agreed together; and, placing their hands within the open grasp of confidence, and with full trust in the Most High and Holy God, they, having quite resigned themselves to sacrifice sweet life if necessary, suddenly and unawares, issued from the place and commenced fighting the infidels, as by orthodox law prescribed and heavenly succour came to their aid, and, according to the promise of Him who promised victory to

7 No troops whatever of the Greek empire were employed on the occasion, but, the fact is, our author was not acquainted with his subject at all, and has concocted much nonsense

8 The words Afranj and Farang are often used here indiscriminately.

9 On the preceding page he says Asad ud-Dīn's troops "acquired predominance over the territory of Miṣr," and Shā'ūr had to call in the Christians to expel them, and immediately after tells this impudent falsehood. A very trustworthy writer certainly!

the true believers, He sent succour, and the army of the infidels was put to the rout, and the defenders of the truth gained the victory, and from that place to the gate of Miṣr[1], and in the vicinity, and in the parts round about,

[1] The cause of the third expedition was that, in 564 H., the Farangs [King Almeric and the Hospitallers, A.D. 1168] invaded the Miṣrīah territory, intending to seize it for themselves. They marched to Balbīs [the ancient Pelusium], took it, and put the inhabitants to the sword. Again Shā'ūr sought aid from Nūr-ud-Dīn, who, fearing the Farangs and their designs, and possessing vast resources, sent a *countless* army [not 700 horse probably] thither under Asad-ud-Dīn, who, on this occasion, took with him his brethren [*sic* in MS.] and kinsmen, including Salāh-ud-Dīn. The account of the advance of this host having been conveyed to the Farangs, they desisted from further operations, evacuated Balbīs, and retired from the country, pressed hard in their retreat by Nūr-ud-Dīn's Turkmāns. The author, from whom I have been taking these extracts chiefly, says, "Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn *told me himself* that he [Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn] did not accompany his uncle of his own choice, and further, that Shā'ūr used to promise to defray all the expenses of this expedition, undertaken on his account; but he did not fulfil his promises, and sometimes he would be with the Farangs, and at times he would be with the Amīr [Asad-ud-Dīn]. Fearing the perfidy and double-dealing of Shā'ūr, Amīr Asad resolved to seize him; and, one day, when Shā'ūr, attended with drums and trumpets and banners, as is the custom with the Wazīrs of Misr, mounted and set out with a cavalcade to visit Asad-ud-Dīn, the latter also mounted and rode forth to receive him; but, when they met, he seized Shā'ūr by the collar, and gave a sign to his own followers to secure him. This was done, and Shā'ūr was detained as a prisoner in a tent. Shortly after, a body-servant arrived from the sovereign of Miṣrīah [Abū Muḥammad-i-'Abd-ullah, entitled 'Āẓid, the last of the Ismā'īlīs of Egypt] signifying his desire that the head of Shā'ūr should be sent to him. This was in accordance with the custom of the country, that any one who, by force, seized the Wazīr's person, and cut off his head and sent it to the ruler, should have the robe of Wazīr-ship forthwith brought to him; and, according to that custom, Asad cut off the head of Shā'ūr [had it cut off] and sent it, and on the same day he assumed the robe of Wazīr-ship, and the supreme direction of the affairs of the country." This occurred 17th of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 564 H.

Another account of the events ending in the death of Shā'ūr, quoted in Yāfa'ī, is not unworthy of a brief record here, and, in all probability, is the most correct. When Asad-ud-Dīn reached the Miṣrīah territory, and entered Kāhirah on the 17th of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 564 H., 'Āẓid-i-'Abd-ullah, the last of the Ismā'īlī Khalīfahs, on the Friday following, came forth and held an interview with Asad, and had him arrayed in a dress of honour, and treated him with great distinction. Asad now requested Shā'ūr to disburse the expenses incurred on his account, which he had agreed to defray; but Shā'ūr delayed. Asad sent a person to him with a message, saying, "My troops, through want of their pay, are much incensed against you; therefore be careful." Shā'ūr evinced no fear, and resolved to invite Asad to an entertainment in order to seize his person. This design having come to Asad's knowledge, Amīr 'Izz-ud-Dīn, one of Nūr-ud-Dīn's nobles, and Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, agreed together to kill Shā'ūr, and communicated the design to Asad, who forbade them to do so. Shā'ūr, subsequently, in order to visit Asad, without any

they made heaps of the slain. Praise be unto God! May victory ever be theirs!

The troops of Islām having gained such a victory, at once appeared before the gate of Miṣr. The Wazīr of Miṣr, who was named Shā-ūr, performed the ceremonies of going to receive them; but, as soon as the sight of that victorious Sultān[2], Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, fell upon him, he, in the presence of Malik Asad-ud-Dīn, with his own august hand, struck off with his sword the wretched head from that accursed one's body.

The whole of the people of Miṣr and the forces of Shām agreed together, with one accord, to raise Malik Asad-ud-Dīn to the sovereignty; and he became sovereign of Miṣr accordingly, and obtained the throne of that country[3].

The 'Alawīs of Miṣr, without molestation or impediment, were placed in seclusion, and the Khuṭbah was read for them in the same manner as before[4].

The news of this success was despatched to Shām; and the territory of Miṣr, together with its coasts and confines, was taken possession of by Malik Asad-ud-Dīn, who resided there for a considerable time; and he died[5].

suspicion, came to the bank of the Nīl, where his [Asad's] tents were pitched to enable his followers to visit conveniently the tomb of Imām Shāfi'ī. Amīr 'Izz-ud-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, after they had received Shā-ūr, and the usual salutation of "Peace be unto thee," &c., had passed—Asad was not present at the time—dragged him from his horse, upon which his followers fled. They then handcuffed him, and kept him a prisoner in one of the tents, but did not dare to put him to death without the permission of Nūr-ud-Dīn [Asad?]. In the meantime, 'Āẓid, the Isma'īlī, sent an order to put Shā'ūr to death [according to the custom before mentioned], on which his head was cut off [by two slaves of Nūr-ud-Dīn] and sent to 'Āẓid on a spear. After this, 'Āẓid summoned Asad-ud-Dīn to his presence, who went; and the Wazīr's robe was conferred upon him, with the title of Al-Malik-ul-Manṣūr, Amīr-ul-Juyūsh.

[2] At this time this "victorious Sulṭān" was serving under his uncle, who was himself serving Nūr-ud-Dīn.

[3] Asad-ud-Dīn was not raised to the sovereignty, and *never* occupied the throne of Miṣr. For the refutation of this absurd and untrue statement, see preceding note [1].

[4] At page 215 our author contradicts his own statement.

[5] Asad did not enjoy his Wazīr-ship very long, for on the 22nd [some say 26th] of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir of the same year, two months and five days after he obtained it—a "considerable time" truly—he died suddenly at Kāhirah. He was first buried there, but subsequently, according to his last wishes, his remains were removed to Madīnah. The "Lion of the Mountains" left a son, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, Sher-i-Koh, entitled Al-Malik-ul-Kāhirah. When his father died, Sulṭān Nūr-ud-Dīn of Shām, deprived him of the fief of

V. SULṬĀN ṢALĀḤ-UD-DĪN, YŪSUF, SON OF AIYŪB-AL-KURDĪ

Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn was a great and illustrious monarch, and he waged holy wars and undertook many religious expeditions, and the Ḳaiṣar of Rūm and the infidel Farangs, he encountered in many conflicts It was most probable, that in all his doings, and throughout the whole of his career, the sword of heavenly success and divine victory attended him The territories of Shām, Ḳudsī [the Holy Land], Miṣr, Ḥijāz, and Yaman[6], all came under his rule

As the Most High God willed that, at this, the end of time[7], His true religion should be manifested, and that the empire of Islām should be victorious, from every illustrious family He made choice of one sovereign, His servant, and, by means of the key of holy war waged by him, caused the gates of conquest of the countries of the infidels to be thrown open In the same manner as in the countries of the East He distinguished Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, Shansabī [Shansabānī], Ghūrī, by great victories in the country of Hindūstān, as far as the boundaries of Chīn, in the territories of the West, and in the country of Shām, He made Sulṭān Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf, the Kurd, exalted by the conquests of the territories of Maghrab, and of the Afranj[8], so that great victories were achieved by him

He brought back again the realm of Miṣr from the hands

Ḥimṣ, but, when Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, his cousin, gained possession of Shām, he restored Ḥimṣ to him, and there he died in 581 H

[6] Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn had an elder brother named Malik-ul-Muaẓẓam, Shams-ud-Daulah, Tūrān Shāh, and greatly esteemed by that Sulṭān He employed him in an expedition into Yaman, and subsequently sent him into Nūbah [Nubia of Europeans], and he was afterwards placed in charge of Damashk He died in Ṣafar, 576 H, and was buried in the Madrasah in sight of Damashḳ, which he had himself founded

[7] Our author has been as unsuccessful in foretelling the end of the world, as some others, his successors, who pretend to know the secrets of futurity and the will of Providence

[8] It is somewhat new to find that Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn made conquests in Europe He does not mean conquests in Palestine or the Greek empire, for he mentions them a little farther on This is merely another of his audacious falsehoods The words he uses are, سلطان صلاح الدين يوسف كردى را بفتوح ديار مغرب و افرنج مخصوص گردانيد

of the Miṣrī 'Alawīs, who were the chiefs and heads of the Bāṭinah and Ḳarāmiṭah heretics, under the sway of the Khalīfahs of the house of 'Abbās, and Ḳuds [the Holy City], 'Akkah [Acre], and a great portion of the territories of Rūm, and Filiṣṭīn, he liberated from the hands of the infidel Farangs.

The beginning of his career was this. When his father, Malik Aiyūb, son of Shādī, departed this life*, he was in the service of his uncle, Malik Asad-ud-Dīn, as has been already stated in what has been previously recorded, and used to be constant in his attendance at the Court of Sulṭān Nūr-ud-Dīn He had acquired great fame for his manhood, his activity, and his sagacity He had also become an associate with Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn in the game of Chaugān, and playing at ball on the course[1]

One of the trustworthy has related after the following manner :—One day Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn was engaged with Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn in the game at ball, and the ball fell between him and the Sultān By his strength and agility, Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, with one blow, bore away the ball from the Sulṭān in such a way, that, from the immense force with which his Chaugān struck it, the ball flew into the air so far that it became immersed in the light of the sun, and the shadow of it fell upon Nūr-ud-Dīn[2]. When the Sultān noticed this circumstance, his heart became so overpowered with wrath, that he threw down his Chaugān in a rage and left the course This circumstance filled Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn with fear and apprehension, and he began to conceal himself from

* Here is another specimen of the false statements of our author, so "trustworthy" Asad died in 564 H, and Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn's father, Abū-Lashkar-i-Aiyūb, joined his son in Egypt in the following year, when Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn had succeeded to the Wazīr-ship held previously by his uncle Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn wished his father to accept the office, but Aiyūb refused, saying, "The Almighty hath chosen thee, my son, for this office, and consequently no one else is worthy of it" Aiyūb was killed from injuries sustained by a fall from his horse, which threw him when he was viewing Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn's troops file past before the Bāb-un-Naṣr [the Naṣr Gate] of Ḳāhirah, on an expedition against Karak, in Ẕi Ḥijjah, 567 H, about three years *after* Asad's death Aiyūb entered Ḳāhirah in Rajab, 565 H, and 'Āẓid, the Isma'īlīān Khalīfah, in order to gratify Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn, came forth to receive his father, whom he treated with great reverence and distinction

1 *Sic* in MSS

2 Our author must have been a very simple-minded man indeed if he believed this, but many of his statements are equally childish and absurd

the Sulṭān's sight, and seldom used to present himself to the Sulṭān's observation.

The author heard from Khwājah Muzhir, a merchant, that, at the period in question, one night Sultān Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn saw, in a dream, that he was in Miṣr, and that, at night, some people seized him, and took him away to the palace of the sovereign, and, having placed a tent-rope around his neck, they hung him up from the battlements of the palace. The terror which this produced awoke him from his sleep, and his apprehension became still greater than before, and he was constantly overwhelmed with anxiety[3]. Unexpectedly, the envoy from the 'Alawīs of Miṣr arrived to solicit aid from Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn, as has been related previously. The Sulṭān appointed Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn's uncle, Malik Asad-ud-Dīn, to proceed thither, and he solicited that his nephew, Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, should be allowed to accompany him.

The latter was so overcome with fear, caused by this dream, that he went to an interpreter of dreams, and related the dream to him. The interpreter said:—"May the sovereignty of Misr be propitious! Allow no anxiety to find a way into thy mind, for the Almighty God will make thee a great king." On the strength of that interpretation, with a buoyant heart and with expanded hope, he reached Miṣr, where all those circumstances happened to him and to his uncle, as already stated.

When his uncle died, the people of Misr and the troops of Shām were agreeable to his assuming the sovereignty, but he would not in any way assent to it[4]. When the

[3] These are the exact words of our author; but the story is related somewhat differently. "One night, before he had gone to Miṣr, he saw in a dream that a party of people, having put a tent rope about his neck, drew him up to the battlements of the metropolis of Misr by the neck. When Asad-ud-Dīn was about to proceed into that country, he used to endeavour to persuade Salāh-ud-Dīn to accompany him; but the latter, on account of this dream, which he kept secret, used to manifest great disinclination to accede. At length, having communicated the dream to an interpreter of dreams, he was told that it signified he should become ruler of that country, and after this he was quite willing to go."

[4] Another of our author's absurdities or wilful perversions of facts. After the death of Asad-ud-Dīn, his nephew, Salah-ud-Dīn, was chosen Wazīr, from among several candidates, by the Ismā'īlī Khalīfah, 'Āẓid, as he considered Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn rather weak in intellect, and less to be feared than the others, in which he greatly deceived himself. Instead of seizing people's

importunity of people, however, exceeded all bounds, Sultān Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn commanded, saying:—"I will comply

property and effects, Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn began to appropriate their hearts, by making them his own; and he likewise resolved to lead a new life, and renounced wine and women, riotous living and amusements, and other vicious practices. Having obtained the direction of the affairs of the country, Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn issued commands to read the Khuṭbah for Nūr-ud-Dīn; and the latter addressed him in all his communications as the Amīr-i-Sipah-sālār ['Āẓid having previously given him the title of Malik-un-Nāṣir]. As Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn acquired the attachment of the people, 'Āẓid lost it; and he now sent for his brothers, who were in the service of Nūr-ud-Dīn, who would not allow them to go, mentioning, as his reason, his fear lest either of them should become hostile to his brother Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, but the truth was Nūr-ud-Dīn suspected his motives. However, when Nūr-ud-Dīn subsequently despatched his troops to operate against the Farangs, who had invaded the Miṣrīah territory, he entrusted Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn's elder brother, Shams-ud-Daulah, Tūrān Shāh, with a command in that army, but with orders that he was not to consider Yūsuf [Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn] as his younger brother, but as the lord of Miṣr, and his [Nūr-ud-Dīn's] lieutenant and representative; and this order Tūrān Shāh agreed to obey.

Ibn Asīr says, that, when Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn had become firmly established, Nūr-ud-Dīn sent to command him to give up reading the Khuṭbah for 'Āẓid, and to read it for the 'Abbāsī Khalīfahs. Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn excused himself by saying that the people were well-inclined towards the present family, and he feared, if he obeyed, that an insurrection would take place. Nūr-ud-Dīn, however, wrote the second and the third time to order him to do so, and Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, not daring to disobey the reiterated commands of his suzerain, was in a dilemma, but it so happened that 'Āẓid was about this time taken ill. Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn now consulted with the chiefs and nobles as to what should be done; but some said one thing and some another, and the difficulty was as great as before. At this juncture, a person of some note, named Amīr-i-'Ālim [Guzīdah calls him Najm-ud-Dīn], an 'Ajamī, who had come to Miṣr, offered to take the initiative, if permitted; and, on the first Friday in the month of Muḥarram, before the Khaṭīb [the preacher who pronounces the Khuṭbah] entered the pulpit, this 'Ajamī got into it, and prayed for the 'Abbāsī Khalīfah, Imām Mus'aẓī B'nūr-Ullah. The Miṣrīs who were present made no objection, and the next Friday Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn directed that the Khuṭbah for 'Āẓid should be discontinued at Ḳāhirah and at Miṣr [the old capital], and that for Mustaẓī B'nūr-Ullah adopted, and also in other parts of the Diyār-i-Miṣrīah. The disorder of 'Āẓid had increased, and this matter was, in consequence, not communicated to him, because, in case he ever arose from his bed again, he would soon hear of it, and if not, of what use was it to afflict him? Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn took care, however, to separate the family, slaves, and dependents of 'Āẓid from each other, and to provide for the security of the dying man's wealth and effects. Before his death, 'Āẓid sent for him; but, fearing treachery, as he pretended, Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn did not go, and regretted it afterwards. 'Āẓid died 10th of Muḥarram, 567 H. [Faṣiḥ-ī says 565 H.], and the 'Ubaidī Ismā'īlī dynasty terminated. [According to VERTOT, vol. ii. p. 209, Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn had the Khalīfah murdered in or out of his bath, and says it was narrated freely by the Christians, but that the Moslems were silent on the matter.] When the Abbāsī Khalīfah, Al Mustaẓī B'nūr-Ullah, received information that the Khuṭbah had been read for him in Miṣrīah, he despatched 'Imād-ud-Dīn, a

with your solicitations on the stipulation that you attend to a request of mine." To this demand of his they signified their assent. Sultān Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn commanded that they should assemble, on the morrow, in the great mosque, at which time he would make his request known to them, and accept the sovereignty of Miṣr. To this all pledged their faith; and the next day they all assembled in the great mosque of Miṣr, and solicited that he would mention his request.

Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn demanded that they should give their allegiance to the Khalīfahs of the house of 'Abbās as the successors of the Prophet and chief patriarchs. The people all agreed to pledge their fealty to the house of 'Abbās; and, at that time, the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Mustazī B'amr-Ullah[5], filled the office of Khalīfah, and the Khutbah was pronounced in the name of the 'Abbāsī family. A despatch announcing this triumph was forwarded to Baghdād, the capital of the Khalīfahs, together with the standard of the Farangs, inverted, and the flags of the Ḳarāmitah heretics, to the presence of the Khalīfah, Al-Mustaẓī B'amr-Ullah.

From the capital of Islām, Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn received the title of Malik un-Nāṣir[6], and he became sovereign of Miṣr,

venerable and illustrious dependent of the 'Abbāsī dynasty, to Shām, with rich dresses of honour for Nūr-ud-Dīn—to the sovereign, not to his lieutenant, Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn,—but robes of honour were also despatched to Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, together with black hangings for the pulpits of Miṣrīah, as the Ismā'īlī colour was green.

In 569 H. Nūr-ud-Dīn directed Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn to assemble the forces of Miṣrīah, and march against the Christian territory, and invest Karak, and promised to come himself likewise. Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn reported his departure 20th of Muḥarram, from Kāhirah; and Nūr-ud-Dīn, on receipt of his despatch at Damashḳ, marched towards Karak, and, having reached it, fully expected the arrival of Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn and his forces. He was, however, too cunning to trust himself in the power of his master, and wrote excusing himself on account of pretended disaffection in Miṣrīah. Nūr-ud-Dīn repeated his commands without avail, and had serious intentions of marching into the country and removing his disobedient lieutenant. Ibn-i-Shadād gives a different account of this circumstance, which is too long for insertion here, and says it happened in 568 H. Nūr-ud-Dīn died in 569 H.

[5] Faṣiḥ-ī says that, the first time the Khuṭbah was read in the Diyār-i-Miṣrīah, it was read for Al-Mustanjid, who died in the beginning of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 566 H., but, subsequently, the news of his death, and the accession of his son Al-Mustaẓī B'nūr Ullah [not B'amr Ullah] was received.

[6] This statement is totally incorrect: the title was conferred upon him by 'Āẓid, the Ismā'īlī Khalīfah, when Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn became his Wazīr.

and, at this time also, Sulṭān Nūr-ud-Dīn died[7]. Sulṭān Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn marched into Shām, and assumed the throne of sovereignty, as has been previously stated He conferred the [government of the] territory of Miṣr upon one of his sons, Malik-ul-'Azīz, and another son, Malik-ul-Afẓal, he nominated to be his heir; and upon his brother, Malik-ul-'Ādil, he conferred the province of Diyār-i-Bakr.

One of the most distinguished [persons] of the trustworthy has related, that, when the news of the accession of Sulṭān Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn reached the territories of Rūm and the Ḳaiṣars[8] of the Farangs, a countless army came from the country of the infidels, and advanced into Shām, and fought a battle with Sultān Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn before the gate of Damashk[9]. The army of Islām was defeated and overthrown, and the Sultān, flying before them, retired within the walls of the city of Damashḳ The infidels pitched their camp before the gates of the place, and the Musalmāns sustained great calamity and misery

Sultān Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn assembled the inhabitants of Damashk in a certain place, in order to induce them to pledge themselves to make holy war upon the infidels, and to attack them and drive them away He deputed one of the godly 'Ulamā to ascend the pulpit, to speak a few words in order to incite the people to holy warfare, and urge them

[7] Nūr-ud-Dīn did not die until 569 H, and the Khuṭbah was read for the 'Abbāsīs in 567 H

[8] The plural form is used in all the copies of the text collated

[9] This assertion is totally false during the whole of the reign of Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, and the numerous battles that took place therein, no battle was ever fought before Damashḳ between him and the Farangs The rest of our author's statement may be depended upon accordingly It is something like 700 horse routing 80,000 Crusaders, and their dead lying in heaps for miles Our worthy author probably considered, when he wrote this, that, as Hindūstān was such a far-off country, he might make any statement for the glorification of the Mussalmān faith with impunity The great battles that took place during the reign of Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, of course, are not mentioned, and were probably unknown to Minhāj-i-Sarāj, who was "so industrious in collecting information from 'trustworthy persons,' and who often [very !] mentions his authority for the facts he records"—of which, probably, the matter of the rings for the ears of the Crusaders farther on is one Our author has evidently been confused about the investment of Damashḳ in the year 543 H, some years before Sulṭān Nūr-ud-Dīn obtained possession of it, when Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn was in his *eleventh* year, and in the defence of which city his *eldest* brother, Amīr Nūr-ud-Daulah Shāhan Shāh, so greatly distinguished himself, and died of the wounds he received on that occasion

to enter into conflict with the infidels[1]. The godly ecclesiastic, with all sincerity of heart, turned his face towards Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, and said.—"Oh, Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, from thy mouth, thy tongue, and thy person, emanateth the effluvium of Satan's urine! How canst thou expect that the Most High God will ratify thy vow? how can it be regarded as real and sincere?"

This reproof, by the grace of God, took effect upon the august heart of Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn He got up, and on the hand of that godly ecclesiastic he expressed contrition, and renounced wine and all other sins[2] The people, with sincere eagerness and willingness, renewed to him their vows to undertake holy war; and from that very spot they turned their faces in the direction of the scene of holy warfare The whole of the people issued from the city, and they fell upon the army of the infidels The Most High God sent them heavenly assistance, and the enemies of the faith were defeated and overthrown, and such a vast number of them were sent to Hell by the stroke of the sword of the defenders of the true faith, as cannot be numbered or computed[3]. The whole of the Maliks[4] [princes], and

[1] Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn was too wise to trust to "the people" to make holy war and defend his cities He depended more upon his hardy troops, well knowing that rabble cannot be turned into soldiers at a nod of the head

[2] See beginning of note [4], p 216 Our author confounds both times as well as events

[3] Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn's total overthrow, near 'Asḳalān, at the head of an immense force by the sick king Baldwin IV —at the time that Ṣalāh-ud Dīn marched against Jerusalem in Nov 1179 A D = 575 H, when Odo de St Amand, the Master of the Temple, at the head of eighty of his knights rode through Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn's Mamlūk body-guard of a thousand picked men, in coats of mail and saffron coloured mantles, and penetrated to Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn's own tent, from which he with difficulty escaped almost naked, and had scarcely time to scramble up the back of a fleet dromedary and make for the desert—is an event which our author would scorn to chronicle On this occasion, pigeons spread over Egypt the triumphant news of a victory, in order, as the Arab chroniclers say, "*to quiet the minds of the people*," although scarcely one of the Egyptian army ever got back to Egypt again Neither would our author condescend to chronicle the crushing defeat, inflicted upon Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn and his immense host, by Richard Cœur-de-Lion, and his French and Burgundian allies, near Arsūf, in 1191 A D = 587 H, nor the alacrity with which, soon after, he agreed to enter into a treaty with Richard [who had rebellion at home to crush], when his forces were in such a woeful plight, but the real state of his affairs unknown to the Christians

[4] The word Malik may mean king here, and our author might have desired his readers to believe that *all* the kings of the Franks were made captive.

nobles, and chief personages among the Farangs were made captives.

The Islāmis having become victorious and triumphant, Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn directed every one to devise [means] for the disposal of the Farang captives. At last the Sulṭān determined to set the whole of them at liberty, and they were set free accordingly, and he made them signify their repentance, and conferred gifts upon them. After they had departed to the distance of a day's journey, they sent a representation to the Sultān, saying:—"We are all your servants, set at liberty by you: send to each of us a ring that we may insert it in our ears[5], and then we will depart." The Sultān commanded that a sufficient number of rings should be prepared, of pure gold, sufficient to supply every one of them with one of the weight of one miṣḳāl[6], and they were sent to them, and the whole of the liberated captives inserted the rings in their ears, and they went away, and of that host not one person ever again came to fight against the Sultān's troops

Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn became firmly established, and his illustrious deeds in Islām will endure. He reigned for a very long period, and died. He had six sons, whose titles were as follows[7]:—Malik-uz-Zāhir, Malik-ul-Afẓal,

Probably he heard something about Ṣalāḥ-ud-Din's encounters with the Latin Christians and the battle of Tiberias, just before the capitulation of Jerusalem in 583 H, and has confounded them with the investment of Damashk by the Emperor Conrad and Louis VII in 541 H, some years before the death of Zangī, Nūr-ud-Dīn's father, when Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn was about *nine years old.* He has made a precious hash of the account of the Kurdish rulers, and of Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn's reign in particular

[5] Rings in the ears are emblems of slavery Bigoted Mullas, like our author, stick at no falsehoods in their endeavours to enhance the deeds of their co-religionists, but the 'Arab chroniclers of the Crusades are very different, and their writings, generally, bear the stamp of truth I need scarcely say that their accounts are very different to our author's, and that such an absurd statement will not be found in any of their writings

[6] He knows all about the rings and their weight, but he does not know how long Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn ruled, or when he died All his sovereigns reign "for a long period, and die," and the same stereotyped expression answers for Asad-ud-Dīn, Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn's uncle, who never reigned at all, but was the Wazīr of Egypt for sixty-five days, and for Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, who reigned [after Nūr-ud-Dīn's death] from 569 to 589 H

[7] Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn had a number of sons, but the names of six only have been recorded, the others may have died very young The correct titles and names of the six referred to are as follows —

1. Abū-l-Ḥasan-i-'Alī, Malik-ul-Afẓal, Nūr-ud-Dīn, who was the eldest

Malik-ul-'Azīz, Malik-ul-Muḥsin, Malik-ul-Mushtammir, and Malik-uṣ-Ṣāliḥ.

VI. MALIK-UL-AFẒAL[8], 'ALĪ, SON OF ṢALĀḤ-UD-DĪN, YŪSUF, SON OF AIYŪB, AL-KURDĪ

Malik-ul-Afẓal, 'Alī, was the heir of Sultān Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf, and on the death of the Sultān he ascended the throne of the territories of Damashk and Shām[9]

All presented themselves before him, and paid him homage, and submitted to him, with the exception of Malik-ul-'Azīz, his brother, who was ruler of Miṣr He led an army into Shām in order to claim the sovereignty from 'Azīz, and Malik-ul-'Ādil, Abū-Bikr, son of Aiyūb, the brother of [the late] Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, and who held the territory of Diyār-i-Bakr, took part with [his nephew] Malik-ul-'Azīz. They invested Malik-ul-Afzal within the walls of Damashk, and for a considerable time contention continued between them At length it was agreed that Damashk should be given up to Malik-ul-'Azīz, and peace was effected. The territory of Sar-hadd[1], which is a tract of country in Shām, was assigned to Malik-ul-Afẓal.

son, and the heir-apparent 2 Malik-ul-'Azīz, 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Abū l-Fatḥ, 'Usmān, who was the favourite son 3 Malik-uṭ-Ṭāhir, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Abū Manṣūr i Ghāzī 4 Malik uẓ Ẓāfir, Al-Mushtammir, Muẓaffar-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Ḳāsim, Abū l 'Abbās-i Ḥuẓr, full brother of Zāfir 5 Malik uẓ-Ẓāhir, the remainder of whose titles and names are not mentioned, neither are the titles "Malik-ul-Muḥsin," nor "Malik-uṣ Ṣāliḥ" mentioned except by our author. 6 Malik-uẓ-Zāhid, Majīr-ud-Dīn, Abū-Sulīmān-i-Dā'ūd He was the *twelfth* son of Salāḥ ud Dīn, and full brother of Zāhir

[8] For his correct name and titles see note [7] above He was the eldest son of Sultān Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn, and his father's heir-apparent. On the death of his father, at Damashk, where Afẓal then was, and which he held the government of, he assumed the sovereignty over that territory, whilst his brother, 'Azīz, assumed sovereignty over the Diyār-i Miṣrīah, of which he held charge. Another brother, Malik-uẓ-Zāhir, held Ḥalab Contention went on between the brothers, Afẓal and 'Azīz, the latter supported by his uncle 'Ādil, for a considerable time, the details of which are too long for insertion here At last, Afẓal was invested in Damashk and made prisoner, and a portion of territory on the frontier was assigned to him

[9] Other writers place Malik-ul-'Azīz next after his father, as he assumed the sovereignty over the territory of Miṣrīah, and overcame his brother, Malik-ul-Afẓal, who held Shām

[1] The word here used is unintelligible It is written in different ways in nearly every copy سلعت سكعت سكمت and also مسكت Yāfa'ī says, مقام سرحد which means "a place on the frontier" There is a place called "Ṣar-khad."

He was a learned and very enlightened man[2], and composed beautiful poetry. The situation in which he was [now] placed, together with the condition of his brother, who was named 'Usmān [Malik-ul-'Azīz], and their uncle, Abū-Bikr [Malik-ul-'Ādil], he depicted in the two following couplets, and sent them to the Court of Baghdād, to the Khalīfah, Un-Nāṣir-ud-Dīn-Ullah, for the office of Khalīfah had fallen to Imām, Un-Nāṣir. The two couplets are as follows:—

"My lord! Abū-Bikr and his companion, 'Usmān,
Have, by the sword, deprived 'Alī of his right.
Remark the fatality of the name, how it suffers, from the last,
The same wrong as from the first [generation] it endured[3]."

After some time expired, Malik-ul-'Azīz died, and Malik ul-Afzal was entreated to come into[4] Miṣr. He proceeded thither, and from thence he brought an army into Shām. Malik-ul-'Azīz had made over Shām to his uncle, Malik-ul-'Ādil, and he and Malik-ul-Afzal came to a battle, and the latter was defeated[5]. At length, however, Malik-ul-Afzal chanced to have a meeting with his uncle, who gave him Samisāt[6]. He remained there for a long time, and he died[7].

VII. MALIK-UL-'AZĪZ, 'USMĀN, SON OF ṢALĀH-UD-DĪN, YŪSUF, SON OF AIYŪB, AL KURDĪ.

The name of Malik-ul-'Azīz was 'Usmān, and, when Sultān Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn came to the throne of Shām, and the

Other writers say Afẓal was a state prisoner when his brother died, and that he was invited to Miṣr to act as Atā bak to 'Azīz's son, Malik ul-Manṣūr.

[2] The celebrated historian, the learned Abū-l-Fatḥ-i-Naṣr-ullah, son of Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Shibānī, surnamed Ibn Aṣīr, was Malik-ul Afẓal's Wazīr.

[3] Yafā'ī has four lines more. The reference of course is to the Khalīfah 'Alī and the two first Khalīfahs.

[4] All the copies of the text are alike here, but, as 'Azīz died in Miṣr, Afẓal was invited to come *to* Miṣr. See last paragraph of the next reign, page 224.

[5] After assuming the throne of Miṣr after 'Azīz's death, Afẓal invested his uncle, 'Ādil, within the walls of Damashḳ, and reduced him to great straits, but his son, Kāmil, having advanced from the eastern parts with an army, raised the investment, and the father and son overcame Afẓal, and deprived him of Miṣr, and he was fain to content himself with Ṣamīṣāt.

[6] Some write this name Samīsāṭ, others, Shamīsāṭ, and some, Ṣamīṣāt. The last, however, seems most correct.

[7] In 622 H.

dominions of Shām and the territories of Miṣr, Diyār-i-Bakr, Filisṭīn, and Sikandarīah came under his sway, he conferred the throne of Miṣr upon his eldest son[8], who bore the title of Malik-ul-'Azīz. He brought that country under subjection, and was a man of tact and capacity, and in the guardianship of that country, he showed many laudable dispositions.

When his father, Sultān Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, died, Malik-ul-'Azīz led an army from Miṣr and appeared before Damashk, and his uncle, Malik-ul-'Ādil, joined him. He wrested the territories of Diyār-i-Bakr and Damashk[9] out of the hands of his brother, Malik-ul-Afẓal, and gave up to his uncle, Malik-ul-'Ādil, Shām and Damashk and the whole of that region, and returned again to Miṣr.

A short time afterwards the decree of destiny overtook him, and he sustained a fall from his horse, and broke his neck, and he died. After this occurrence, Malik-ul-Afẓal came into Miṣr, and took possession of that country[1].

VIII. MALIK-UL-'ĀDIL, ABŪ-BIKR[2], SON OF AIYŪB, SON OF SHĀDĪ, AL-KURDĪ

Some time subsequent to Malik-ul-'Ādil's having ascended the throne of the kingdom of Shām, and after he had defeated Malik-ul-Afẓal, who had brought an army from the side of Miṣr, and he ['Ādil] had reduced the various provinces of the territory [entrusted to him] under his sway, the daughter of a Ḳaiṣar of the Farangs[3] entered

[8] 'Azīz was the second, not the eldest son. Afẓal was the eldest of Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn's sons, according to Yāfa'ī and other chroniclers. See note [7] p. 221. 'Azīz was merely his father's lieutenant in Miṣr.

[9] The first attempt on the part of 'Azīz to deprive his brother of Damashk did not succeed, but on the second occasion he succeeded.

[1] See page 223, and note [4].

[2] His correct titles and name are, Malik-ul-'Ādil, Saif-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr-i-Muḥammad.

[3] Our author has neglected—for a very good reason, doubtless—to name his "trustworthy" authority for this statement, of a piece with the "rings," and the like. There is nothing whatever contained in any of the authorities I have consulted to warrant such an assertion, not even that a Christian female had had the misfortune to be his captive, and was immured in his ḥaram, much less a Christian princess. Such a circumstance, if true, was not likely to have been passed over in silence.

his *ḥaram*, and he married her, and that daughter bore him several children.

This Malik-ul-'Ādil was a sagacious, discerning, competent, experienced, and crafty man, and he ruled for a great number of years. He held possession of the different parts [of his territory], to the best of his judgment and ability, and his adversaries kept quietly and peaceably each within his own dominions, and hence he had but seldom to carry on hostilities[4].

He had several distinguished sons, who acquired great

[4] Malik-ul-'Ādil accompanied his uncle, Asad-ud Dīn, when the latter was despatched into Miṣr by Nūr-ud-Dīn, at which time Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn also went, as previously related When Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn acquired power in that country, he sent his brother, 'Ādil, as his representative into Shām, and, when Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn marched against Karak, in Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 579 H, 'Ādil was left in Miṣr, but he was summoned from thence, with all the available troops, to join Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, as the Christians had assembled in strong force with hostile intent against the Musalmāns 'Ādil joined him there accordingly, with an immense army, in Sha'bān of the same year When Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn gained possession of Ḥalab, in the same year, he bestowed it upon 'Ādil, having taken it from his own son Malik-uẓ-Ẓāhir, to whom he had just before entrusted it Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn was in the habit of placing his strongholds in charge of his brothers and nephews and other kinsmen, and not of entrusting them to his sons At last, Sulīmān, one of the Amīrs [nobles] of Ḥalab, an old friend of Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, expostulated with him on the subject and it took effect, and he at once gave back Ḥalab to Ẓāhir When Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn went against Mauṣil, in Sha'bān, 581 H, and was taken ill, and a peace was concluded between him and 'Izz-ud-Dīn Mas'ūd, of Mauṣil, he was joined at Ḥarrān, by his brother 'Ādil, on whom he had conferred the fiefs of Ḥarrān, Ruhā [Edessa], and Mīāfārḳīn [Martyropolis], after which the Sulṭān returned to Damashḳ

After the Crusaders, under Richard Cœur-de-Lion and Philip Augustus, took 'Akā [Acre], in Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 587 H, when "the Musalmāns sustained such a great calamity," and the Christians were preparing to march against 'Asḳalān [Ascalon], Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, in consultation with the chiefs of his forces, determined to entrust his brother 'Ādil with a portion of his army, to hold the Christians in check, whilst he himself, with the remainder, proceeded to 'Asḳalān to raze it, in order to deter the enemy from marching thither Whilst engaged in this operation, during the same night, a messenger arrived from Malik-ul-'Ādil, saying that the Christians were willing to make peace, if the coast towns were ceded to them Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, finding his troops so disorganized and dispirited, was under the necessity of agreeing, and he wrote to 'Ādil to make an accommodation on the best terms he could The authorities, from which these details are taken, agree generally with European chroniclers of the Crusades at this period, and their writings are free from such nonsense as our author writes

'Ādil did not succeed to the sovereignty of Egypt and Damashk until after the death of his nephew 'Azīz, and ousting the latter's son, Malik-ul Manṣūr, under pretence of serving whom he came into Miṣr, from the former country The Khuṭbah was read for him there in Shawwāl, 596 H, and at Ḥalab, in 598 H, when he obtained sway over it and other parts of Shām and the eastern provinces.

renown, such as Malik-ul-Kāmil, Malik-ul-Muaẓẓam-i-'Īsā, Malik-ul-Ashraf, Malik-ul-Fā'iz[5], Malik-ul-Ghāzi[6], Malik-ul-Awhad, Malik-ul-Mamdūd, Malik-ul-Amjad, and Malik-uṣ-Ṣāliḥ-i-Ismā'īl. Each one of them was a sovereign[7] over a different tract of territory comprised within his dominions; and the annals of the good works, and the circumstances of the sovereignty of his sons, will remain [inscribed] on the pages of time, in the countries of Ḥijāz, Shām, and Yaman, until the resurrection at the last day.

Each of the different portions of his dominions Malik-ul-'Ādil conferred upon one of his sons, whilst he himself continually moved about from one part to another with his forces, and, with equity and sagacity, guarded and watched over them.

He always had a bow at his side, and such was his great strength, that no one in that part, or at that time, could bend his bow on account of its great tallness. He was noted, both by friend and foe, for his truthfulness of word. The whole of the enemies of his country, who were the infidels of Rūm and the Farangs, placed implicit trust in his word; for the dust of falsehood had never soiled the skirts of the robe of his word and his promise. Throughout his dominions no human being suffered from tyranny or oppression.

He reigned in tranquillity and affluence for a period of thirty odd years, and died[8].

5 'Ābid, in one copy. 6 Ghānī, in two copies.

7 The word used by our author is "Bādshāhs," but his sons were only his lieutenants charged with the administration, subject to his control. When he became firmly established in his dominions, he divided them among his sons, giving each of them charge of one or more provinces. To Malik-ul-Kāmil he assigned the Diyār i-Miṣrīah, to Malik-ul-Muaẓẓam the territory of Shāmīah, to Malik-ul-Ashraf the Sharḳīah [the eastern parts], and to Malik-ul-Awḥad the territory of Miāfārḳīn, and, in 610 H., after he had established his authority over Yaman, and Awḥad had been sent to Miāfārḳīn, another son, Malik ul-Mas'ūd, was sent to Yaman.

8 Malik-ul-'Ādil died in Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 615 H., near the village of Ālfīn, in sight of Damashk, when moving against the Christians, who had entered the coasts of Shām. Hearing of his death, they gave up their designs on Shām, and turned their thoughts towards Egypt, and appeared before Dimyaṭ [Damietta]. He was a man of great wisdom and intellect, of considerable judgment and conception, of good disposition and temperament, constant to his religious duties and attendance at public worship, a follower of the orthodox, inclined to learned men, and, altogether, a fortunate and august personage. He was alike abstemious in his food, and moderate in his passions.

IX. MALIK-UL-MUAZZAM*, 'ĪSĀ, SON OF ABŪ-BIKR, SON OF AIYŪB, SON OF SHĀDĪ, AL-KURDĪ

Malik-ul-Muazzam was a learned monarch, and endowed with great accomplishments, and Almighty God had dignified him with great attainments.

Among the sons of Malik-ul-'Ādil, who observed the ordinances of the followers of the traditions of the sect of Shāfi'ī, Malik-ul-Muazzam[1] was the only one who was of the sect of the great Imām, Abū Ḥanifah-i-Nu'mān, son of Sābit, Al-Kūfī.

During the troubles in the territories of 'Ajam, when the 'Ulamā of Khurāsān, and Māwar-un-Nahr, became dispersed at the period of the inroad of the infidels of Chīn, Imām Sharaf-ud-Dīn, Adīmī, who was a prodigy in the science of theology and religious jurisprudence, and Imām Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Ḥaṣīrī[2], who was a master in the science of physiognomy, came and presented themselves at his Court. Malik-ul-Muazzam became the disciple of these two great Imāms, and other eminent 'Ulamā,—the mercy of the Almighty be upon the whole of them!—and assigned them emoluments and rewards, and fixed places for their abode. He, however, sought mostly to secure the presence of Muhammad Husain[3], Shībānī.

The brother of Malik-ul-Muazzam, Malik-ul-'Ādil, was by the same mother as himself, and for a long time was

* Most other writers place Malik-ul-Kāmil, the other son of 'Ādil, next after his father as ruler of Miṣr, but our author has reversed them. Malik-ul-Muazzam's proper titles and name are, Al-Malik-ul Muazzam, Sharaf ud-Dīn, 'Īsā. To read our author's account of him, one would imagine that he reigned over the whole of his father's territories, but such was not the case. He held a large portion of Shām, but never reigned in Misr at all, and, at his death, at Damashk, in 624 H., his son, Malik-un-Nāsir, Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn-i-Dā'ūd, succeeded him as ruler of that territory. The latter died in 650 H.

[1] One author says of him:—"He was a man of great firmness and resolution, bold and intrepid, of great stateliness and gravity, high minded and endowed with many virtues and excellencies, the friend and patron of ecclesiastics and learned men, strongly attached to the doctrines of the Hanīfah sect, in fact, the only one of the race of Aiyūb who was a follower of Abū Hanīfah. He had performed the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madīnah, and was, altogether, one of the best and the most inestimable of men."

[2] Also written, Haṣirī.

[3] In two copies, Ḥasan.

his brother's associate and lieutenant in the territory of Damashk [?]

Malik-ul-Muaẓẓam reigned for a considerable period, and died

X MALIK-UL-KĀMIL[4], SON OF ABŪ-BIKR, SON OF AIYŪB, SON OF SHĀDĪ, AL-KURDĪ

Malik-ul-Kāmil was his father's heir, and ascended the throne of Miṣr after his father's death On the decease of his brother, Malik-ul-Muaẓẓam, he brought the territories of Shām under his jurisdiction He conferred the sovereignty of the territory of Yaman upon his son, who was named Malik Mas'ūd, and also brought Ḥijāz under his sway

[4] His names are Abū l Ma'ālī, Muḥammad, entitled Al-Malik-ul-Kāmil, Nāṣir ud Dīn He was about the greatest of his family, and, of course, our author has said the least about him He held the government of the territory of Miṣr during his father's lifetime, and at his death assumed the sovereignty over it It will be remembered that his father, Malik-ul 'Ādil, died when on his way to oppose the Christians, who, on hearing of his death, turned their arms against Misr They had now reached Dimyāṭ Malik ul-Kāmil assembled a large force to repel them, and was joined by his brother, Malik-al-Muaẓẓam, Lord of Damishk, who by his tact prevented Kāmil's being dethroned by his own nobles, and his brother Malik ul Fā'iz, Sābik ud-Dīn, Ibrahīm After the Christians had taken Dimyāṭ, they determined to advance to Kāhirah and Miṣr, but the Almighty gave Kāmil success, and the Christians abandoned the strong position they had taken up in the prosecution of their design, and an accommodation was come to 11th of Rajab, 618 H, and the Christians returned to their own territories, after they had remained between Shām and Miṣr for forty months [four ?] and seventeen days

Malik ul Kāmil raised a dome over the tomb of Imām Shāfi'ī, on the banks of the Nīl, and, when his brother, Malik ul-Muaẓẓam of Shām, died, and the latter's son, Malik un-Nāṣir, succeeded him, Kāmil marched from Misr to deprive him of his territory He was joined by another brother, Malik ul-Ashraf, Muẓaffar ud Dīn, Mūsā, and, having subdued Shām in 625 H, he bestowed it upon Ashraf instead of the eastern provinces, which he resumed, and set out for those parts It was at this time that Sulṭān Jalāl ud-Dīn, Khwārazm Shāh, invested Khalāṭ [also called Akhlāt] Kāmil subsequently made his son, Najm ud-Dīn, Abū l-Muẓaffar, Aiyūb, his lieutenant over the eastern parts, and his youngest son, Saif-ud Dīn, Abū-Bikr, lieutenant in the Miṣriah territory, and another son, Mas'ūd, he sent into Yaman The latter annexed Makkah, and the Hijāz territory, and the empire of Kāmil became of vast extent When the Khaṭīb of Makkah, on Fridays, prayed for him, he styled him "Lord of Makkah, 'Ubaidīan, Yaman, Baidān, Miṣr, Sa'īdān, Shām, Ṣanādīan, the Jazīrah, and Walīdān, Sulṭān-ul-Kabīlatain wa Rabb ul-'Alāmatain ush Sharīf, Abū-l-Ma'ālī, Muḥammad, Al-Malik-ul-Kāmil, Nāṣir-ud Dīn, Khalīl-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn" I have not space to say more He died at Damashk in Rājab, 635 H

In the direction of Rūm and 'Arab, he undertook numerous expeditions against infidels, and waged holy war as by orthodox law required, and, after having ruled over the kingdom for some time, he died.

XI MALIK-UṢ-ṢALIḤ, SON OF AL-KĀMIL, SON OF ABŪ-BIKR, SON OF AIYŪB, SON OF SHĀDĪ, AL KURDĪ

Malik-uṣ-Ṣāliḥ was his father's heir, and, when Malik-ul-Kāmil departed this life, Malik-uṣ-Ṣāliḥ[6] ascended the

[6] The nearer he approaches his own time, the more our author blunders, and the shorter and more confused his accounts become. Here, the ruler of Miṣr is said to be ruler of Shām, and *vice versâ*. After the death of Malik-ul-Kāmil, his empire soon fell into utter disorder and confusion. His son, Malik-ul-'Ādil, Abū-Bikr, who was quite a youth, succeeded, and his cousin, Malik-ul-Jawād, Muẓaffar-ud-Dīn, Yūnas, son of Shams-ud-Dīn, Maudūd, son of 'Ādil [Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn's brother, and father of Malik-ul-Kāmil], became his deputy with the accord of the nobles of Kāmil. Malik-ul-'Ādil exercised the sovereignty, or held the name of sovereign rather, for about two years, when his nobles assembled together at Balbīs, seized him, and sent for his brother, MALIK-UṢ-ṢĀLIḤ, NAJM-UD-DĪN, AIYŪB, who was at Damashk, which he had promised to give up to Malik-ul-Jawād for other territory. On this, Ṣāliḥ's uncle, also called Malik-uṣ-Ṣāliḥ, 'Imād ud Dīn, Lord of Ba'albak, being supported by Mujāhid ud Dīn, Asad-i-Sher-i Koh, Lord of Ḥimṣ, when Ṣāliḥ [son of Kāmil] set out towards Miṣrīah, and remained encamped at Balbīs for some time, made a dash upon Damashk and gained possession of it. Malik-uṣ-Ṣāliḥ's [son of Kāmil] adherents, fearing for the safety of their families and homes at Damashk, deserted him, and left him nearly alone in his camp at Balbīs, and went over to Ṣāliḥ, the uncle. The younger Ṣāliḥ, before he could fly to some place of safety, was pounced upon by Malik-un-Nāṣir, son of Malik-ul-Muaẓẓam [son of the first 'Ādil], Lord of Karak, who carried him off to that stronghold, but he set him at liberty again the same year, 637 H., and at the request of 'Ādil's nobles, and attended by the same Nāṣir and his forces, Malik uṣ Ṣāliḥ [son of Kāmil] entered Kāhirah in Zī Ka'dah of the same year. The author from whose work most of these extracts have been taken, says, "*I was present there at the time*, and Malik-ul-'Ādil was brought forth seated in a covered litter, and under an escort, and immured in the fortress of Sultānīah."

Malik-uṣ-Ṣāliḥ regained possession of Damashk in 643 H., and proceeded thither, and, when on his way back to Miṣrīah, was taken dangerously ill, and had to remain at Shamūm. The Christians had resolved to attack his territory, and they reached Dimyāṭ on Friday, 20th of Ṣafar, 647 H. The city was totally abandoned by its inhabitants, who fled. They gained possession of the place on the following Sunday. Malik-uṣ-Ṣāliḥ was removed from Shamūm to Mansūrah, and had to be kept there, so ill was he, until the night of 14th of Sha'bān, when he died. His remains were deposited in the Jadīdah Masjid, and for near three months his death was concealed, until his son, Malik-ul-Muaẓẓam, Tūrān Shāh, arrived there from his fief of Kaif [or Kayif] when the Khuṭbah was read for him, and the father's death was made known.

throne of Miṣr, and took possession of the dominions of his father and his grandfather.

According to the best of his capability, he provided for and advanced the sons of his uncles, and his own brothers, and took measures for the safety of his dominions; but his life was a brief one, and, after a short time, he died, leaving young children behind him.

Trustworthy persons have related, that, during the calamities and troubles which happened in Īrān, when the irruption of Chingiz Khān took place, a body of Turks of Khwārazm, and [several] nobles of the Khwārazm-Shāhī dynasty, retiring before the infidels of Chīn, after the defeat of Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, son of Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, reached the territories of Shām and Miṣr, and possessed themselves of the dominions of the 'Ādilī dynasty. Some they slew, some passed away, and some remained. May the Almighty have mercy upon the whole of them!

Tūrān Shāh did not get on with his father's slaves [nobles and chiefs], and, after he had put some of them to death for their rebellious conduct, the remainder combined against him, and put him to death in Muharram, 648 H.

Malik ul 'Ādil died in confinement in 646 H., and left a young son named Mughīṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Umr. He subsequently had possession of Karak and its dependencies, but was invested therein by the rebel slaves, and capitulated on terms in 662 H., but was put to death by the usurper of the Miṣrīah throne. Most authors consider the Aiyūb dynasty to have ended with Malik-ul-Muaẓẓam, Tūrān Shāh. There were other branches of the same family, who ruled in different parts until the irruption of the Mughals, but I have not space to mention them here.

SECTION XVI.

THE MALIKS OF THE KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHĪAH DYNASTY

RESPECTING this notice of the Maliks of the Turks, and the Sultāns of Khwārazm, the Almighty's humble servant, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Jurjānī, states, that, as the account of the rulers of the different nations, from first to last, is now being compiled in the name of his Majesty, the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns of both Turk and 'Ajam, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Muẓaffar-i-Mahmūd, son of the Sultān I-yal-timish—May the Almighty perpetuate his dominion and his sovereignty!—he thinks it expedient to enter here the account of the dynasty of the Sultāns and Maliks of Khwārazm, the standards of whose sovereignty, after the decline of the Sanjarī dynasty, began to float on high; into whose possession the whole of the territories of Īrān came, after the extinction of the dominion of the Maliks of Ghūr and Ghaznīn; who undertook numerous expeditions against infidels, and waged many holy wars, the monuments of the goodness of whom abound in the land of Īrān; and, who, in fact, were the last of the Sultāns of Islām[1].

I. ḲUTB-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN, Ī-BAK, THE TURK[2]

The ancestry of these Maliks was related by Malik

[1] What of the slave who reigned at Dihlī, who refused shelter to Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn—he who is, and whose descendants are, so often styled "Sulṭān over both Turk and 'Ajam," and "Sulṭān of Sulṭāns of Islām"?

[2] Our author, in his account of the first two personages of this dynasty, differs wholly from other writers, and, as he has constantly made great blunders respecting other dynasties, and at times quoted authors incorrectly, his statements here, although obtained, as he asserts, from a descendant of those rulers, must be received at their worth.

Baihaḳī, quoting from Bū Rīḥān, mentions that the territory of Khwārazm always formed a separate sovereignty from the period when a kinsman of Bahrām-Gūr, the famous monarch of 'Ajam, acquired power over it, and also after its conquest by the 'Arabs, and further, that even after the 'Arab conquest it was not considered as a dependency of Khurāsān, like Khutlān and

Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn, who came from the border of Kir-

Chaghānīān were, even in the time of the Tāhirīs. Rulers bearing the title of Khwārazm Shāh are mentioned upwards of a century and a half previous to the dynasty now under notice, which I must briefly refer to. Our author himself adverts [page 38] to 'Abd-ullah, son of Ashkān, Khwārazm Shāh, as early as 332 H., and in the present Section farther on [page 233] again refers to them. In 386 H., mention is made of another 'Abd-ullah, styled Khwārazm Shāh, who in that year was made prisoner by the forces of Māmūn, son of Muḥammad, Lord of Jūrjānīah of Khwārazm. 'Abd-ullah was taken in fetters to Jūrjānīah, and subsequently beheaded, and the whole of Khwārazm passed under the rule of Māmūn, son of Muḥammad. The territories of Khwārazm and Jūrjānīah, had, for a considerable time, been in the possession of this family, who are styled Farīghūnī, subordinate to the Sāmānī sovereigns. In 387 H., the same year in which Nūḥ, son of Manṣūr, Sāmānī, Amīr Sabuk Tigīn, and Fakhr-ud-Daulah, Dīlamī, died, Māmūn, Farīghūnī, died also, and was succeeded by his son, Abū 'Alī, who was married to a sister of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn. 'Alī died in 390 H., and was succeeded by his brother, Abū-l-'Abbās-i-Māmūn [son of Māmūn]. He despatched an envoy to Maḥmūd, asking the latter's consent to his [Abū-l-'Abbās] espousing his brother's widow, the sister of Maḥmūd, which request was acquiesced in. This Abū-l-'Abbās was the patron of Bū Rīḥān, who passed seven years in his service. The Khalīfah, Kādir Billah, sent him a dress of honour, a title, and addressed him as Khwārazm Shāh, but, such was 'Abbās' attachment to [or fear of?] Maḥmūd, that he did not make this matter known. In 407 H. his nobles and troops rose against him, because he meditated acknowledging the suzerainty of Maḥmūd, put him to death, and set up his nephew in his stead. Maḥmūd marched into Khwārazm, to revenge his brother-in-law, slew Alb-Tigīn [some call him Nīal Tigīn] 'Abbas' chamberlain, and other ringleaders, and the murderers of 'Abbās, annexed the territory, and conferred the government of it upon his [own] Great Chamberlain, Altūn-Tāsh, with the designation of Khwārazm Shāh. Abū Naṣr, son of 'Abd-ul-Hāṛs, Farīghūnī, Wālī of Jūrjānān and the territory of Jawzjānān, of the same family, had died in 402 H., upon which Maḥmūd had annexed that territory, and had sent a Dīwān of his own to administer its affairs.

Altūn-Tāsh, Khwārazm Shāh, presented himself at the court of his sovereign, Sulṭān Mas'ūd, in 422 H., and died from the effects of a wound received in battle in 424 H. His son Hārūn, who succeeded, became disaffected towards Sulṭān Mas'ūd, in 425 H., assumed independence, and intrigued with the Turkmāns and Saljūḳs. This fact our author alludes to at pages 120 and 121, but says nothing further. Hārūn was killed in 426 H., and was succeeded by his brother, Ismā'īl, who held Khwārazm for a short time, but he was soon after ousted by Shāh Malik, a neighbouring chief, upon whom Sulṭān Mas'ūd conferred it, provided he could drive out Ismā'īl. Ismā'īl, accordingly, having been driven out, took shelter with the Saljūḳs in Khurāsān. In 434 H. Sulṭān Tughril annexed Khwārazm to his dominions, and but little is said about it afterwards until 475 H., when Malik Shāh, Saljūḳī, conferred the Intendancy of Khwārazm upon the slave, Nūsh-Tigīn-i-Gharjah, the father of Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the first ruler of the dynasty mentioned by our author.

Bilkā-Tigīn [Guzīdah and Jahān-Ārā style him Malkā-Tigīn, but it is an error], one of the slaves and grandees of the court of Malik Shāh, who held the office of Tasht-dār, or Purveyor, purchased Nūsh Tigīn, much in the same manner as Alb-Tigīn, the slave of the Sāmānīs, purchased Sabuk-Tigīn

mān, in the year 622 H.[3], to the aid of the sons[4] of the Maliks of Nīmroz, and arrived in that country, and the territories of Nīmroz were left in his possession.

The author of this book came from Khāesār of Ghūr, on a mission from the august Malik, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, 'Usmān, Maraghanī, in order to secure a compact, and arrived at Farāh of Sīstān, and proceeded to the presence of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Binăl-Tigīn.

During the conversation at the interview, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn mentioned that Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the Turk, came, with his tribe and kindred, towards Jund and Khwārazm, from the side of Suharī[5] [or Ṣahārī], and from among the tribes of Ḳifchāk[6] and Ḳankulī, and, for a considerable period, dwelt in those tracts, subject to the Khwārazm-Shāhī rulers, Abū Ja'far and Māmūn[7], and their posterity, and used to subsist in the wilds and pasture-lands.

upwards of a century before, at Ghujah of Samrḳand. Some consider he was of I-ghūr descent, and that he was of the Bekdalī [or Begdalī] tribe. After the decease of Balkā-Tigīn, his slave, Nūsh-Tigīn, who through his talents and sagacity had risen to distinction, succeeded to the office of Tasht-dār, and as the revenues of the Khwārazm territory were assigned to defray the expenses of the Purveyorship, in the same manner as those of Khūzistān were assigned for the expenses of the wardrobe, the government of the territory whence the expenses of the Purveyorship were drawn was conferred upon Nūsh-Tigīn, with the title of Khwārazm Shāh.

He placed his eldest son, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, with a preceptor at Marw, to be educated in a manner becoming his station, and on the death of Nūsh Tigīn, his father, in 490 H. [some writers say in 491 H.], the lieutenant of Sulṭān Barkīāruḳ, in Khurāsān, at the recommendation of Sanjar, Barkīāruḳ's brother—for Sanjar did not obtain the sovereignty until many years after—appointed Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Nūsh-Tigīn's son, after the removal of Alanjī, son of Taghdār [some call him Fāhḳār] to the government of Khwārazm, and the title which his father had held was also conferred upon him. See page 169, and note [6].

[3] See page 199.

[4] To the aid of one only, but all the copies have "sons of the Maliks," as above. See page 200.

[5] One copy has Hiṣārī [حصاری] which *may* be the most correct, but the majority of copies of the text have Şuhūrī, or Şahārī [صحاری]. Neither of these names occurs in the MASĀLIK WA-MAMĀLIK. The latter word, if not a proper name, may be the plural of 'Arabic [صحرا] signifying "extending, wide [as plains], wild, desert," in which case the broad and extensive deserts of Turkistān would be meant. Yāfa'ī mentions Suhārā in one or two places.

[6] In some few copies of the original, and in Yafa'ī, this name is written with kh—Khifchāḳ. It is the name of a tribe of Turks, and of a desert of Turkistān, commonly called Dasht-i-Kipchāḳ.

[7] These were of the Ilighūnī family mentioned in note [2], preceding page.

As Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn was a spirited enterprising, and high-minded chief, and of admirable temperament, the leadership of the forces of the Maliks of Khwārazm was entrusted to him, until, as Providence had decreed, the ruler of Khwārazm at that period died, and no son of his survived who could take his place, and his dominions were left without a sovereign A daughter, however, survived him, and the whole of the great nobles of Khwārazm agreed among themselves, and gave that daughter in marriage to Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn. The espousals having been concluded, the name of sovereign was assigned to that daughter, and the viceroyalty was conferred upon Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, the Turk, her husband

He brought the whole of the territory of Khwārazm under his jurisdiction, and the tracts on the confines under subjection[8], and by his alertness and his sagacity, restrained enemies and tyrants from violence and sedition He also guarded the frontiers of Khwārazm Shāh from the infidels of Saksīn, Bulghār, and Ḳifchāk

The Almighty so decreed that Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn had a son born to him by that lady [the daughter of the late ruler], and they gave him the name of Muhammad, and, after the termination of the lives of his mother and father, th sovereignty of Khwārazm devolved upon him

II MALIK TĀJ-UD DĪN, MUHAMMAD[9], SON OF Ī-BAK.

When the mother of Tāj-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, passed away, and his father died, he became ruler of the kingdom

[8] From what our author says, the reader would imagine that Kuṭb ud-Dīn was an independent ruler, but such was not the case He was ever loyal to his Saljūḳī suzerain, and was in the constant habit of attending the court of Sulṭān Sanjar every other year When he returned to Khwārazm, his son, who succeeded him, Itsiz called Utsuz by our author, and, by his account, Kuṭb ud Dīn's grandson—took his father's place at court, nominally as his representative, but in reality as security for his father's good faith Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, died in 521 H [some say in 522 H], and was succeeded by Itsiz By no other writer is Kuṭb ud-Dīn styled I bak Our author's account of him is confused, and he has evidently lost himself here again At page 148 he says Sanjar "conferred" Khwārazm "upon the son of Khwārazm Shāh, who was one of his servants, who was the father of I-yal-Arsalān, who was the father of Takiṣh, father of Muhammad," and, at page 169, states that he gave the throne of Khwārazm to Malik Utsuz

[9] The father of Itsiz [Utsuz of our author] according to all authors of

of Khwārazm in succession to them. He also had a brother, and of his own father and mother, younger than himself, and upon him he conferred the government of the tribes of Ḳankulī and Ḳifchāk, from which their own race had sprung, his brother having solicited it, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn acceded to his request

That same brother had sons[1] who acquired great distinction, and became powerful Maliks in Khurāsān and 'Irāḳ. During the time of Sulṭān Takish-i-Khwārazm Shāh, and his son, Sulṭān Muhammad, they were Maliks of Khurāsān, like as was Ulugh Khān-i-Abī, Muhammad, Khān of Guzarwān[2] Subsequently he became Khān of 'Irāk under the name of Atā-bak, or preceptor, of the great Sulṭān, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī Shānastī, son of Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh

Ulugh Khān-i-Abī, Muhammad, had two sons, the eldest, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Azabar[3] Shāh, and the younger, Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Ḳutlagh Shāh, and there were likewise brothers' sons of Ulugh Khān i-Abī, Muhammad, in Hindūstān, such as Malik Fīrūz-i-I-yal-timish, son of Sālār, and Malik Tāj-ud Dīn, Binal-Tigīn, who left Hindūstān, and became Malik of Sīstān, and whose narrative this is

This Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of Ī-bak, was an intrepid, just, and resolute sovereign, and he came to the Court of the Saljūḳ sovereigns, and paid homage to

authority—in fact, according to all writers but our author—was Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Nūsh-Tigīn-i-Gharjah, the *first* of the dynasty, and no person of the above name and title is mentioned by any other writer among the rulers of Khwārazm I suspect our author has done much the same here as he has in his account of the Saljūḳs of Rūm—mixed up the affairs of two dynasties

[1] As other authors do not mention the name of any such ruler as Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Itsiz being the second of the dynasty, and as our author himself gives no name to this said brother, although he gives names to his sons, it will be easily imagined that other authors do not name either the brother or his sons

[2] This name is somewhat doubtful, but the majority of copies have it as above written, and, in all probability, it is the place referred to by Yāfa-ī, up the valley of the Murgh-āb river, which he writes Juzarwān The other copies of the text have Gurdwān, Gurzawān, and Gūrwān, and one, which is generally pretty correct, has Gujzarwān—g and j are interchangeable, and jz is often used for z

[3] This name too is doubtful there are scarcely two copies alike One has Urzulū, which is a proper name, as well as Hijzabr

them. He performed great deeds, and ruled the people with equity and beneficence

He reigned for a long time, subordinate to the Saljūḳs, and died.

III. MALIK JALĀL-UD-DĪN, UTSUZ[4], KHWĀRAZM SHĀH, SON OF TĀJ-UD-DĪN, MUHAMMAD.

Utsuz-i-Khwārazm Shāh, after the death of his father[5], Muḥammad, brought the dominions of Khwārazm under his authority, and ruled over its people with uprightness, justice, and beneficence.

On several occasions he had to move[6] from Khwārazm,

[4] Written Itsīz and Itsiz by others [and Ātsiz by Guzīdah], signifying in Turkī "lean, fleshless, thin." His title was Muẓaffar-ud-Dīn, but some writers say it was Abū-l Muẓaffar, 'Alā-ud-Dīn. He succeeded his father by farmān of Sulṭān Sanjar, his suzerain.

[5] Kutb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Nūsh-Tigīn, and father of Itsiz, died in 521 H. [some say in 522 H.], after a reign of thirty years, and was noted for his loyalty to Sulṭān Sanjar.

[6] He had really to fly, but our author softens it down. In the beginning of his career and government of Khwārazm, no one could have been more loyal towards Sultān Sanjar than Itsiz was, and Sanjar was also much attached to him, more particularly because Itsiz had once saved his life. This moved the envious to sow the seeds of distrust and suspicion between them. In 527 H. [some say when Sanjar marched against Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznīn, but this can scarcely be, as that event occurred three years after], Itsiz obtained permission to proceed to his government, although Sanjar suspected his loyalty, and in a short time after he openly showed his disaffection. Sulṭān Sanjar marched against him in 533 H., and invested Hazār Asp, which was taken. Itsiz was totally defeated, and fled, and the Sulṭān installed his nephew, Sulīmān Shāh, son of Muḥammad, as ruler of Khwārazm. As soon, however, as Sanjar returned to Khurāsān, Itsiz again appeared, and Sulīmān Shāh, not being sufficiently powerful to oppose him, evacuated Khwārazm, and returned to his uncle's court.

Itsiz now [535 H.] assumed independence and the title of Bādshāh, and coined money in his own name, and this may be partly, if not altogether, accounted for by the fact that Sanjar had sustained a defeat at the hands of the infidels of Ḳarā-Khiṭā only the previous year. Some authors contend that Sanjar's defeat took place in 536 H., and that Itsiz assumed independence in 537 H. The Sulṭān again determined to attempt to reduce him in 538 H., on which Itsiz sought with entreaties, prayers, and costly presents, to propitiate the Sultān's anger, and was forgiven; but soon after he again showed disaffection, treated the Sulṭān's farmān with contempt, and subsequently, in 541 H., despatched two criminals, released from prison for the purpose, to assassinate his benefactor, to show his gratitude, perhaps, for "the confidence and good-will" of the Sulṭān towards him, as our author says, and for pardoning his past offences. Again [in 542 H., or, according to Yafa'ī, in 541 H.] Sanjar

sometimes out of necessity, and at others of his own free will He marched forces against Jund, Turkistān, and Ḳifchāḳ ; and through his wisdom, abilities, and skill, he was exceedingly fortunate in all his affairs. The Court of Khwārazm, through his enlightened policy and beneficence, became the resort of the most learned men

After obligations and stipulations had been entered into, he presented himself at the Court of Sultān Sanjar, and for some time, in conformity with his commands, Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, continued in attendance at the Court of that Sultān until he gained the confidence and good-will of Sanjar Shāh [Sulṭān Sanjar], who gave him back the throne of Khwārazm [7].

After some period of time had elapsed, through the conduct of Malik 'Alī, Chatrī [8], who was governor of Hirāt, with respect to Malik Utsuz, he [Utsuz] rebelled, and declined any longer to submit to the yoke, or to attend the Sultān's presence [9]. When the dominion of the house of Sanjar came to an end, the sovereignty of Khwārazm, and the whole of the territory of Ṣuḥārī [1] [or Ṣahārī] of Turkistān, and Jund, fell into his hands, and were left in his possession [2].

marched against him, and invested Hazār-Asp a second time After taking it, the Sulṭān was about to invest the capital, when, at the intercession of a holy man, namely, the Zāhid i-Āhū-posh, and the Sayyids and heads of the religious bodies, Itsiz again succeeded in propitiating the Sulṭān, and solicited permission to present himself before him, and sue for forgiveness This he did, after a fashion he came forth, and appeared before the Sulṭān, and from his horse bowed his head and retired This took place Monday, 12th Muḥarram, 543 H Sanjar was not in a position to renew hostilities, so he passed his rebel vassal's conduct over, and allowed, or rather was obliged to allow him to continue in possession of the territory of Khwārazm Soon after Sanjar became a captive to the Ghuzz tribe See Sanjar's reign, page 154.

7 See page 169, where our author says that Sanjar bestowed the sovereignty upon "Utsuz", but in this Section he has said that the throne descended to him from his ancestors

8 This person, and what he did, are not mentioned by other authors that have come under my notice, with a solitary exception Faṣiḥ-ī refers to it, under the year 542 H, in these exact words —"Rebellion of 'Alī Jatrī, Wālī of Hirāt, during the absence of Sulṭān Sanjar, and his combining with 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, Malik of Ghūr" nothing more See reign of 'Alā-ud-Dīn

9 This is utter nonsense See note 6 page 236 Itsiz merely acted according to the world's ways When he found his suzerain weak and in difficulties he took advantage of it

1 This name is plainly written in nearly every copy See note 5, page 233.

2 Faṣiḥ-ī says that Gūr Khān, who, in concert with Āt Khān, defeated

The greater number of the most learned men of the Court[3] had previously attached themselves to his service, and Imām Rashīd-ud Dīn, Watwāt[4], wrote, and dedicated to him, the work entitled "Ḥadāyik-us Sahr fī Dakāyiḳ-ush-Shi'r" ["Gardens of Enchantment in the Subtilties of Poesy"]. At the time, likewise, that Malik Utsuz was in attendance at the Court of Sultān Sanjar, he became greatly attached to Sultān 'Alā ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, Ghūrī, Jahān-soz[5], on account of his learning and talents, to such a degree, that when Sultān 'Alā ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, returned again to assume the throne of Ghūr, the Almighty blessed him with a son, and he gave him the name of Utsuz.

Malik Utsuz reigned over Khwārazm for a long period[6] and died.

IV. MALIK[7], I-YAL ARSALĀN, SON OF JALĀL-UD-DĪN, UTSUZ.

Malik I-yal-Arsalān ascended the throne of Khwārazm after the decease of his father, and assumed authority over the whole of his late father's dominions. He ruled his people with justice and benevolence[8], and concluded a

Sulṭān Sanjar a few years before, died in 537 H., after which Sulṭān Itsiz reduced Mawar-un-Nahr, which Sanjar had lost, under his sway.

[3] What court is not stated, but Sultān Sanjar's court, it is to be presumed. Courtier like, finding Sanjar in difficulties, they sought a more powerful master.

[4] This Rashīd-ud Dīn, Waṭwāṭ, was a lineal descendant of the Khalīfah 'Umr.

[5] Al Husain ['Izz ud Dīn], son of Sām, Ghūrī, it is said, was made prisoner by Sanjar in 501 H., but the person here referred to is his son, Jahān-soz, 'Alā ud Dīn, Husain, son of Husain, son of Sām, taken prisoner in 547 H. See note [2], page 149, note [3], page 155, and account of 'Alā-ud-Dīn.

[6] As usual, he reigned for a long period and died, according to our author, "who rarely indulges in high flown eulogy, but narrates his facts in a plain, straightforward manner, which induces a confidence in the sincerity of his statements and the accuracy of his knowledge." Itsiz ruled over Khwārazm for a period of twenty-nine years, sixteen of which were independent, and died in 551 H., and in the same year Turkān Khātūn also died.

[7] Styled Sultan by others.

[8] How good all our author's rulers are! all so just and beneficent: never were the like known before or since. Immediately on assuming the throne, suspecting his younger brother, Sulīmān Shāh, he seized and imprisoned him, and put a number of nobles, Sulīmān's adherents, to death. I-yal Arsalān was engaged in hostilities with the ruler of Samrḳand, and subsequently, in 558 H., marched against Shād-yākh of Nishāpur—Sanjar had lately died—and

treaty with the infidels of Ḳarā Khitā, whereby he stipulated to pay a certain fixed tribute yearly[9].

He contracted an alliance with the Khāns of Ḳifchāk, and guarded his dominions to the best of his power and ability. He became involved in disagreements and hostilities with some of the slaves of Sulṭān Sanjar who were rulers of Khurāsān, and peace was brought about in the manner he could best effect.

He reigned for a long time[1], and died leaving sons behind him, such as 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Takish, and Sulṭān Shāh, Maḥmūd.

V. SULTĀN TAKISH[2], SON OF I-YAL-ARSALĀN.

Sultān Takish was a very great monarch, and was endowed with considerable attainments, capacity, and

engaged in hostilities with Rukn-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Khān, a grandson of Bughrā Khān on the father's side, and a nephew of Sanjar on his mother's, and, after an engagement with Mu-ayyid-i-A'īnah-dār [see note[6] to page 180], returned into his own territory after effecting an accommodation. Subsequently, having, in the seventh year of his reign, neglected to pay the tribute to the ruler of Karā-Khitā-ī, the former sent a force against I-yal-Arsalān, and the latter's troops, which moved to oppose them, were routed. I-yal-Arsalān died from the effects of a disorder contracted during the war with the Ḳarā-Khitā-īs.

[9] If the Atā-bak, Abū-Bikr [see p. 179], by becoming tributary to the Mughals, "brought reproach and dishonour upon himself," by bowing his head to circumstances which he could not remedy nor control, and when he was well aware that, at the nod of the Khān of the Mughals, his territory could be subdued and desolated, what is the conduct of I-yal Arsalān here, and what that of the Khalīfah, Un-Nāsir, when he, some years before Abū Bikr's day, sent an agent to the infidel Chingiz, and incited him to invade the territory of Islām out of hostility to the Khwārazm Sulṭān, because he would not give him, Un-Nāṣir, a slice of 'Irāḳ? Our author was too pious a Musalmān to name such a disgraceful act as this. See note[5], page 242, and page 265.

[1] In this instance the "long time" was only eight years. I-yal-Arsalān died, according to most authors, in 567 H., but one or two say it occurred in 568. As Takish rose against his brother, Sulṭān Shāh, in the former year, it is natural to conclude that he could have had no occasion to do so in his father's lifetime.

[2] Styled 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Takish Khān. Some call him 'Alā-ud-Dīn. Other authors generally, with the exception of Yāfa-ī, place Sulṭān Shāh, Maḥmūd, next after his father, Itsiz, and before Takish, and do not bring in Takish at all until after Sulṭān Shāh's death in 589 H. Sultān Shāh succeeded to the throne according to the will of his father, and, as he was a mere boy, his mother, Malikah Turkān, conducted his affairs. She sent an agent to summon Takish, the eldest son by a different mother, who held the govern

understanding, and was a proficient in the science of music.

When he ascended the throne he brought under his sway the different tracts of the territory of Khwārazm, and likewise some parts of Khurāsān, either by force of arms or by peaceful means.

He entered into union with the Khān of Ḳifchāk, who was named Akrān [or Ikrān], and married the daughter of that ruler. That lady acquired great celebrity in the world, and rose to great eminence, more particularly during the reign of her son, Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh. She was a woman of great firmness of character,

ment of Jund [some say he retired thither] to Khwārazm. As he refused to obey, an army was sent against him. Guzīdah and Yāfa'ī state that Takish demanded a portion of his father's dominions, and was refused; on which he, in 567 H., rebelled, and determined to seek aid from the Khān-i-Khānān, or Great Khān of Ḳara-Khitā-ī. The latter's wife, at that time, held the sovereignty, and Takish entered into an alliance with her; but no mention whatever is made by these or other authors as to Takish having taken either her or her daughter to wife, as they, no doubt, would have done, had such an alliance as our author refers to taken place. Takish, having reached her territory, agreed to make over to her the treasures and revenues of Khwārazm, as soon as he, by her aid, should obtain possession of it, and afterwards to pay a yearly tribute. A numerous army was accordingly sent along with Takish to put him in possession. Sulṭān Shāh and his mother, as soon as they became aware of the combination against them, evacuated Khwārazm, and joined Malik Mu-ayyid-i-Ā'īnah-dār, Wālī of Khurāsān [Nīshāpūr. See page 180, and note 7], and Takish obtained possession of the Khwārazm territory. These events took place in 568 H.

Sulṭān Shāh, however, acquired power over a considerable portion of Khurāsān, and hostilities went on between the rival brothers up to the end of Sulṭān Shāh's life. He lived twenty-one years after these events. In 569 H. Malik Mu-ayyid-i-Ā'īnah-dār, in order to aid Sulṭān Shāh, marched in concert with him against Takish, and gave him battle; but they were defeated, and Mu-ayyid was taken and cut in two by order of Takish. Sulṭān Shāh and his mother fled to Dihistān, followed by Takish and his troops. The mother of Sulṭān Shāh was killed, after which Takish marched against Nīshāpūr, the capital of Mu-ayyid's territory. Hostilities having afterwards arisen between Takish and his former ally, Sulṭān Shāh sought aid from the female ruler of Ḳarā Khitā-ī, and she and Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, both rendered him aid. The details are far too voluminous for insertion here: suffice it to say that an accommodation subsequently took place between the brothers in 585 H., but hostilities were again renewed in 589 H., in which year Sulṭān Shāh died. After his death Takish acquired the whole power, and, according to Guzīdah, he *now for the first time* assumed the title of Sulṭān, being without a rival. These events are referred to by our author in his accounts of Khusrau Malik, the last of the Ghaznawīds, and in his account of the Sulṭāns of Ghūr, which see.

very impetuous, and of imperious temperament; and, during the reign of her son, she had the title of Khudāwandah-i-Jahān [Princess of the Universe]. So great was her spirit, her haughtiness, and her resentment, when roused, that, on one occasion, she became enraged with her husband, Sulṭān Takish, on account of a female slave with whom he had formed a connexion, and followed him to the bath, and closed the door of the hot bath upon him, so that the Sultān very nearly perished. Information of the circumstance was conveyed to a party of the great nobles, and a number of lords and chiefs arrived, broke open the door of the hot bath, and took Sultān Takish out. He had been reduced to a state of lividness, and one of his eyes had been nearly destroyed.

Sultān Takish was a wise and sagacious monarch; and, with respect to his witticisms, they relate that on a certain occasion a necessitous person wrote to him a statement of his affairs, saying:—"If thou givest me one hundred *dīnārs*, what difference will it make to the amount of thy treasures?" The Sultān, with his own hand, wrote at the head[3] of the statement, "one hundred *dīnārs*," and this reply, in the opinion of men of learning and talent, was exceedingly clever. On another occasion a person wrote to him, saying:—"In being a Musalmān I am thy brother: give me a portion of thy treasures." The Sultān commanded that ten *dīnārs* of gold should be presented to him. When that gift reached the indigent person, he wrote another communication to the Sultān, saying:—"I am thy brother, and yet, with all the treasures that thou possessest, not more than ten *dīnārs* of gold do I obtain[4]." The Sultān wrote in reply:—"If the rest of my brethren should demand their shares also, thou wouldst not have received even this much." May the Almighty have mercy on him!

Sultān Takish reduced a half of Khurāsān under his sway by force, and the Maliks [kings] of Māzandarān acknowledged his superiority. He also subdued a part of

[3] It is customary, in the East, to write orders, decrees, &c., at the head of documents.

[4] This anecdote, or one very similar, is related of another before the time of Sulṭān Takish.

the territory of 'Irāḳ; and Sulṭān Ṯughril, of 'Irāḳ, who was the nephew of Sulṭān Sanjar, fell a captive into his hands[5]

Hostilities arose between him and the Court of the Khalīfah on account of some of the territories of 'Irāḳ[6],

[5] At page 165, which see, our author was in doubt as to who Ṯughril was In 558 H Kutlagh Īnānaj, son of the Atā-bak, Jahān Pahlawān, Muḥammad, sent envoys, one after the other, to Sulṭān Takish informing him of the escape of Sulṭān Tughril, Saljūkī, from the fortress in which he had been immured, and inviting him to invade 'Irāḳ, promising to support him For further particulars of these events, see note [8], page 167, and note [3], page 172, where our author entirely contradicts this statement respecting Sulṭān Ṯughril

[6] The Khalīfah, Un Nāṣir, on Takish overrunning 'Irāḳ, and possessing himself of the strong places, was desirous that Takish should let him have some share of that territory, and make over some portion of it to his Dīwāns Envoys came and went between them, but, as Takish in the end refused to give up any portion, Un Nāṣir, in 590 H, despatched Mu-ayyid-ud-Dīn, Ibn-ul Ḳaṣṣāb, or the Butcher's Son, with robes of honour, valuable presents, and the like, in hopes that on his appearance at Hamadān he would be favourably received, and that Takish would come out to receive him, and do him honour as the Khalīfah's envoy, and humble himself before him, but, on his reaching Asad ābād, the Sulṭān despatched a force to compel him to retire Mu-ayyid ud Dīn fled, and speedily placed the river Dajlah between himself and Takish's troops After this, Takish pushed on to Dīnawr, and plundered the place and country round, and returned to Hamadān laden with *dirams* and *dinārs*, and other booty beyond compute

In 593 H, shortly after his son, Ḳutb ud Dīn, Muḥammad, had been entrusted with the government of Khurāsān, after the death of his elder brother, he was recalled to proceed at the head of an army against Ghā ir Bukā Khān, the Ī-ghūr ruler He conducted the campaign successfully, and Ghā ir Buḳā was made prisoner, and brought to Khwārazm, in Rabī'-ul Awwal of the following year Another expedition was undertaken shortly after against the successor of Ghā ir Buḳā, which Takish conducted in person

At the end of the year 594 H Takish marched into Khurāsān again After three months' halt at Shād yākh he proceeded into 'Irāḳ against Miānjuḳ, the Atā-bak of his son, Yūnas Khān, who was disaffected He passed the cold season in Māzandarān, and in the following spring pursued Miānjuḳ from one end of 'Irāk to the other Miānjuḳ and his party were pounced upon and most of them put to the sword, and the rebel took shelter in Fīrūz-koh, from which stronghold he had ousted the Sulṭān's seneschal some time before It was invested and taken, and Miānjuḳ was placed on a camel and brought to Ḳazwīn He was imprisoned for a year, and subsequently exiled for life on the hostile frontier of Jund After this Sulṭān Takish is said to have received a dress of honour from the Khalīfah, with the investiture [which he could neither give nor withhold] of 'Irāḳ, Khurāsān, and Turkistān

In the following year, 595 H, the Wazīr of the Khalīfah, who was at Hamadān with an army, drove out the Khwārazmī troops, upon which Takish again entered 'Irāḳ from Khwārazm, and hostilities were renewed The Wazīr, however, who commanded the Khalīfah's troops, had died a few days before the forces came into contact, but the fact was kept concealed, and was not

and Ibn-ul-Kaṣṣāb, who was the Wazīr of the Dār-ul-Khilāfat, entered 'Irāk [with an army] to repel Sultān Takish, but he was defeated, and retired to Baghdād again

This disloyalty towards the Khalīfah was a disaster[7] to the empire of Takish, as Maulānā Zahīr-ud-Dīn, Fāryābī[8], says in the following strophe —

"Oh, Shāh! since 'Ajam, by the sword, to thee has been consign'd,
Towards Muṣṭafā's place of repose, an army send
Then lay the Ka'bah desolate, and a fan bring,
And like unto useless atoms, to the winds the dust of the Haram send
Within the Ka'bah the drapery crumbleth away place it in thy treasury,
And, for the Prophet's tomb, two or three ells of matting send
When thou shalt have a perfect infidel become, rush on Karkh,
And, then, the Khalīfah's head to Khiṭā send"

Although Sultān Takish had entered into a treaty with the Sultāns of Ghūr[9], nevertheless, through the hostility of [the Court of] Baghdād, Ibn-ur-Rabbī' came from Baghdād into the territories of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, and, on another occasion, Ibn-ul-Khatīb came to the Court of Fīrūz-koh, and one Friday read the Khutbah, and, whilst reading it, he made use of these words in the presence of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām —"Ayyahu-l-Ghiyāṣ al-Mustaghāṣ min ul Takish ut-tāghī ul-bāghī" "Hail! prop of defence against Takish the traitor and the rebel!"

At the time of Ibn-ul-Khatīb's returning to Baghdād[1],

made known until after the Khalīfah's troops had been defeated and put to the rout The body of the Wazīr was exhumed, and the head cut off and sent to Khwārazm Faṣiḥ-ī mentions this affair, but places it several years earlier, and calls the Wazīr, Abū-l-Faẓl-i Muḥammad, son of 'Alī, styled Ibn-ul-Baiẓā, and further states that, Takish being absent from 'Irāk at the time, the Wazīr, with the aid of Kutlagh Īnānaj, drove out the Khwārazmī troops, and pursued them as far as Busṭām After this Takish again entered 'Irāk, and overthrew the Khalīfah's troops

[7] The ascendency and power which Takish acquired by this success, instead of being a blow to the prosperity of his rule, had quite a contrary effect It became noised abroad throughout both 'Irāks, and thereby his affairs attained a greater grandeur than before Possibly our author may refer to the inveterate hostility of the Khalīfah towards his son and grandson, and his refusing aid to the latter when hard pressed by the infidel Mughals

[8] The Malik-ush-Shu'arā [Prince of Poets], Khwājah Zahīr-ud-Dīn of Fāryāb, who died in 598 H

[9] A treaty with the Sultāns of Ghūr is out of the question, in fact the author's own words disprove it See also following note, and note [4], page 265

[1] A correspondence found when the son of Takish acquired possession of

the father of the author, Maulānā Sarāj-ud-Dīn-i-Minhāj, was despatched to the Court of Baghdād along with him, and, on the confines of Mukrān, the Maulānā was martyred[2]. This intimation arrived from the Court of the Khalīfah, Un-Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Ullah, about it, saying:—"Furthermore, Sarāj-i-Minhāj perished in an affray on the road: the Almighty recompense him!"

Sultān Takish-i-Khwārazm Shāh was in firm alliance with Khitā, and trustworthy persons have stated that Sultān Takish had enjoined his son, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, never to quarrel or embroil himself with Khitā, if he desired to preserve the safety of his dominions[3], and it turned out as this wise monarch had said. They also relate, with respect to this subject, that the Sultān often used to say that there would be two judgment-days—one, that time which Almighty God has ordained; and the other, that which would happen when he should be removed from this world, through his son's bad faith towards the infidels [of Chīn].

Sultān Takish reigned for many years, and died[4].

Ghaznīn confirms these hostile intentions. See note [4], page 265. In his account of the Khalīfah, Un-Nāṣir, our author states that three envoys arrived from the Khalīfah's court to solicit aid from the two brothers, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn of Ghūr, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn of Ghaznīn; and that they were named respectively, Imām Shams-ud-Dīn, Turk, Ibn ur-Rabbī', and Ibn ul-Khaṭīb; and that his father was sent along with them when they returned to Baghdād.

[2] Some copies merely mention that he died.

[3] Yāfa'ī says that Takish's last request was that his son should neither clash with, nor show resistance against, Gūr Khān, nor depart from the agreement previously settled [the tribute], because Gūr Khān was as a bulwark of defence *in his rear against enemies in that quarter which he should* not break down.

[4] During his reign Takish became involved, upon more than one occasion, in hostilities with the Khiṭā-īs and the rulers of Turkistān; and, towards the close of his reign, waged war upon the Mulāḥidah heretics in 'Irāk and Kuhistan. He gained possession of their stronghold of Arsalān Kushāe, the strongest fortress in Asia, it is said. He then left his son, Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh, in 'Irāk, with Iṣfahān as his place of residence, and set out on his return to Khwārazm, and reached it in Jamādī ul-Ākhir, 596 H. The heretics supposed the Wazīr, Niẓām-ul-Mulk, to have been the author of their disasters, so they assassinated him. Sultān Takish resolved to avenge him. An army was despatched against them under his son, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, who laid siege to Turshīz. Our author chronicles his own father's death, but says nothing of the time or place of the decease of the sovereign whose reign he is supposed to be giving an account of; and, although Takish reigned so near his own time, our author does not appear to have known that he reigned for twenty-five years and six months, the last six and a half years being over 'Irāk

VI SULṬĀN JALĀL-UD-DĪN, MAHMŪD[5], SON OF I-YAL-ARSALĀN

Maḥmūd, son of I-yal-Arsalān, Sultān Shāh-i-Jalāl-ud-Dīn, was a rash and impetuous monarch When his brother, Takish, assumed the throne of Khwārazm, dissension arose between them, and he [Sultān Shāh] went from Khwārazm towards Khurāsān, and from thence came into the states of Ghūr, and presented himself at the Court of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and his Maliks[6], treated him with honour and deference

Between the Sultāns of Ghūr and Sultān Takish a firm compact existed, and some parts of Khurāsān had fallen into the possession of the Amīrs of the Ghuzz tribe, and some to the slaves of the Sanjarī dynasty, whilst others had become dependencies of the Court of Ghūr and Fīrūz-koh, and of Bāmīān

Sultān Shāh solicited assistance from the Ghūrīān Sultāns to enable him to liberate Khurāsān from the hands of his brother and the Ghuzz Amīrs They assigned him a fief for the present, and he was furnished with all things necessary as a guest, but they continued to observe the treaty between themselves and his brother, Sultān Takish, and hesitated to furnish him with the aid he sought[7].

also Having despatched his son against the Mulāḥidahs, Sultān Takish was organizing forces at Khwārazm to follow, when he was suddenly taken ill He recovered, and was advised not to undertake so long a journey, but he would proceed He was taken ill again, and died on the way, in Ramazān, 596 H See note [4], page 254 Many eminent and learned men flourished during his reign, and numerous works on poetry, medicine, and other sciences, were written and dedicated to him

[5] Styled Sultān Shāh, Mahmūd, by others

[6] In a few copies there is a slight difference in this clause of the sentence, which, in them, is—"and the Maliks of Ghūr"

[7] After his defeat along with Mu-ayyid-i-Ā'īnah-dār, and the latter had been cut in two [see note [6], page 180], and Sultān Shāh's mother had also been put to death by Takish, Sultān Shāh went to Shād-yākh to Mu-ayyid's son, Tughān Shāh, who had succeeded his father, and took up his quarters in the territory of Nīshāpūr As Tughān, however, had not power to help him, he left his territory and went to the Sultāns of Ghūr [after obtaining written promises of favourable treatment], who received him well Hostility having arisen shortly after between his brother Takish and the Karā Khitā-ī ruler, Sultān Shāh was delighted, and entered into negotiation with that sovereign,

Sulṭān S͟hāh [consequently] left the territory of G͟hūr, and proceeded to Māwar-un-Nahr and Turkistān, and sought assistance from the Great K͟hān of K͟hitā; and brought an army, and freed K͟hurāsān from the oppressive grasp and possession of the G͟huzz chiefs, and their tyranny[8]. He made Marw his capital, and marched an

who, to spite Takis͟h, invited him to his Court On leaving the G͟hūrīān territory he observed to the nobles of his party that it occurred to him, although he had had to put up with some annoyance and mortification from him, that man [G͟hiyāṣ ud-Dīn, G͟hūrī] would cause much sedition in K͟hurāsān, and so it turned out

[8] He stated to the K͟hiṭā-ī ruler that the K͟hwārazmīs and the troops generally were well inclined towards him, and thereby induced the K͟hān to send forces along with him to reinstate him On their arrival before K͟hwārazm, the K͟hiṭā-īs were undeceived, and, finding that no advantage was likely to accrue by investing it, determined to retire again Sulṭān S͟hāh now solicited that a portion of the K͟hiṭā-ī army might be sent along with him into K͟hurāsān, against Sarak͟hs This was assented to, and Sulṭān S͟hāh and his allies suddenly appeared before it Malik Dīnār, one of the G͟huzz chiefs, held it at that time, and most of his followers were put to the sword, and Malik Dīnār himself was dragged out of the ditch of that fortress, by the hair of his head. The rest of his followers sought shelter within the walls After this, Sulṭān S͟hāh marched to Marw and there took up his quarters, and dismissed the K͟hitā-ī troops to their own territory He continued after that to make constant incursions against Sarak͟hs, until most of the G͟huzz were dispersed and driven from it, but Tug͟hān S͟hāh got possession of it In Ẓī-Ḥijjah, 576 H, hostilities arose between Sulṭān S͟hāh and Ṭug͟hān S͟hāh about the possession of Sarak͟hs, and an engagement was fought between them, in which the former was victorious and obtained possession of that place, and Ṭūs likewise From this success Sulṭān S͟hāh acquired considerable power, because he, contrary to Tug͟hān S͟hāh, was not taken up with cymbals and lutes, and such like frivolous pursuits He made constant raids upon Ṭug͟hān's territory, until his nobles and troops became greatly harassed and distressed, and they had mostly gone over to Sulṭān S͟hāh, and no power was left to Ṭug͟hān He applied for aid both to Takis͟h and to the Sulṭān of G͟hūr, and once went to Hirāt, in person, to solicit assistance from G͟hiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, G͟hūrī, but all was of no avail Disappointed and depressed, he lived on miserably till Muḥarram, 581 H, when he died See our author's account of him at page 181, where he says "all rulers refrained from molesting him" The same night in which Ṭug͟hān S͟hāh died, his son, Sanjar S͟hāh, was raised to his father's masnad, and Mangulī Beg, his slave, was made his Atā-bak. The latter afterwards went over to Sulṭān S͟hāh, who acquired sway over the greater part of Tug͟hān's territory Malik Dīnār, the G͟huzz chief, went off to Kirmān, and established himself as ruler therein, and everywhere the G͟huzz Turks were reduced to subjection, or rooted out See page 182, note[1]

In the beginning of 582 H, Takis͟h having entered K͟hurāsān, Sulṭān S͟hāh marched against K͟hwārazm with a large army, in hopes of seizing it, but Takis͟h, in return, marched to Marw, Sulṭān S͟hāh's capital, and sat down before it As Sulṭān S͟hāh found he could not gain admittance into K͟hwā-

army against Hirāt, and invested Fūshanj; and made raid

razm, and that Marw was in danger, he abandoned the attempt; and, o reaching Amūiah, left his army, and taking fifty picked men with him, mad for Marw, passed through Takish's army, and succeeded in throwing himsel into Marw Next day, on hearing of this feat, Takish marched away t Shād-yākh, and, in Rabi'-ul Awwal, 582 H, invested Sanjar Shāh, and hi Atā-bak, Mangulī Beg, therein After two months an accommodation wa entered into, and several men of rank were left there by Takish to carry ou the terms, and he departed for Khwārazm Mangulī Beg, as soon as Takis had marched away, seized his officers and delivered them over to Sultān Shāh and they were kept in durance for a long time by him, until a truce was brough about between the brothers, which, however, was but of short duration

After the truce, Takish again moved against Shād-yākh, secured Mangul Beg, and then returned to his capital, Khwārazm Sultān Shāh, bein ambitious of possessing Shād-yākh, now seized the opportunity and marche against it He invested it for a time, but, finding the defenders had the best o it, he raised the investment and set out for Sabzwār, and invested that place It capitulated on terms on the intercession of a holy man, and Sultān Shāh, i conformity with those terms, entered it, remained *an hour*, and departed fo Marw again In Muharram, 583 H, Takish again appeared before Shād yākh, and it was forced to submit, and Mangulī Beg came forth and capitu lated Sultān Takish entered it in Rabi'-ul Awwal of that year Mangul was compelled to disgorge the wealth he had deprived others of, and wa afterwards delivered over to the son of an Imām, whose father he had put t death unjustly, to suffer death according to the law of kisās or retribution Three months afterwards, Takish having set out for Khwārazm, Sultān Shāh finding the coast clear, made another effort to get possession of Shād yākh but, although the walls were for the most part destroyed, the place was obsti nately defended Takish marched into Khurāsān again on becoming aware o this movement on Sultān Shāh's part, and the latter, hearing of Takish' entering Khurāsān, burnt his battering-rams and made off Takish remaine all the cold season in Khurāsān, preparing for a campaign in Āzarbāījān, an nearly all the Amīrs of Khurāsān, who had hitherto not presented themselves now joined him In the spring he returned from Āzarbāījān, and encampe in the plain of Rādakān of Tūs, an accommodation having been come t between the brothers in 585 H, whereby Sultān Shāh was left in possession o considerable territory in Khurāsān, such as Jām, Bākhurz, and other districts Takish ascended the throne at Rādakān of Tūs [but not before], and soon afte set out for Khwārazm. Peace continued between them until after the affair a Marw-ar-Rūd with the Ghūrīs, with whom Sultān Shāh had previously bee on the most brotherly terms, in which Sultān Shāh was compelled to retire and his power became much broken, when, having infringed some of the stipu lations with his brother in 586 H, Takish again marched to Sarakhs, whic Sultān Shāh had made the depository of his treasures and military materia It was taken; but, subsequently, another accommodation having bee arranged, it was restored to Sultān Shāh, who again repaired it In 588 H Takish having entered 'Irāk at the solicitation of Kutlagh Ināna [see pag 167, and note [8]], against Sultān Tughril, Saljūkī, Sultān Shāh seized th opportunity, marched with his forces against Khwārazm, and invested it, but hearing of the return of his brother from the 'Irāk expedition, he abandone the investment, and retired into his own territory Takish, having passed th winter at Khwārazm, marched against his brother, Sultān Shāh, in the follow

upon the frontiers of the territory of Ghūr, and created tumult and disorder.

Some of the nobles and slaves of the Sanjarī dynasty joined him—such as Bahā-ud-Dīn, Tughril, who was governor of Hirāt, and used constantly to harass and afflict the frontiers of the kingdom of Ghūr. Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, gave instructions so that his Sulṭāns[9], namely, Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, from Ghaznīn, Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, from Bāmiān, and Malik Tāj-ud Dīn-i-Ḥarab, from Sīstān, all assembled, marched, and joined Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, after which they set out for the purpose of repelling Sultān Shāh.

They advanced into the valley of the river of Marw, and pitched their camp between Dazak [Dajzak?] and Marw-ar-Rūd, while Sultān Shāh moved his forces from Marw farther up; and, for a period of six months, the two armies, Ghūris and Turks, were arrayed confronting each other. Sultān Shāh used to display great audacity and boldness, and was in the constant habit of cutting off the foragers [of the Ghūriān army], whence it arose that Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the Turk, of Hindūstān, who, at that time, was Amīr-i-Ākhūr [lord of the stables—master of the horse] of the Ghaznīn[1] [ruler], was taken prisoner by the troops of Sultān Shāh.

Matters went on in this manner, until, at the expiration of six months, an engagement took place, and Sultān Shāh had not the power to resist his opponents, for the troops of Ghaznīn crossed the river Murgh-āb and attacked the army[2] of Sultān Shāh, who, unable to repel them, or make a stand

ing spring. As soon as Takish reached Abīward negotiations for a peaceable settlement of their differences were entered into, and letters passed between the brothers; but, through the folly and precipitancy of Sultan Shāh, the negotiations were in abeyance, when he was betrayed by Badr-ud-Dīn Ja'far, an officer in his service, who held Sarakhs for him. Ja'far delivered up the fortress to Takish, together with his master's treasures; and two days after, at the end of Ramazān, 589 H., Sultan Shah died. He had reigned for twenty two years.

[9] His brother, his kinsman, and his vassal.

[1] To Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Sulṭān of Ghaznīn, whose slave he was, and *subsequently* ruler of Dihlī.

[2] Five copies have "attacked the camp." Yāfa-ī barely alludes to this affair on the Murgh-āb.

before them, was defeated ; and, perplexed and distracted, he retired towards Marw again.

Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril, of Hirāt, who was with Sultān Shāh's army, fell into the hands of the troops of Bāmīān ; and they brought his head to the presence of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and he commanded them to take it to Hirāt. Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn of Bāmīān [likewise], on that day, was assigned a chatr [canopy], and he was honoured with the title of Sultān.

When they brought the head of Ṭughril to Hirāt, a Poet repeated these lines :—

"The head of Tughril, which he carried higher than the altitude of the heavens,
And which possessed the jewel and diadem of haughtiness and pride,
Without a body, hath to Harī, a spectacle come,
For this reason, that he had an inclination for Harī in his head."

Sultān Shāh, having been thus defeated, and his army routed and dispersed, retired to Marw ; and this affair and this victory took place in the year 588 H.

Sultān Shāh was [it appears] troubled with a complaint, for which every year he used to take a small quantity of a certain poison, in order to cure it ; and, in that same year, the complaint increased, and as a remedy against it he took somewhat more of the antidote, and it killed him, and he died.

VII. YŪNAS KHĀN, SON OF TAKISH, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH.[3]

Yūnas Khān was the son of Sultān Takish ; and, when Sultān Takish subdued the territory of 'Irāk, and wrested it out of the hands of the Atā-bak, Abū-Bikr, the son of

[3] The seventh ruler and successor of Takish was his son Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad ; and neither Yūnas Khān, Malik Khān, nor 'Alī Shāh, were ever rulers of Khwārazm, but merely held subordinate governments under their father. When Sulṭān Takish entered 'Irāḳ in the beginning of 590 H., and Sultān Tughril was slain in battle [see page 167, and note [8]], Takish, after securing 'Irāḳ, conferred Iṣfahān on Kutlagh Īnānaj, son of the Atā-bak Jahān Pahlawān, leaving the Amīrs of 'Irāḳ with him ; and the territory of Rai and its dependencies was conferred upon Takish's son Yūnas Khān, with Mīānjuḳ as his Atā-bak and the commander of his troops. The whole of 'Irāḳ he never held. Takish did not take 'Irāḳ from the Atā-bak Abū Bikr, son of Muḥammad, for a very good reason that no such Atā-bak ever held it in the reign of Takish.

the Atā-bak, Muḥammad, and a second time caused its deliverance from Sultān Tughril, he conferred it upon his son, Yūnas Khān

He was a monarch of good disposition, and used to live on good terms among his people, and brought 'Irāk under his subjection. He began to enter into contention with the troops of the Court of the Khalīfah, and that untoward circumstance became a source of misfortune to the sovereignty of his father, and to their dynasty[4]

He reigned for a considerable time over 'Irāk, and died.

VIII MALIK KHĀN[5], SON OF TAKISH, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH

Malik Khān was the eldest son of Sultān Takish, and was a mighty and arrogant monarch[6] He was endowed with great sagacity, wisdom, knowledge, and understanding, nobleness of mind, and intrepidity

When his father wrested Nīshāpūr and other parts of that territory out of the hands of the Sanjarī slaves, such as the descendants of Malik Mu-ayyid were, Sanjar Shāh, who was the son of Ṭughān Shāh, the son of Malik Mu-ayyid, he induced, by treaty, to come out of Nīshāpūr[7], and gave the throne of Nīshāpūr to his son, Malik Khān

When he assumed the throne of that territory, he brought under his sway the tracts of country around as far as the

[4] Whilst his father was absent on the expedition against Ghā ir Būkā Khān, the Ī-ghūr, in 591 H, Yūnas Khān turned his aims [or rather his Atā-bak for him] against the Khalīfah's troops in 'Irāk Yūnas sought help to carry out this hostile purpose, from his brother Malik Shāh, who held the government of Marw and its dependencies Yūnas, however, before being joined by his brother, had defeated the troops of Baghdad, and had acquired great booty The brothers met at Hamadān, where they made some stay, and, after they had passed a jovial time together, Malik Khān—or Shāh, as he is also styled—set out on his return to Khurāsān

[5] His title was Nāṣir-ud Dīn

[6] When Sultān Takish entered Khurāsān in 590 H on his way back from 'Irāk, he heard of the illness of his son Malik Shāh, who held at that time the government of Marw Takish directed that his son should be brought to him, and, when they reached Ṭūs, Sultān Shāh recovered His father transferred him to the government of Nīshāpūr, which he had previously held, with Shād-yākh as his residence in place of Marw, from the unwholesome climate of which his health had suffered, and an appanage was conferred upon his other son, Ḳuṭb ud Dīn, Muḥammad, in Khurāsān, and he was made his father's companion and favourite

[7] For the *facts*, see note [8] to Sulṭān Shāh's reign, page 246

gate[8] of 'Irāḳ, and a great number of eminent men assembled at his Court. He reigned for a considerable time, and died[9], leaving a son named Hindū Khān

He [Hindū Khān] was an exceedingly intrepid, high-minded prince, and was endowed with a poetical genius. After the decease of his father and his grandfather, he began to collect forces in Khurāsān, and, in consequence, his uncle, Sultān Muḥammad, son of Takish, reprehended him[1]. Hindū Khān composed a few elegant lines, and sent them to his uncle.—

"A hundred treasure-hoards be thine the keen poniard mine
The palace thine the steed and the battle field be mine
Shouldst thou desire that hostility cease between us,
Be Khwārazm thine, King! the country of Khurāsān mine[2]"

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[8] Alike in all the copies The Ḥulwān Pass may be called the "gate" of 'Irāk

[9] Malik Shāh having returned from Hamadān, as related in note [4], preceding page, as soon as he entered Khurāsān, despatched Arsalān Shāh, one of the nobles, to act for him at Shād-yākh, and set out himself for Khwārazm During his absence great disorder and sedition arose in the Nīshāpūr territory in consequence of disaffected persons inciting Sanjar Shāh, son of Tughān Shāh, who had previously been relieved of the cares of independent sovereignty, to rebel against Sulṭān Takish He had been treated with the utmost kindness, the Sulṭān had married his mother, and after his daughter's decease, who had been espoused by Sanjar, he had also given him his sister in marriage, and was regarded as a son He was accordingly summoned to Khwārazm and deprived of his sight, and his fief was taken from him This was in 591 H, and in 595 H he died After Sanjar Shāh's threatened outbreak, Sulṭān Takish had to march into 'Irāḳ against the 'Irāḳī nobles, in consequence of his son Yūnas Khān's acts It was on this occasion that the Khalīfah's troops, after the death of their leader, the Wazīr, were defeated Takish returned into Khwārazm by way of Isfahān, and conferred the government of Khurāsān upon Malik Shāh, with directions not to go to Marw because of its unhealthiness His partiality for it, however, was so great, that it drew him there He was taken ill soon after, and returned to Nīshāpūr, but his illness increased, and he died at the close of the year 593 H

[1] Yāfa'ī, which contains so much information respecting this dynasty, merely states that Sulṭān Takish had to delay his departure on an expedition against infidels [heretics], fearing an outbreak on the part of Malik Shāh's sons Accordingly, the Wazīr, Ṣadr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, Harawī, was despatched to Shād yākh to assume charge of affairs He contrived to prevent any tumult, and sent the eldest son, Hindū Khān, to Khwārazm Subsequently Sulṭān Takish conferred the government of Khurāsān upon his son, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, who proceeded thither, and, two days after he reached Shād-yākh, the Wazīr set out to join the Sulṭān, in Zī Ḥijjah, 593 H Hindū Khān subsequently took service with his country's enemies, the Ghūrīs See note [7], page 255

[2] This line, according to two copies of the original, might be read —"Be Khwārazm thine mine alone the realm of Khurāsān"

Sultān Muḥammad-i-Takish wrote the following lines in reply :—

"Soul of thine uncle ! this ambition takes the path of insanity.
This monition will take effect neither on thee nor on me,
'Till blood, to the hilt, shall the sword's blade smear
'Till, of one of us two, triumph's fire shall the highest blaze."

Hindū Khān was not powerful enough to offer opposition to his uncle and his armies, and he came to the territories of Ghūr, and sought assistance, but he was unable to obtain it, and he pressed onwards for Khitā. He possessed mettle, but he was not favoured by fortune, and he was martyred on the confines of Bāmīān.

IX. 'ALĪ SHĀH[3], SON OF TAKISH, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH.

Sultān 'Alī Shāh was a very great and illustrious prince, and, when the period came for his brother to assume the sovereignty, he made 'Alī Shāh ruler of Nīshāpūr. When the Sultāns of Ghūr conquered[4] Nīshāpūr, Malik[5] 'Alī Shāh, with other Maliks of Khwārazm, under terms of treaty, came out of that city, and presented themselves before Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and the victorious Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and they brought Sultān 'Alī Shāh [with them] to Ghaznīn. When Sultān Muhammad [of Khwārazm] appeared, the second time, before the gate of Nīshāpūr, and Malik Ziyā-ud-Dīn[6], under terms of convention, came out [and surrendered the city], the Sultān sent him back to Ghūr[7], and the Sultāns of Ghūr sent back Malik 'Alī Shāh also, to his brother, Sultān Muhammad.

[3] His title was Tāj-ud-Dīn. He had been placed in charge of *a part* of 'Irāķ, with Isfahān as the seat of government, some time before the accession of his brother Kutb-ud-Dīn, and when the Ghūrī Sultāns appeared before Shād-yākh, in Rajab, 597 H.—particulars of which are given under his brother's reign—Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh, who had recently left 'Irāķ, chanced to be there, together with a number of his other brothers' nobles and officers.

[4] Nīshāpūr capitulated on terms only. They were not observed fairly, and 'Alī Shāh and the Khwārazmī nobles and officers with him were treated with great indignity by the Ghūrīs. See note [7], page 255.

[5] The titles Sultān and Malik are used here indiscriminately.

[6] A kinsman of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn and his brother.

[7] Together with his garrison, and they had dresses of honour given to them, and were treated with the utmost consideration, in order to show the Ghūrīs how to behave to fallen foes.

The latter bestowed the throne of Ṣafahān and 'Irāḳ upon his brother, 'Alī Shāh, and, for a considerable period, he continued in that country, when, suddenly, he became overcome with fear and apprehension from some cause or other, and left it, and came into the territories of Ghūr, and presented himself at the Court of Fīrūz-koh.

At that period, the throne of Fīrūz-koh had passed to Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, son of Muhammad-i-Sām, and Sultān Muhammad despatched envoys from Khwārazm to the presence of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, so that 'Alī Shāh was seized and placed in durance. At length, a party of 'Alī Shāh's followers devoted themselves to the cause of their master, and martyred Sultān Mahmūd, son of Muhammad-i-Sām.

When the throne of the kingdom of Ghūr had passed to the sons of Sultan Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, son of [Muhammad-i-]Sām, an army from Khurāsān[8] arrived there in order to take possession of Ghūr, as will subsequently be related, and the Ghūrians caused 'Alī Shāh to be set at liberty, on the day that the Khwārazmī forces gained possession of Fīrūz-koh.

'Alī Shāh proceeded to Ghaznīn, and there he continued as Malik for a considerable time.[9] Subsequently, Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, despatched persons who entered into engagements with him on favourable terms, so much so that 'Alī Shāh, placing faith therein, was induced to leave Ghaznīn, and join the Khwārazmī army and reached Tigīn-ābād of Garmsīr. A party was [subsequently] appointed and despatched from Khwārazm, and in the year 609 H., they martyred 'Alī Shāh.

X. SULṬĀN 'ALĀ UD DĪN[1], MUHAMMAD, SON OF TAKISH, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH

Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, had five sons, the

[8] Khwārazmī troops, though no doubt chiefly natives of Khurāsān—the Khurāsānī contingent.

[9] One copy alone of the original contains the word "Malik." For a correct account of these matters, see the reign of Maḥmūd, in Section XVII., for our author seems to have been determined not to relate anything not tending to the glorification of the Ghūrīs, and often distorts facts to suit his purpose.

[1] Before he came to the throne his title was Kutb-ud-Dīn, but on his accession he assumed that of 'Alā ud Dīn, the title borne by his father.

first, Har-roz Shāh; the second, Ghūrī Shānastī[2]; the third, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, the fourth, Arzalū Shāh, and the fifth, Āk Sultān[3].

He was a great and potent monarch, wise, valiant, munificent, a patron of the learned, a conqueror, and impetuous; and, whatever qualifications it was desirable a great sovereign and just ruler should possess, the Almighty had endowed him with.

During the lifetime of his father, he bore the title of Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, and, when his brother, Malik Khān, died, his father conferred upon him the throne of Nīshāpūr, and Malik Sharaf-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd-i-Ḥasan, was appointed to be his Atā-bak or governor, and, after some time, the command of the forces of Khwārazm was conferred upon him.

On the side of his mother, likewise, he was a prince of [the house of] Ḳifchāk and very great, his mother being the daughter of Ḳadr Khān of Ḳifchāk, and, from the days of his boyhood, the marks of intelligence and cleverness shone clearly and conspicuously on his brow. Every expedition on which his father sent him, in the direction of Jund and Turkistān, he brought to such a successful issue as was desirable, in fact even a better than could have been anticipated.

At the period when death overtook his father, Sultān Takish, Muhammad was absent in the direction of Jund and Turkistān[4], and, when he obtained information of that

[2] This name is very doubtful. Three copies of the text, in two or more places, agree in the above reading, but others, again, have Nashānastī, Bashānastī, Bashāstī, and Shansabī, all of which are unintelligible, whilst other authors, such as Guzīdah, Jahān Ārā, and others, have Ghūrī Sānjī, which, they say, signifies "the Ghūrī fled."

[3] The name of the first son here mentioned varies considerably in different copies. The majority have Har-roz Shāh, but the St. Petersburg copies have Bīrūz [Fīrūz?], Nīmroz, and Pīr Shāh, respectively. This last name is confirmed by other authors, as will be mentioned farther on. The name of the fourth also is written Azarlū, Arzalū, and Uzurlū. The whole of these names are omitted altogether in most copies of the text. Other writers say he had seven sons, three only of whom attained sovereign power. Guzīdah mentions their names as follows:—Āḳ Sultān, Azlaḳ [one copy, Ūzlīḳ], Kurjī [one copy, Būjī, Yāfa'ī has Kūjīe] Tigīn [?], Ughūl Malik, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn [Pīr Shāh], and Rukn-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī Shānastī. See note [2] above. Yāfa'ī mentions another, Tīmūr Malik. See note [3], page 285.

[4] Nothing of the kind: our author commences this reign with a totally incorrect statement. He was engaged in the siege of Turshīz when the news of

circumstance, he returned to Khwārazm, and assumed the throne; and, in the year 595 H.[5], he brought the dominions of his father under his own jurisdiction.

He conferred the throne of Nīshāpūr upon his brother, 'Alī Shāh [6], as has been already stated; and despatched an envoy to the Courts of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, and sought for peace; and I, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, heard from one of the trustworthy [persons] of the Maliks of Ghūr the statement, that one of the messages and requests of Sultān Muhammad was this[7]:—"I, Muḥammad-i-Takish, who am their ser-

his father's death was received, and another week would have been sufficient to have taken it His father's ministers kept the matter secret, and sent off to acquaint Sultān Muḥammad of it. He concealed the matter from his army, and, feigning illness, prepared to retire The Mulāḥidahs sent him valuable presents, and offered an additional sum of 100,000 *dīnārs* as tribute The Sultān proceeded to Sharistānah, performed the funeral ceremonies of his father, and set out with all haste for Khwārazm This is a most important reign, and such events as our author has related—a number of most important ones have been passed over—are either incorrectly stated, or moulded to the glorification of the Ghūrīs hence the notes here will be found, I fear, voluminous, and, were I to notice every thing, I might almost fill a volume.

[5] Not so his father died in Ramazān, 596 H, and Sultān Muḥammad ascended the throne in Shawwāl of that year

[6] See note [2], page 251

[7] This statement is ridiculous, and totally unworthy of credit, moreover, the events which follow prove the contrary No sooner had the Sulṭāns of Ghūr and Ghaznīn obtained information of the death of Sulṭān Takish, "than the devil," as one of the authors from whom this extract is taken says, "excited their envy and ambition, and they, without loss of time, despatched a force to Marw under Muḥammad-i-Kharnak, whilst they followed at the head of an immense force, including ninety great elephants like mountains in appearance." On reaching Ṭūs they plundered and devasted the country, and slaughtered the people, and then marched to Shād-yākh The Sulṭān's brother, Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh, who had lately returned from 'Irāḳ, happened to be there, and the Ghūrīāns obtained possession of the place by capitulation, a tower having fallen from the number of spectators in it, which they took as a good omen This our author turns into a miracle in the account of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, who, by his account, was a miracle-worker This was in Rajab, 597 H The place was given up to plunder, and 'Alī Shāh, the Sulṭān's officials, and the chief men of the place, were inhumanly treated and sent off with the garrison to the capital of Ghūr By the fall of this place the Ghūrīs acquired temporary possession of the whole country, as far as Busṭām and Jūrjān This effected, the brothers left a strong force at Nīshāpūr [Shād yākh was a portion of that city, or rather a fortified suburb] under Malik Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, and Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn repaired to Hirāt, and Shihāb ud-Dīn into the Kuhistān against the Mulāḥidahs of that part, and afterwards returned to Hirāt likewise. As soon as Sulṭān Muḥammad heard of these troubles in Khurāsān, he, in Ẓī-Ḥijjah of the same year [597 H], set out at the head of his troops, and early in 598 H encamped before Shād yākh After some skirmishing outside, the

vant, make this request, that the Sulṭāns would be pleased to accept my services, and, although I am not possessed of the worthiness of being a son, it behoveth that the Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, should take to wife my mother, Khudāwandah-i-Jahān, and that he should accept me, Muḥammad-i-Takish, as his son and servant, in order also that I, his servant, may, by the name on the coin[8] of that august monarch, and the Khuṭbah of that sovereign of exalted dignity, conquer the whole world; and, for the servants of the Court of the Sulṭāns—the asylum of the world—draw the sword, and become one of those servants."

When this overture had been delivered, the purport coincided with the inclinations of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, but did not accord with the sentiments of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn [the person chiefly interested], and he declined to ratify it[9]. The latter Sultān assembled his troops, and marched into Khurāsān, and subdued the whole of that territory, but, when he subsequently set out on his return, Sultān Muḥammad brought an army, and again recovered Khurāsān.

Whenever the Sulṭāns of Ghūr [and Ghaznīn] used to march into Khurāsān, Sultān Muhammad used to retire [as they advanced] to the distance of two or three marches before them, and when they fell back he would follow them up at the distance of two or three marches[1]. In

Ghūrīs retired within the walls "like mice to their holes," and the battering-rams were placed in position, and the ditch filled, when the Ghūrīs capitulated. They were treated honourably, and sent back to Ghūr "with dresses of honour, in order to show the Ghūrīs how to treat fallen foes." The Sulṭān, after this affair, directed that the walls of Shād-yākh should be razed. All these events certainly look as though Sulṭān Muḥammad had solicited the Sulṭāns of Ghūr to accept his vassalage. After this the Sulṭān proceeded to Marw and Sarakhs, which last mentioned place was held by his nephew, Hindū Khān, and held by him for the Sulṭāns of Ghūr and Ghaznīn. On the approach of his uncle Hindū Khān fled to Ghūr, but, as the governor in charge of Sarakhs refused to open the gates, Sulṭān Muḥammad left a force to take it, and continued his march to Khwārazm by way of Marw to prepare for a campaign against Hirāt. In Ẓī-Hijjah of that year he encamped in the plain of Rādakān, and having mustered his forces, both Turk and Tājzīk, he commenced his march, and in due time his tents were pitched in sight of Hirāt.

[8] The text differs here in some copies. Some have "by the name *and* coin," others "by the name *of the* coin," &c., both of which are meaningless.

[9] Not desiring to be roasted in a bath. His first title was Shihāb-ud-Dīn.

[1] The reader would imagine, from the above, that the Ghūrīān Sulṭāns were

short, he never sustained a complete overthrow, and he used to give proofs of his skill and bravery, but, as those Sultāns were monarchs of great power and magnificence, he was unable to cope with them effectually.

When the Sultāns of Ghūr died, Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, appeared before the gates of Hirāt[8], and

in the constant habit of invading Khurāsān; but the facts are mentioned in the preceding note [7], page 255

[8] Any one reading the above would imagine that Hirāt sustained *one* siege only by the Khwārazmī forces during this reign, and that one *after* Shihāb-ud-Dīn's decease, and our author, whose idea of epitomizing events appears to have been to leave out three out of four, or combine three into one, has done the latter here Hirāt sustained no less than three sieges, and one of these occurred before the death of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and the second long before the death of Shihāb ud-Dīn The first occurred at the close of 598 H, upon which occasion, the Khwārazmī army having invested it, after the battering-rams had been freely plied on either side, the governor, 'Izz-ud Dīn, 'Umr, Maiaghanī, a man of experience, saw no other remedy than to submit He sent his son to the Sultān's presence, and the terms were agreed upon, and a large sum of money was paid as ransom

Hearing of the investment of Hirāt, the Sultāns of Ghūr and Ghaznīn made all haste to endeavour to relieve it, and recover what they had lost in western Khurāsān, and Shihāb-ud-Dīn, at the head of a large army, advanced by way of Tāl-ḳān for that purpose Sultān Muḥammad thought it advisable to retire, which he did, and proceeded towards Marw by way of Marw-ar-Rūd When he reached Sarakhs he halted, and negotiations went on between him and the Ghūrīs, who sought the cession of some portion of Khurāsān, the details of which are too long for insertion here These events took place in 599 H

Shihāb-ud-Dīn, shortly after, however, heard of the death of his brother, and he hastily withdrew from Khurāsān, leaving Muḥammad Kharnak, the greatest of the Ghūrī nobles, and the champion of Ghūr, to hold Marw The latter, however, having been overthrown by a body of Khwārazmī troops, threw himself into that place, but it was captured, and his head was struck off and sent to the Sultān at Khwārazm.

This success so greatly elated the Khwārazmī nobles and ministers that they advised the Sultān to march again against Hirāt, and to take possession of it, whilst the Ghūrīs were fighting among themselves about the late Sultān's inheritance, as the Hirātīs would receive him with open arms In the month of Jamādī-ul Awwal, 600 H —Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn had died in the previous year [some say he died in 598 H, and others in 597 H]—the Sultān appeared before Hirāt for the *second* time, and, after immense stones had been poured into the bāzārs and streets of the place, negotiations for surrender were again opened by Alb-i-Ghāzī, the governor, sister's son of the two Ghūrīān Sultāns, and after stipulations had been entered into for the safety of life and property, and the payment of a large sum of money, the place was given up

Some years passed between this affair and the next investment of Hirāt, during which time Shihāb-ud-Dīn invaded Khwārazm, and had to beat a precipitate retreat, particulars of which will be found under his reign farther on Shihāb-ud-Dīn had subsequently entered into a treaty of peace with Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and had been assassinated, Khwārazm Shāh had

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain-i-Kharmīl, Ghūrī, came out and paid homage to him; and the Sultān brought all Khurāsān under his sway. When, by his command, Ḥusain-i-Kharmīl was seized by his troops, a Khwājah of Hirāt, named Sa'd-ud-Dīn, a native of Tirmiz, succeeded in getting away from the [Khwārazmī] army, and threw himself into

annexed the Ghaznīn territory, and the successor of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn had acknowledged Sulṭān Muḥammad's suzerainty *before* the next investment of Hirāt took place, on which occasion the waters of the Harī rūd were dammed up, and 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain-i-Kharmīl, one of the Ghūrīān nobles, had in the meanwhile become Wālī of Hirāt and its dependencies, which he held of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of the late Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn. Kharmīl, being suspicious of the upshot of the affairs of Ghūr, sent to the Sulṭān repeatedly tendering his allegiance to him. The Sulṭān was occupied with the affairs of Khiṭā-ī at the time, and could not proceed to Hirāt, as Kharmīl solicited him to do, and to take possession of it and its dependencies. At length the Sulṭān set out for Khurāsān, and, having taken possession of Balkh by the way, he marched by way of Jazūrān to Hirāt. He entered it in Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 607 H. After this Maḥmūd of Ghūr acknowledged his suzerainty, and read the Khuṭbah, and coined money in the Sulṭān's name, and sent him costly presents, including *a white elephant*. Kharmīl was continued in the government of Hirāt with a salary of 250,000 gold *dīnārs* yearly out of the revenues of Khurāsān.

After the Sulṭān returned to Khwārazm, and became occupied in the affairs of Khiṭā-ī, and a rumour had spread abroad that the Sulṭān had been taken prisoner by the Khiṭā-īs, Kharmīl became disaffected, and began intriguing with the Ghūrī ruler, and again coined money in his name [from this it would appear that the governor of every province had a mint, or rather coined money, at the provincial capital], and apologized for the past, but the Ghūrīs, being enraged at his past conduct, resolved upon hostility, and determined to try and oust him from Hirāt, and advanced with an army towards it. Kharmīl, who in the meantime had heard of the Sulṭān's safety, fearing the consequences of his acts, and in order to palliate them, called upon the Khwārazmī nobles stationed in eastern Khurāsān to aid him in resisting the Ghūrīs. They came to his assistance with a body of troops, and, after oaths and stipulations of safe-conduct, Kharmīl came out, and in combination they routed the forces of Ghūr, and this blow quite broke the little power still possessed by them. The Khwārazmī nobles now wrote to Sulṭān Muḥammad, saying that Hirāt was like a forest, and Kharmīl like a lion within it, and thought the time propitious for getting rid of him. They kept on good terms with him until the Sulṭān's reply reached them, after which they invited him to a consultation. When the council broke up, the Malik of Zawzan, Ḳawām-ud-Dīn, invited Kharmīl to his quarters to a feast and drinking bout. He excused himself under plea of want of leisure. Kawām-ud-Dīn seized his bridle as though determined to take no denial, and gave a sign to the rest of the nobles and chiefs along with him, who drew their swords, dispersed Kharmīl's followers, and dragged him on foot to their tents. He was sent away a prisoner to the fortress of Salomad of Khowāf [another historian says "of Zawzan." it is probably the Salā-Mihr of our author, see page 283], and his effects were seized, and a short time afterwards his head was sent to Khwārazm.

the city, and, for a period of eleven months, he continued to hold the place[3].

The Khwārazmī army, by a contrivance devised by Ḥusain-i-Kharmīl, dammed up the water of the river of Hirāt above the city, and all round became like unto a sea; and matters assumed such an aspect, that, if the city had not been entirely surrounded by walls, the water, which rose higher than the housetops, would have overwhelmed it. As it was, upon one or two occasions the ground opened in the middle of the city, and water issued forth from the midst, but it was diverted [and the danger obviated]

For a period of eight months hostilities continued between the defenders of the city and the Khwārazmī forces in boats[4]; and, when eleven months of the investment had passed, Sulṭān Muhammad i-Takish arrived[5] from Khwārazm, and gave directions that the dyke [which kept the water in] should be opened, and, when the water flowed out, it carried along with it about three hundred

[3] The steward or deputy in Kharmīl's employ, Zaydī by name, a man of acuteness and cunning, managed to throw himself into the fortress, seeing the state of affairs, and shut himself up there He was joined by Kharmīl's followers and all the vagabonds and rascals of the city, among whom he distributed the wealth in Kharmīl's treasury, and defied the Khwārazmī forces It so happened that the Sulṭān, on account of the disaffection of a relative of his mother, who held the government of Shād-yākh, had come into Khurāsān at this juncture, and had reached Sarakhs on his return Zaydī now began to fear the consequences of his temerity, and to plead as an excuse that he could not place any confidence in the Khwārazmī nobles for his safety, and that he was merely awaiting the arrival of the Sulṭān at Hirāt to give it up This the nobles communicated to the Sulṭān, and solicited him to come He did so, and, on being made acquainted with Zaydī's doings, his anger was so much kindled, that *he ordered that the waters should be dammed up* When the waters had accumulated sufficiently the dam was opened, the waters rushed in, and one of the principal bastions fell The ditch near was filled up with trees and rubbish, and rendered practicable for the troops, and one day, whilst Zaydī was entertaining his vagabond followers, the Khwārazmī soldiers planted the Sulṭān's standards on the walls, rushed in, slew them, and carried the place. Zaydī sought to get away unnoticed, but was seized, and dragged before the Sulṭān by the hair of his head After this the Sulṭān directed that plunder should cease, and the shops were again opened, and thus was Hirāt freed from the tyranny of Zaydī and his gang As Kharmīl had been put to death some time before, his having advised the damming up of the Harī-Rūd is, like many other of our author's statements, purely imaginary

[4] Boats are not mentioned in all the copies

[5] Two paragraphs before this our author states that Sulṭān Muḥammad appeared before the gates of Hirāt and invested it, but now says quite differently

ells of the walls of the city, and a breach was thereby effected; and, after fifteen days' fighting, the city was taken by assault.

After this success the Sultān marched to Balkh, and gained possession of that place likewise; and Malik 'Imād-ud-Dīn, 'Umr, Fīwārī[6] [native of Fīwār], who was governor of the province of Balkh, on the part of the Sulṭāns of Bāmīān, was sent away [as a prisoner] to Khwārazm From thence the Sultān set out towards Māwar-un-Nahr and Turkistān, and the whole of the Maliks and Sultāns of the Afrāsiyābī dynasty, who held territory in the countries of Māwar-un-Nahr and Farghānāh, presented themselves before him

He then turned his face towards Ḳulij[7] Khān of Khitā-ī,

[6] In some copies he is called Malik Imād ul-Mulk, Āhwāzī, and in some it is stated that he *went*, in others that he was *sent*, and in others that he was *taken* Balkh was surrendered *before* the last investment of Hirāt, as mentioned in the preceding note Imād-ud-Dīn, having been found acting perfidiously, instead of being put to death, was removed from the government of Balkh and sent to Khwārazm, and was employed elsewhere

[7] Our author has misplaced the order of these events and related them incorrectly, as well as confounded one with another After the death of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud Dīn, Ghūrī, in 602 H, Sulṭān Muḥammad, having no cause for anxiety respecting the safety of his dominions in Khurāsān, turned his attention to Māwar-un-Nahr, which had remained in subjection to the infidels of Khitā-ī since the defeat of Sulṭān Sanjar The chiefs of that territory had repeatedly solicited him to deliver them from the yoke of those infidels, and, being quite weaned and disgusted with the constant arrivals of agents from Gūr Khān demanding payment of the tribute, which he had purposely kept in arrears, and which his father, Takish, had agreed to pay to the sovereigns of Khitā-ī for assistance rendered to him against his brother, Sulṭān Shāh, he now readily acceded to these requests, considering himself powerful enough to ignore all future payments, which he had long considered dishonourable to his sovereignty

Bukhārā at this time was held by a mean upstart named Sanjar Malik It was annexed, and the upstart met with his deserts The Sulṭān then despatched an agent to 'Uṣmān, Sulṭān of Samrḳand, of the race of Afrāsiyāb, and of the family of Bughrā Khān, the antagonist of the latter Sāmānīān princes He was already disaffected towards Gūr Khān, for he had solicited the hand of a daughter of the latter, and had been refused, so he became secretly a zealous ally of the Sulṭān This was in 606 H, and, after consulting with the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns—as 'Uṣmān had been hitherto styled—and his chiefs, Sulṭān Muḥammad returned to Khwārazm to prepare for the campaign

In the eastern parts of Gūr Khān's dominions, his great vassals at this period began to act rebelliously, and Kojlak [called Koshlak and Kūshlak by some writers, but not Kashlū, as our author writes it], son of Tāe-nāk [also written Tayā-nak] Khān, the Nāemān ruler, who had fled from the power of Chingiz Khān, and had sought Gūr Khān's protection, was at his court, and ready to take advantage of any outbreak against his protector

and, throughout the territories of Khiṭā-ī and the country of Turkistān, as far as Bilāsā-ghūn and Kāshghar, the Khuṭbah was read for him, and the coin was impressed with his name. The forces of Khitā-ī, which, in point of numbers, were beyond account and computation, advanced to encounter him. At the head of these forces was Bānīko of Ṭarāz, a Turk of great age and wisdom, but victorious in battle He had fought forty-five engagements, in the whole of which he had been victorious; and he had defeated Sulṭān Sanjar, son of Malik Shāh, and overthrown Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, before Andkhūd; and, at this time, he was at the head of that army

When the battle ensued, Sulṭān Muḥammad received divine succour and heavenly assistance, and overthrew the host of Khiṭā-ī, and took Bānīko of Ṭarāz prisoner, and he was converted to the true faith by means of the Sulṭān himself, and was treated with respect and honour[8].

Sulṭān Muḥammad thought this opportunity propitious, and such as he had long sought He accordingly marched to Samrḳand, and, being joined by 'Uṣmān and other vassals, set out to invade Gūr Khān's dominions, reached the Jīḥūn of Fanākat, and crossed Having advanced into the territory of Ṭarāz, the Khwārazmī forces found Bānīko [several writers call him Tānīko], of Ṭarāz—famous as Jai-tīmūr, son of Kaldūz, elder brother of Burāḳ, the Chamberlain, who subsequently usurped the government of Kirmān—the commander-in-chief of Gūr Khān's troops, at the head of a numerous, brave, and well-equipped army, drawn up to receive them An obstinate and bloody battle ensued, in Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 607 H., which terminated in the complete overthrow of the Khiṭā-ī forces Bānīko, of Ṭarāz, was wounded and taken, as related on the next page, and booty to a vast amount fell into the hands of the victors. This victory filled all the neighbouring rulers with fear and awe of Sulṭān Muḥammad's power, and he now assumed the title of "The Second Alexander"

In the previous year Māzandarān had been annexed, and in this same year [607 H] Kirmān was also added to his dominions Who Kulīj Khān was it would be difficult to tell, he is a totally different person to Kojlak [Koshlak], by our author's own account, and cannot be intended for Gūr Khān, as he mentions that ruler subsequently Kashlū is evidently mistaken for Kojlak. Bānīko, of Tarāz, was Gūr Khān's general, as stated above.

[8] How absurd, or rather deceptive, our author's statements are, compared with the accounts of writers who state facts, or who, at least, knew what they were writing about! Bānīko was wounded in this severe encounter, and was left on the field with only a slave girl standing over him A Khwārazmī soldier coming up was about to cut off his head, when the girl cried out to him not to slay him, for it was Bānīko He was taken accordingly to the Sulṭān's presence, and afterwards sent to Khwārazm as a trophy with the bulletin announcing the victory When Sulṭān Muḥammad returned to Khwārazm, on the termination of this campaign, he ordered Bānīko to be put to death, and

A reliable person among the trustworthy has related, that, when Bānīko of Ṭarāz became a Musalmān, Sulṭān Muḥammad was wont to show him great deference and respect, and used constantly to send for him, and was in the habit of questioning him respecting the past events [in the history] of Khiṭā-ī, and the previous Maliks [kings] who had fought with him in the forty-five encounters he had been engaged in, the whole of which the Sulṭān made inquiry about of him. Upon one occasion, when engaged in such conversation, the Sulṭān inquired of him, saying:—"In all these battles which you have fought, and amid the monarchs you have defeated, which among the whole of them was the most valiant and the sturdiest in battle?" Bānīko replied:—"I found none more valiant, more impetuous in battle, or more intrepid than the Ghūrī[9]; and, if he had had an army along with him refreshed and not worn out, I should never have been able to beat him; but, he had retreated before the army of Khwārazm, and but a small number of cavalry remained with him, and their horses had become thin and weak." Sulṭān Muḥammad replied:—"You speak truly." The mercy of God be upon them!

Sultān Muhammad having gained such a great success, the second year after, again assembled an army, and led a force of 400,000 effective cavalry, both horses and riders arrayed in defensive armour[1], into Khitā-ī, and completely

his body was cast into the river. There is not a word as to his having been converted to Islām. This was the "deference and respect" he received. What follows, as to the conversations about the Ghūrīs, must be taken at its true value. See also note [9], page 283.

[9] Here again we see the determination to glorify all things Ghūrīān. One of the oldest copies has "if his army and himself had been refreshed," &c. For a correct account of this affair, see the reign of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, otherwise Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, Section XVII.

[1] After the victory gained over Bānīko, the Sulṭān marched against the Malik of Utrār, who, notwithstanding the Sulṭān had invited him to sever his connexion with Gūr Khān, refused. His chiefs, however, on the approach of the Khwārazm-Shāhī troops, forced him to submit. He came out clothed in a winding sheet, and with a sword hanging about his neck, but was pardoned on the understanding that he should be removed together with his family, kinsmen, and dependents to Nisā, in Upper Khurāsān, and Sulṭān Muḥammad placed a governor of his own in Utrār. After this, the Sulṭān returned to Samrḳand, and bestowed a daughter in marriage upon Sulṭān 'Usmān, and leaving an intendant of his own at Samrḳand, returned to Khwārazm. It was at this time that he gave orders to put Bānīko to death, and ambassadors

overthrew Gūr Khān, who was the Great Khān of [Ḳarā] Khiṭā-ī. The whole of the horses, camels, and other

from all parts hastened to tender their masters' submission; and it was at this period that disaffection showed itself at Jund among the remaining vassals of Ḳādir Khān [called Ḳadr Khān by our author, and some few other writers, who appear to have copied from him], and therefore Sulṭān Muḥammad did not rest long at his capital, but put his forces in motion and marched to Jund. After exterminating those rebels, Sulṭān 'Uṣmān and his family took up their residence in Khwārazm, and some authors state that he was soon after, in the year 609 H., put to death Having disposed of the affairs of Jund, information reached the Sulṭān that 30,000 of Gūr Khān's troops had appeared before Samrḳand, and invested the city

The Khiṭā-ī forces used their utmost endeavours to take it, but their incessant attacks were of no avail The Sulṭān was hastening his preparations to relieve it, when the Khiṭā-ī forces were recalled to act against Kojlak, the Nāemān, who was now making head again The Sulṭān marched to Samrḳand, and, having been joined by additional forces from various parts, set out from Samrḳand against A'naḳ [or I'nāḳ, or Ighnāḳ ?], the ruler of which was in alliance with Gūr Khān He had been summoned to submit to the Sulṭān upon very favourable terms, but, trusting to the strength of his fortress, refused. A force was detached against him, and he was compelled to submit

The Sulṭān, who had heard of Kojlak's successes, became more ambitious than ever, and Kojlak entered into secret negotiations with him, and incited him to another invasion of Gūr Khān's territory The agreement was, that whoever could first dispossess Gūr Khān of the territories of Kāshghar and Khutan as far as the Jiḥūn should have them, and, in case the Sulṭān did so, Kojlak was to have the remainder Gūr Khān, having obtained information respecting the Sulṭān's movements, also prepared to oppose him.

The Sulṭān had traitors also in his camp Two of his great vassals, the governor of Samrḳand, and the Aṣfahed [also written Asfahed, the title borne by the Maliks of Ṭabaristān and Rustamdār], despatched agents to Gūr Khān secretly, and offered to desert the Sulṭān with their troops on the day of battle, if, in case of success, the former should have Khwārazm and the latter Khurāsān assigned to him as the price of his treachery This was guaranteed and on the day of the engagement, when the ranks of the two armies were drawn up in array, the left wing of the Khiṭā-īs attacked the right of the Khwārazmīs; and, as agreed upon, the two nobles with their troops, who appear to have been stationed in the right wing, retired from the field, and the Sulṭān's right wing was forced back and broken In the meantime, the latter's left wing broke the right of the Khiṭā-īs and routed them, and the centres of both armies fell upon each other The wings on either side began to plunder, and neither party knew whether they were the conquerors or conquered It was usual with the Sulṭān to disguise himself on the day of battle, by dressing in the costume of the enemy and on this occasion, in the utter confusion which ensued, the centres of both armies having become disengaged from each other, the Sulṭān got mixed up with the enemy's troops, and not being recognized by his attendants, for some days he was in the greatest danger in the very camp of the enemy Finding an opportunity, however, he succeeded in getting away, reached the river of Fanākat, and restored fresh life to his troops. The news of the Sulṭān's disappearance, however, had spread into all parts of his dominions Some said he had been killed, some that he had been

cattle, baggage, and followers of the army of Khiṭā-ī were captured, and the Great Khān retreated discomfited before him Suddenly Kashlū Khān, the Tatār, who had come from Turkistān, fell upon Gūr Khān, attacked him, and made him captive, and the whole of the dominions of Khiṭā[2] were left in the possession of Sulṭān Muḥammad-i-

made prisoner, for no authentic account had been received, and the ambitious were ready to take advantage of it

As soon as he joined his army, messengers were sent out into all parts to intimate his safety, and the Sulṭān returned to Khwārazm to prepare for a fresh campaign It was on the occasion of the Sulṭān's disappearance, that Kharmīl of Hirāt became disaffected, and began intriguing with the Ghūrīs

The Khiṭā-ī troops on their retreat through their own territory slew and plundered their own people, and devastated the whole country until they reached Bilāsā ghūn, called Ghū-bāligh, by the Mughals. On reaching that city they found the gates closed against them, for the inhabitants made sure that Sulṭān Muḥammad would annex that part, and that he must be following Gūr Khān's troops with his army, and therefore refused to admit them. All the promises and oaths of Gūr Khān and his Wazīr were of no avail, and the place was attacked and defended for sixteen days, in expectation of the arrival of the Khwārazmī troops. At last it was taken and given up to plunder and massacre, which went on for three days and nights, and a vast amount of booty was taken by the troops

Two or three writers mention these occurrences *immediately after* the first defeat of Gūr Khān's troops, when Bānīko was taken, but this is impossible, as, very shortly after the sacking of Bilāsāghūn, Gūr Khān was seized by Kojlak, and his dynasty terminated after it had lasted ninety-five years The cause of it was this —Gūr Khān II —for he was the second of the name—was desirous of enriching himself and replenishing his coffers, by making his nobles and chiefs disgorge the booty they had acquired by the sacking of Bilāsā-ghūn and country round This caused great disorders, which Kojlak becoming aware of, and finding that Gūr Khān had been almost deserted by his troops, suddenly surrounded his camp Kojlak treated him with respect, but possessed himself of great part of his territory This took place in 610 H., and two years after Gūr Khān was put to death—some say he died

Most works are, more or less, defective with respect to the Sulṭān's campaigns against Gūr Khān, and dates are not often mentioned The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā only mentions *one* battle, others mention two; but Guzīdah says there were three battles in all, but gives no details Here, I regret to say, my excellent guide, Yāfa-ī, which gives full details of two battles, already mentioned, becomes somewhat abrupt with respect to the affairs of Gūr Khān, and, possibly, there may be an hiatus in the MS, as, from the context, a third and more decisive battle is implied, and it must have been after a third encounter that Bilāsā-ghūn was sacked, and Kojlak was enabled to seize the person of Gūr Khān The second encounter took place in 610 H, and Faṣiḥ-ī, under the events of 612 H, mentions that, in that year, Sulṭān Muḥammad acquired sway over the whole of Māwar-un-Nahr, which had continued in the possession of the infidels of Ḳarā-Khiṭā-ī, and the Mughals, since Sulṭān Sanjar's defeat. On the other hand, however, most writers state that Gūr Khān was taken prisoner in 610 H, and died in 612 H

[2] Gross exaggeration, as shown by the notes.

Takish. The Sulṭān of Samrḳand, and the Afrāsiyābī Sulṭāns, he directed should be removed from Sàmrḳand[3], and some of them were martyred.

From thence [Samrḳand ?] Sultān Muhammad advanced into 'Irāk, and the territories of 'Irāk, Āẓarbāījān, and Fārs fell into his hands. He took the Atā-bak Sa'd captive in battle, as has already been stated, and the Atā-bak Yūz-bak was likewise put to flight[4]. He placed his son, Sultān

[3] All the copies, except one of the oldest, are minus the words "from Samrḳand" Our author inverts the order of most of the events of this reign, as the previous notes show

[4] Our author, on a previous page, has mentioned the hostility existing between the 'Abbāsī Khalīfahs and Sulṭān Takish, Muḥammad's father, and the arrival in Ghūr of ambassadors from Baghdād to negotiate with the brothers, Sulṭāns Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn and Shihāb-ud Dīn, and his own father's return to Baghdād along with them, and, likewise, the Khalīfah's continued enmity towards the son of Takish also No sooner had Sulṭān Takish died, than the Sulṭāns of Ghūr and Ghaznīn hastened to take advantage of the Khalīfah's recommendation, notwithstanding our author's absurd statement at page 255 He was too orthodox a Musalmān, of course, to mention such a horrid circumstance as the Khalīfah, Un-Nāṣir's, despatching an agent to the infidel Chingiz Khān, prior to the period of this expedition into 'Irāḳ, inciting him to make war upon Sulṭān Muḥammad—a Musalmān, and of which faith he [Un-Nāṣir] was himself the patriarch and head ! It was upon this occasion that, fearing to send a letter, the communication addressed to the traitor Muḥammad, Yalwāj, the minister of Chingiz, was written or rather tattooed [there is a precisely similar story in Herodotus] on the agent's shaven head The hair was left to grow over it before he was despatched, lest even that mode of communication might be discovered Among other causes of hostility was this —The Sulṭān's flag, borne by the kārwān of pilgrims to Makkah, was placed behind that of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, of Ālamūt, the Mulāḥidah heretic, lately turned orthodox, and another was that the Khalīfah borrowed, so to speak, several Fidā-īs [volunteers, or disciples rather, of the head of the Mulāḥidahs are so called] from the former, intending to despatch them to assassinate the Sulṭān, and had sent some of these disciples to murder the Sharīf of Makkah, but, instead, they assassinated his brother Further, when Sulṭān Muḥammad acquired possession of Ghaznīn, after the death of Tāj-ud-Dīn, I yal-dūz [styled Yal-dūz, and Yal-duz by some], in 611-12 H, and gained possession of the treasury of the late Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, a document was found therein, from the Khalīfah to the Ghūrīān Sulṭāns, urging them to hostility against him [Muḥammad], which accounted for the persistent hostility of the brothers towards him, notwithstanding our author's ridiculous statement referred to above At length, in 613 H, the Sulṭān, having sufficient excuse, obtained the necessary decree from the chief ecclesiastic of his dominions, issued a proclamation to the effect that as long as a descendant of Fāṭimah lived the Abbāsīs had no right to the Khilāfat, and that the then Khalīfah was to be considered dethroned. His name was omitted from the Khuṭbah and the coin, and the name of Sayyid 'Alā-ul-Mulk [some few call him 'Alā-ud-Dīn] of Tirmid, a lineal descendant of Imām Husain, was inserted instead, and he was to be considered as the rightful Khalīfah.

Rukn-ud-Dīn, styled Ghūrī Shānastī, on the throne of 'Irāḳ, and appointed Ulugh Khān-i-Abī Muhammad, his Atā-bak and Lieutenant; and the Maliks of Ghūr were directed to proceed into that territory[6].

Sulṭān Muḥammad now left 'Irāk, and set out on his return to Māwar-un-Nahr, but, turning suddenly off from

The Sulṭān assembled an army accordingly for the purpose of proceeding to Baghdād, ousting Un-Nāṣir, and placing Sayyid 'Alā-ul-Mulk in his place.

On reaching Damghān, Sulṭān Muḥammad found that the Atā-bak Sa'd, ruler of Fārs, with an army, had reached Rai with hostile designs against the territory of 'Irāḳ He pushed on without delay, and at once attacked him. The troops of Shīrāz were broken and overthrown at the first onset, and Sa'd was taken prisoner The Sulṭān was for putting him to death, but Sa'd, having made interest with the Malik of Zauzan, was admitted, through him, to the Sulṭān's presence Sa'd was released on the agreement to give up two of the strongest fortresses of Fārs, one of which was Iṣṭakhur, and to pay one-fourth of the revenues as tribute Faṣiḥ-ī states that this took place in 603 H.; but Yāfa-ī and Guzīdah say it happened in 613 H , while Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, Khulāṣat-ul-Akhbār, and some others, say in 614 H It is somewhat strange that Sa'd did not attempt to shake off the yoke and break the treaty after the disasters which befell the Sulṭān soon after, if the two latter dates be the more correct. Sa'd made over his son Zangī as a hostage and was allowed to depart, as already related, see page 176 and page 177, note [3]

At this same time the Atā-bak Yūz-bak, ruler of Āẕarbāījān, had also marched from that territory with the object of invading 'Irāḳ, and had reached Hamadān The Khwārazmī forces advanced against him, but, on their reaching Hamadān, Yūz-bak decamped The Sulṭān's nobles urged pursuit, but that monarch refused his sanction, saying that it would be a bad omen to take two kings in one year, so Yūz-bak got safely back to his own territory As soon as he did so, however, he sent envoys with rich presents to the Sulṭān, and acknowledged his sovereignty

In the meantime, the advance of the Sulṭān into 'Irāḳ had filled Un-Nāṣir and his people with terror Un-Nāṣir despatched an agent to Hamadān to endeavour to deter him by remonstrances and threats, but found them of no use with the Sulṭān with 300,000 horse at his back, who was resolved to persist. When he reached the Ḥulwān Pass [the town of Asad-ābād] it was autumn, and, whilst there encamped, he encountered a heavy fall of snow, which rose even higher than the tent walls, and nearly the whole of the cattle of his army, and a great number of men, perished This was the first disaster he had ever met with, and he had to abandon the expedition and return to Hamadān When the cold season drew towards a close, he thought it advisable to retrace his steps He returned to Rai, and remained in that part for a little while to repair his losses and reorganize his forces, and arrange the affairs of that territory He was on his return from thence, where he had left his son, Rukn-ud Dīn, in charge of the government, when a messenger reached him from the governor of Utrār, intimating the arrival there of a number of Tatār spies, as he termed them, with a large amount of valuable property For details see farther on

[6] To serve with their contingents. They were subordinate then

the banks of the river Jazār[6], he pushed on towards Bāmiān, and, suddenly and unawares, pounced upon Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn 'Ali, son of Sām, ruler of Bāmiān, seized him, and martyred him, and then returned [to Khwārazm].

In the year 612 H., Sulṭān Muḥammad advanced from Māwar-un-Nahr and came to Ghaznīn, and suddenly and unexpectedly possessed himself of the Ghaznīn territories likewise. Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, retired towards Hindūstān[7] by the way of Sang-i-Sūrākh, and the countries of Ghaznīn, Zāwulistān, and Kābul, as far as the banks of the Sind, came under the jurisdiction of the Khwārazmī nobles. The Kh'ān-sālār [the Sewer of the imperial household], Kuriz[8], was stationed at Ghaznīn, and the countries of Ghūr, Ghaznīn, the Bilād-i-Dāwar [Zamīn-i-Dāwar], Jarūm, and the throne of the two Sultāns, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, sons of Muhammad-i-Sām, was conferred, by the Sulṭān, upon his eldest son, Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, after which he himself returned to Māwar-un-Nahr.

In the year 615 H, he pushed on towards Turkistān in pursuit of Ḳadr Khān[9], who was the son of Yūsuf the Tatār, and penetrated as far as Yighur[1] [I-ghūr] of Turkistān, so far to the north, that he came under the North Pole, and reached a tract where the light of twilight did not disappear at all from the sight, and, to the vision, in the direction of the north, the glow seemed merely to incline [change over] from the west to the east, and the light of dawn appeared and the day broke

The matter was accordingly referred to the 'Ulamā and Muftīs of Bukhārā respecting the obligation to repeat the last prayer at night[2], [question being asked] to this effect:—

[6] In most copies this part of the sentence is left out altogether The name is also written Jowār

[7] I-yal-dūz [or Yal-dūz] was taken prisoner and put to death by I-yal-timish in 611 H, before the Sulṭān entered the Ghaznīn territory.

[8] This name differs considerably in some copies of the text

[9] There is no expedition against any ruler styled Ḳadr Khān mentioned by other writers at this period, for it was in this very year that the Sulṭān fled from the Mughal invaders Our author has evidently lost himself again At page 254, he says the Sulṭān's mother was the daughter of Ḳadr Khān of Ḳifchāḳ, and he, incorrectly, styles the governor of Utrār by the same name; and thus no less than *three* Kadr Khāns are mentioned

[1] All the copies of the text are somewhat at variance here with respect to this name, but it is mentioned again farther on, and is quite plain in several copies

[2] Prayer before retiring to rest, repeated some two or three hours after sunset.

As the light of twilight did not disappear at all, whether the prayer before sleep was necessary or not? They, with one accord, wrote a reply, that the prayer before sleep was not necessary, when the prescribed time for it could not be found with the people inhabiting such region[3].

Ḳadr Khān, the Tatār, having in this expedition been overcome, the calamity of the infidels of Chīn arose, and the darkness of the night of sedition and tumult showed its head from the mantle-collar of actuality, and was the beginning of dire misfortunes to the true faith, and the commencement of calamities and afflictions upon the Muḥammadan people That circumstance occurred after this manner:—Chingiz Khān, the Mughal, had a son, the eldest of all his sons, Tūshī[4] by name. At this time, this

[3] Having noticed in the month of June at St Petersburg that the light did not leave the sky during the whole night, and being desirous of discovering as nearly as possible how far north of the Sīḥūn the Sulṭān may really have penetrated, as the territory of Tarāz is the most northern tract reached by the Sulṭān, according to Yāfa-ī, I referred the paragraph to the Rev Robert Main, M A, Radcliffe Observer, at Oxford, and to the kindness of that gentleman I am much indebted for the following explanation —

"It is usually considered that twilight exists as long as the sun is not more than 18° below the horizon, and hence we shall readily find that the *lowest* latitude which will have twilight all night, at midsummer, will be 48° 30′ (= sun's solstitial N P. D − 18° = 66° 30′ − 18°) As we go northwards, of course the twilight will continue longer, till, at the Arctic circle, the sun does not set on midsummer-day

"I presume, therefore, that the Sulṭān's expedition was towards the north, and the time not far from midsummer, and, from the expressions used, he must have been getting into rather high latitudes, where the sun, after dipping for a little while, would soon transfer the twilight glow from the west to the east It would appear also that the Sulṭān and his army had never seen this phenomenon before, by their apparent surprise at it, and by his sending for advice concerning the evening prayer"

From the above remarks it would also further appear, that Sulṭān Muḥammad could not have had any people in his army who had ever been so far north before, and he and they were so much surprised that they concluded [or, rather, our author concluded] that they must be "under the North Pole" It also seems strange that he should see the necessity of writing to Bukhārā for advice, since we might suppose that the people of Khwārazm would have been aware of the fact of this phenomenon

The territory of Tarāz lies between 46° and 49° N lat.

[4] Also called Jūjī This affair took place a considerable time *after* the merchants had been put to death, and *subsequent* to the Sultān's return from 'Irāḳ, and, of course, our author has put it *before* See note [2], page 272 Whilst delaying at Samrḳand, intimation was brought to Sulṭān Muḥammad that Tūḳ-Tughān, one of the chiefs of Turkistān, of the tribe of Takrīt, was retreating before the Mughals towards Ḳarā Ḳuram, the *locale* of the Kankulī tribe, and that he,

Tūshī, by command of Chingiz Khān, his father, had come out of the territory of Chīn, in pursuit of an army of Tatārs, and Sulṭān Muḥammad, from Māwar-un-Nahr and Khurāsān, had likewise pushed on in the same direction, and the two armies fell in with each other.

A battle ensued between them, and the fighting, slaughter, struggle, and conflict, continued and was maintained from the beginning of the day until the time of

with some troops, had turned his steps in the direction of Jund. The Sulṭān now moved from Samrḳand towards Jund, by way of Bukhārā, to guard his own territory, and prevent their entering it, but, hearing that they were pursued by a numerous army of Chingiz Khān's, under the leadership of his son, Jūjī or Tūshī, the Sulṭān again returned to Samrḳand, and taking with him the remainder of his forces, previously left there, advanced with great pomp at the head of a large force to Jund, thinking, as the author from whom a portion of these extracts are taken says, "to bring down two birds with one arrow" [In the meantime, in 615 H, Kojlak had been overthrown by Chingiz, and slain.] He pushed on [from Jund] until he reached a place in Kāshghar, lying between two small rivers, where evidences of a late conflict, in the shape of fresh blood and numerous dead bodies, were discovered Search was made, and one among those who had fallen was discovered to be still alive From information gained from the wounded man, it was found that Chingiz Khān's troops had there overtaken Tūḳ-Tughān and his followers, who had been defeated and put to the sword, after which Jūjī and his Mughals had set out to rejoin his father Hearing also that the Mughals had only marched that very day, the Sulṭān pushed on, and by dawn the next morning came up with them, and at once prepared to engage them The Mughal leaders were not willing to fight, saying that they had been sent in pursuit of prey, which they had already entrapped, and had not permission from Chingiz Khan, but that they could not retire if the Sulṭān should attack them, and, at the same time, advised that he should not make matters worse than they were already between himself and Chingiz Khān, by any fresh act of hostility Sulṭān Muḥammad's good star was on the wane, and he attacked the Mughals, who stood their ground manfully The right wings of either army, as is often the case in eastern as it has frequently been in western battles, broke their respective opponents, and the Mughals at last attacked the Sulṭān's centre, and forced it back some distance The Sulṭān was in some danger, when his gallant son, Jalāl ud Dīn, who had been victorious on the right, charged the Mughals in flank, and saved the centre from defeat The fight was maintained with great obstinacy until night came, when each army retired to a short distance, confronting each other The Mughals lighted an immense number of fires to deceive the Khwārazmīs, and decamped quietly during the night, and set out to join the camp of Chingiz, who was hastening his preparations for the invasion of the Sultān's territories The Sulṭān halted on the field for a few days, and, after this occurrence, his mind, already much changed, appears to have given way entirely, and, having with his own eyes witnessed the vigour and tenacity of the Mughals, he became filled with apprehensions and misgivings, and retreated to Samrḳand without attempting anything more Irresolution and bewilderment now marked all his proceedings For further particulars, see page 274 and note [1]

evening prayer, and the ranks of both the armies assumed the form of a circle The right wing of the Musalmān forces routed the left wing of the infidels, and pursued after them; while the right wing of the Mughal infidels routed the left wing of the army of Islām and pursued it, and, in this manner, the armies assumed the form of a circle This battle was maintained from the dawn of day, and, when night came, the two armies separated from each other, and withdrew to a short distance There was a small stream of water between them, and the two armies halted, facing each other, on the banks of that stream and bivouacked. When the morning broke [it was found] that the Mughal army had marched away They had lighted great fires, and had decamped, and left them burning

Sultān Muhammad having thus witnessed and beheld with his own eyes, in this encounter, the warlike feats, the activity, and the efforts of the Mughal forces, the next day retired from that place, and fear and dread of them took possession of his heart and mind, and he never again came against them This was one of the causes of the miseries and troubles which befell the people of Islām

The second reason was this When Chingiz Khān broke ou into revolt in the land of Chīn, and Tamghāj, and the Greater[5] Turkistān, and Altūn Khān of Ṭamghāj, who was sovereign of Upper Turkistān, and the lineal monarch of Ḳarā Khitā-i[6], was overcome by him, and the territories of Ṭamghāj, Tingit, and Yighur [Ī-ghūr], and Tatār, all fell into his hands, the news of these successes having come to the hearing of Sultān Muḥammad, his mind became filled with ambition [for the possession] of Chīn, and he became desirous of obtaining authentic information respecting the forces of the Mughals, and the condition of Chingiz Khān Accordingly, the most excellent Sayyid, Bahā-ud-Dīn, Rāzī[7], with a party of other persons, were despatched on a

[5] Or, Upper Turkistān the original word will serve for either

[6] For our author's further and more detailed account of Chingiz Khān's proceedings, see last Section of this work

[7] Probably Aḥmad, Khujandī, is the person whom our author has mistaken here, but I am rather inclined to think that this "excellent Sayyid" can be no other than the Badr ud Dīn referred to by Guzīdah, who was the chief Dīwān in Sulṭān Muḥammad's service, and who became suspicious and disaffected on some account or other, and fled and took service with Chingiz For account of further proceedings of this arch-traitor, see note [1], page 274.

mission to Chīn[8], and, when these agents reached that country, Chingiz Khān sent trustworthy and confidential persons of his own, bearing numerous rarities as presents to Sultān Muḥammad.

I heard from the Sayyid Bahā-ud-Dīn—the mercy of the Almighty be upon him!—[who said:—] "When we reached the presence of Chingiz Khān, the accursed, the Wazīr of Tamghāj, and the son and the uncle of Altūn Khān, were brought in, and we were summoned. Then, turning his face towards them, Chingiz said:—'Behold, my affairs and my sovereignty have attained to such a pitch of grandeur,

Be this as it may, our author differs wholly from other writers here. I have only space for a few details. A person named Aḥmad, a merchant of Khujand, and two others, with a considerable quantity of merchandize suitable for the purpose, set out for the great camp of Chingiz Khān. At this time he had reduced under his yoke most of the nomad tribes of Mughalistān and Turkistān—Tatārs, Mughals, Ī-ghūrs, and others—and a portion of Chīn and Ma-chīn. The merchants were well received and liberally treated. Subsequently, Chingiz directed his sons, the great nobles, and others, to despatch servants of their own with merchandize into the territory of Sultān Muḥammad, to accompany Ahmad of Khujand and the others on their return journey. A large party of merchants, numbering about 450, Musalmāns it is stated, left Chingiz Khān's territory with property of immense value, and set out, accordingly, for the Sultān's dominions. At the same time, Chingiz Khān sent three agents of his own to the Sultān, intimating the despatch of these traders with the object of purchasing merchandize suitable for his camp; and, further, to state that he had reduced the refractory around him to subjection and considerable tracts under his sway, and that, in place of estrangement and distrust, intercourse and confidence might arise between them; that merchants and traders might be free to go and come; that their subjects and dominions might be secure and open to each other's people; and that they might aid and assist each other under any circumstances that might arise. When they reached Utrār on the Sīḥūn, the frontier capital of the Sultān's dominions in that direction, the governor, Anīāl-juk by name, a kinsman of the Sultān's mother, who bore the title of Ghā ir Khān [not Kadr Khān, as our author states], being offended at the impertinence of one of Aḥmad Khujandī's party,—said to have been a Hindū—who addressed him in too familiar a style; and his cupidity likewise being excited by the arrival of all this treasure and valuable property brought by the merchants, sent off a messenger to the Sultān, announcing the arrival of a number of spies of the Tatār, Chingiz, on their way into Īrān, and asked permission to put them to death and confiscate their property.

The Sultān, whose mind was already disquieted at the successes of Chingiz, deceived by the perfidious message of Ghā ir Khān, and his temper still ruffled at the disaster he had so lately sustained, without thought or consideration most unfortunately gave his consent. The merchants, numbering about 450 Musalmāns, including Chingiz's messengers, were put to death, with the exception of one person, who eventually escaped, and told the tale to Chingiz; and the whole of their property was confiscated.

[8] Most of the MSS. are defective here, and do not contain the last sentence.

that the monarch of the [empire of the] setting sun has sent envoys unto me.' In short," said the Sayyid, "when he sent us away, he requested that envoys on both sides, and merchants, and kārwāns, should constantly come and go, and bring and take away with them choice descriptions of arms, cloths, and stuffs, and other articles of value and elegance of both empires, and that between the two monarchs a permanent treaty should be maintained."

He despatched merchants along with the envoys of Sultān Muhammad, with about five hundred camel-loads of gold, silver, silks, and targhū [a description of woven silk of a red colour], together with other precious and valuable commodities, that they might trade with them. They entered the territory of Islām by way of Utrār.

At that place, there was a governor named Ḳadr Khān[9], and he sent an account to Sultān Muhammad respecting the importance and value of the merchandize, and solicited permission from him, in a perfidious manner, to stop the party of merchants. Having obtained permission to do so, he seized the envoys and the whole of the merchants, and slew them, and took possession of all their property, and sent it to the Sultān's presence. Of that party, there was one person, a camel-driver, who had gone to one of the [public] hot baths, and he succeeded in making his escape by way of the fire place. He, having taken to the wilds, returned back to Chīn, and made Chingiz acquainted with the perfidious conduct of Ḳadr Khān of Utrār and the slaughter of the party[1].

Chingiz Khān prepared to take revenge[2], and he caused

[9] For his correct name and title, see preceding note[7]. At page 254, Kadr Khān is said, by our author, to have been the name of the ruler of Kifchāḳ, and, at page 267, we have another Kadr Khān, son of Yūsuf the Tatār. This is a *third*.

[1] From our author's account of the putting the merchants to death, one would imagine that Chingiz Khān marched *without the least delay*, but a considerable time elapsed between that unfortunate act and the appearance of the Mughals before Utrār. The first took place in 614 H., and the second in 616 H.

[2] As soon as Chingiz became aware of this outrage, he despatched an envoy [some say, envoys] calling for redress for Ghāir Khān's perfidy, and demanding that the latter should be delivered over to him, to punish according to the Muhammadan law of ḳiṣāṣ, but, as Ghāīr Khān was related to many of the chief officers of his troops, the Sultan was powerless to comply, even had he so desired, and, in an evil hour, gave orders to put the envoy to death likewise. The rage of Chingiz knew no bound: he collected his troops to

the forces of Chin and Turkistan to be got ready for that purpose Trustworthy persons have related, that, at the place where he then was, seven[3] hundred banners were brought forth, and under every banner one thousand horsemen were arrayed Every ten horsemen were directed to take with them three dried[4] Mughali sheep, and an iron cauldron, and he set out on his way.

From the place where Chingiz was at this period, to the boundary of Utrār, was a three months' journey through the wilderness, and, along with his hosts, he despatched horses, mares, and geldings, without number, to supply them with milk, and for riding The journey through the wilds was got over in a short time[5], and he issued forth on the Utrār frontier, and that fortress and city was taken, and

take revenge, and, according to a few authors, even despatched another envoy to announce his coming, but he took care in the first place to quell all disorders in his own dominions

The Sultān having disposed of the affairs of 'Irāk, and having left his son, Rukn-ud-Dīn, in charge of the government of the province—nominally, it must be understood, for Rukn-ud Dīn was only in his fifteenth year—set out for the purpose of proceeding into Māwar-un-Nahr On reaching Nīshāpūr, on the 8th of Shawwāl, 614 H, contrary to his wont, he gave himself up to wine and women After delaying there more than a month, on the 10th of Shabān, he marched to Bukhārā, and, it being spring, pitched his tents in the pleasant meads near that city Having given himself up to pleasure there also for some time, he assembled the troops of that part, and determined to move against Kojlak, who had been extending his dominions to the territories towards the head of the Sīḥūn, and marched to Samrkand, after reaching which the same infatuated course of pleasure was followed It was at this time that, hearing of the movement of Tūk-Tughān [the Taknā Khān of some European authors and translators] of the tribe of Makrīt, the Sultān advanced towards Jund, and the engagement with the troops of Chingiz took place, which our author has related, out of its proper order, at page 268 For a correct account of that battle see note [4] to the page referred to

[3] In two or three copies "three," but seven hundred is the more correct number

[4] Sheep's or goat's flesh salted and dried in the sun, called "lāndaey" by the Afghāns

[5] One or two copies of the text have "in three months," but the majority have "in a short time" Utrār was, however, taken after *five months* When the Sultān retired to Samrkand, after the encounter with Tūshī, he had a force of 400,000 men The greater part of these was left in Māwar un-Nahr and Turkistān, 50,000 men were detached to Utrār to join Ghā-īr Khān, and when report followed report of the advance of Chingiz, 10,000 more were sent to reinforce Ghā-īr Khān, under the Ḥājib, Karājah On reaching Utrār, Chingiz pushed on to Bukhārā, after leaving a force to invest the former place, which was not the first that was captured, as our author makes it appear. Faṣiḥ-ī says he reached it on the last day of Zī-Hijjah, 616 H, and entered it the following day

the whole of the inhabitants were martyred. From thence Chingiz Khān marched towards Bukhārā; and, on the day of the Festival of the Sacrifice[6], 10th of the month Ẕī-Ḥijjah, in the year 616 H., he captured the city, and martyred the whole of the inhabitants, put the 'Ulamā to the sword, and gave the libraries of books to the flames. They have related that the Imām-zādah, Rukn-ud-Dīn—the mercy of the Almighty be upon him!—when they were martyring him, repeated the following lines:—

"I said, that my heart said, 'It is murder committed by us[7].'
I said, my soul said, that 'It is the carrier away of us.'
I said, that 'Thy powerful dog has fallen on me.'
It [my soul?] said, 'Thou shouldst not draw breath, for it is brought upon ourselves[8].'"

Chingiz Khān, after the catastrophe of the city of Bukhārā, marched towards Samrkand, in which city Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, had stationed 60,000 horse, fully equipped and furnished[9], consisting of different races of Turks, Ghūrīs, and Khurāsānīs, together with the Maliks and troops of Ghūr, who were all included among that body of troops. After a few days, on the 10th of the month of Muharram, 617 H., Samrkand was also captured, and the whole of the inhabitants were martyred[1].

[6] Abraham's offering up of his son Isaac.

[7] That is "it [viz. this fact] is murder committed by us," in the sense, as it were, "we have done for ourselves."

[8] These four lines are with difficulty translatable or intelligible, nor do the various texts enlighten us. Generally it seems a mere amplification of "we're undone," or "I'm undone." The first two lines are apparently the expression of the inner consciousness. The third line is the man's summary judgment. The fourth line is the reproof of conscience again, that he should spare his words. The latter part of the second line might be translated "the tearer of our curtain [honour]."

[9] Yāfa-ī says the Sultān only left 30,000 men to garrison Bukhārā, and that 110,000, among whom were some of the greatest of his nobles and leaders, were left at Samrkand, and that 60,000 Tājīks [the forces of Ghūr], each of them a Rustam in valour, were stationed in other fortresses.

[1] When the Sultān left Samrkand, dispirited and hopeless, he set out, by way of Nakhshab, towards Khurāsān. As he proceeded, he told the people of the places he passed by the way, to shift for themselves and provide for their own safety. Swift messengers were also despatched to Khwārazm, to tell his mother, to take with her all his family and effects, and proceed towards Māzandarān. Before doing so she caused all the state prisoners there, and such as were supposed ambitious of sovereignty, to be cast into the Jīḥūn. See page 279.

The Sultān's apprehensions and irresolution caused the utmost confusion in all state affairs, and, as if this was not enough, some astrologers began to

When the accounts of these disasters came to the hearing of Sultān Muḥammad, the forces, then along with him before the gates of Balkh, consisted almost entirely of Tatār and Khitā-ī troops, whilst his own old soldiers and vassals had been left behind by him in Māwar-un-Nahr, and those people, on whom the most implicit trust and confidence could be placed, were also all away in those parts. The troops who were along with him [now] conspired together to seize him, and to make that act of perfidy and treachery the means of their own deliverance, and, having seized the Sulṭān, to take him and deliver him over as an offering to Chingiz Khān[2].

declare that the stars prognosticated his downfall, and that he would be unable to apply himself to any measures for effective opposition to the enemy His chief men and his sagest ministers were paralyzed at all these misfortunes The most experienced among them in the world's affairs urged that it was hopeless to attempt to preserve any hold over Māwar-un-Nahr, but that the utmost efforts should be directed to the preservation of Khurāsān and 'Irāḳ, to concentrate all his available forces, and raise the whole people to arms, to make the Jīḥūn their ditch, and defend the line of that river Others, craven-hearted, advised his going to Ghaznīn, there to raise troops and make a stand, and, if unsuccessful, make Hindūstān his rampart The latter advice the Sulṭān proposed to follow, and he came as far as Balkh with this object, when 'Imād-ul-Mulk, who had great influence over him, arrived from 'Irāḳ, from Rukn-ud-Dīn, the Sulṭān's son 'Imād-ul Mulk, who was a native of that part, advised the Sulṭān to retire into 'Irāḳ, and assemble the forces of that country to oppose the Mughals The Sulṭān's eldest son, Jalāl-ud Dīn, who had often before entreated his father to adopt vigorous measures, now again protested, and entreated his father to concentrate his troops, as far as lay in his power, and advance to meet the enemy, but, if his heart would not permit him to do so, to proceed into 'Irāḳ, and leave the troops with him, that he might hasten to the frontier and attack the invading hordes, and see what Providence willed, that he himself, at least, might be exonerated before men "If fortune favour me," he said, "I will carry off the ball of desire with the Chaugān of Divine aid, but, if fortune favours me not, neither will the finger of reproach be pointed at us, nor the tongue of malediction curse, and the world will not be able to say —'They have collected taxes and tribute from us for so long, and at a time like this they renounce our affairs, and abandon us to be captive to infidels'" This counsel he continued to urge, and burned to receive his father's consent. All was of no avail the Sulṭān's panic was so great that the sage advice of his son was considered the mere lispings of an infant

[2] The Sulṭān left Balkh with the object of retiring into 'Irāḳ, and with this intention was encamped on the bank of the Tirmid river [the Jīḥūn], when news of the fall of Bukhārā reached him, and, very soon after, that of Samrḳand also He now gave up all hopes of preserving his dominions The majority of the troops with him then—and they were not numerous, and were in a disorganized state—were Turks of the tribe of his mother and her kinsmen, called Ūrānīān, and, during the confusion and distraction which had now arisen,

One of the party, however, presented himself before Sulṯān Muhammad, and told him all about the plot. The Sulṯān kept his own counsel; and, at night, he left the camp, in order to test beyond a doubt the perfidy of the conspirators. At midnight the party drew near to the imperial pavilion, formed a cordon about it, and completely surrounded it. Not finding him within the tent, they came upon the camp at that untimely hour[3], and the whole army fell into utter disorder and confusion. Sulṯān Muhammad was forced to fly, and set out towards Nīs͟hāpūr, and wrote mandates to the Amīrs and Maliks in every part of his dominions, commanding them to put the fortresses of K͟hwārazm, G͟hūr, K͟hurāsān, and 'Irāḳ in a posture of

they conspired against him. One of the Sulṯān's own ministers, the Dīwān, Badr-ud Dīn, previous to this, had fled, and had entered the service of C͟hingiz. Not satisfied with this, he had forged letters, as though the Sulṯān's nobles had written, tendering their services to the Mug͟hal chief, and urging him to hostility against their sovereign; and also forged replies, as coming from C͟hingiz, promising them aid and assistance. These letters were made over to a spy, with instructions to let them fall into the hands of the Sulṯān's trusted followers. This caused suspicion to arise between the Sulṯān and his nobles; and, having been warned by one of them of the meditated treachery of the troops, he left his pavilion that very night, and changed his place of repose. The mutinous troops, in the night, took to their bows, and the next morning the pavilion was found like a sieve from the holes made by the volleys of arrows discharged into it. Finding, however, that the Sultān was safe, and their object discovered, these disaffected troops dispersed, and finally joined C͟hingiz. The Sulṯān now began to suspect his nobles, along with him, and they were mostly sent away, on some duty or other; and he then set out for Nīs͟hāpūr with all haste, and the greater part of his forces dispersed. On the way, he urged the people of the places he passed through, to see to their fortifications and means of defence, which filled them with perplexity and fear, and rendered easy matters difficult. On reaching Kalāt, near Tūs, he was induced to consent to make a stand there—it is a place of great strength, the upper part of which was said to be seven leagues round, and capable of an energetic defence [it is a valley, so to say, enclosed within lofty hills, Nādir considered the position so strong that he deposited his treasures there]—and to erect fortifications there. Some of the Sulṯān's effects were removed thither accordingly, and provisions were collected. This, however, was also abandoned; and, on the 12th of Ṣafar, 617 H., the Sulṯān reached Nīs͟hāpūr, where he abandoned himself to pleasure—if such can be so called—more than ever, for he considered that fate was against him, and all state affairs were abandoned. Whilst thus occupied news reached him, in the following Rabī' ul-Āk͟hir, that an army of Mug͟hals under Yamah Nū-yān, Sabtāe, and Tag͟hājār [some authors say Jabah Nū-yān, Swīdāe Bahādur, and Tūḳjar, the first some European authors call "Hubbe"], and other leaders, had, after the fall of Buk͟hārā, crossed the Jīhūn at Tirmiz, in Rabī'-ul Awwal, in pursuit of him. He left Nīs͟hāpūr without delay, and fled by way of Isfarāīn to Rai.

[3] The words "at that untimely hour" are contained in one MS. only.

defence; and throughout the empire of Islām disorder and tumult arose.

Chingiz Khān, having received information of the disorganization and dissolution of the army of Sultān Muḥammad, after the capture of Samrkand, nominated a force of 60,000 Mughal horse, which was placed under the command of two Mughals, chiefs of high rank, one of whom was Yamah Nū-īn, and the other Sahūdah Bahādur, to proceed in pursuit of the Sultān When this force had passed over the river [Jīhūn], the Sultān retired from Nīshāpūr, and set out towards Māzandarān, and his camp was pitched at the top of the Darah or Pass of Tamīshah[4], when the Mughal troops came upon him The Sultān was obliged to fly from thence, and entered the hills on foot, and got away, and, going from one range of hills to another, entered Māzandarān[5] The son of the chief of Māzandarān,

[4] Only a single copy of the texts collated gives this name correctly

[5] Any one reading the above would imagine that the Sultān proceeded *direct* from Nīshāpūr into Māzandarān, but such was not the case, he took a much longer circuit, as already shown When he reached Rai news came to him from Khurāsān that a strange army had reached it, which report made him regret the haste he had shown in coming into 'Irāḳ He left Rai accordingly, and proceeded to the fortress of Ḳazwīn [some say Kārūn], at the foot of which his son, Sultān Rukn ud-Dīn, was encamped, with an army of 30,000 'Irāḳīs The Sultān sent his other son, Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, and his mother, and some of the ladies of his family, to the fortress of Ḳārūn-dujz for safety, and his own mother and the rest of the family to I-lāl, a fortress of Māzandarān He was advised by the Amīrs of 'Irāk to take shelter at Shīrān-koh, and there concert measures and assemble troops, and oppose the Mughal army which was in pursuit of him Again he declined, saying that it was not safe, and could not be defended against the Mughals, and this disheartened his followers still more He was advised by some to start that very hour Between Luristān and Fārs, they said, was a range of mountains, called Tang-Talū, after they had passed which they would enter a rich country, and could take shelter there, collect troops, and, in case the Mughals should arrive, be ready to encounter them Whilst considering this advice, which he thought good, news arrived from Rai of the Mughals having reached it, and now his followers began to desert him, as is the nature of the world, and to seek their own safety and interests Almost deserted, the unfortunate monarch set out with his son, Jalāl ud-Dīn, and with scarcely any followers, for the fortress of Ḳārūn-dujz, whither he had previously sent Ghiyāṣ ud Dīn and his mother and the ladies of his family On the way he was actually overtaken by the Mughal advance, but the smallness of his party led to their not recognizing him They gave them, however, a volley of arrows, which wounded the Sultān's horse, but it brought him safely to Ḳārūn He only stayed one day, and, after providing a fresh horse, made off in the direction of Baghdād The Mughals appeared before Ḳārūn, which they attacked, and fighting went on as long as they thought the Sultān was there, but, finding this was not the case, and that he

who had joined him, was in attendance on the Sultān, and his own son, Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, was also with him Sultān Muhammad embarked on the Sea of Khurz [the Caspian], and for a considerable time he continued on an island therein, in distress and affliction.

had set out towards Baghdād, they followed on his tracks They came up with a small body of his party, who acted as a rear guard, and slew them, but the Sultān having changed his route—he had found shelter in a fortress—they missed him, and at last gave up the pursuit Having remained a few days at the latter place, the Sulṭān set out towards Gīlān, and then on to Asdār, where what remained of his treasures was lost He then entered the district of Āmul His family had reached that part, and had taken shelter in its strongholds The Mughals were in pursuit, however, and he, having consulted with the chief men of those parts, it was determined that the Sulṭān should seek refuge for a time in one of the islands of the Sea of Khurz, named Āb-i-Sugūn

[A few words may not be out of place here respecting this island and its name An old writer states that it was the name of an island [one of several], and of a small town of Tabaristān, in the district of Astarābād, three days' journey from Gurgān or Gūrgān, called Jurjān and Jūrjān by Muhammadans, who change the *g's* to *j's* according to the 'Arabic custom, and that it was also the name of a considerable river, which formerly came from Khwārazm [the Oxus, but more probably the river of Gurgān or Jurjān], and fell into the Sea of Khurz—the Caspian When this river approaches the sea, it flows very slowly and quietly, hence its name, Āb-i Sugūn, the tranquil or quiet river Some, however, say the place where the river enters the sea was called by this name The islands in question, for there were several, were situated near the river's mouth That on which the Sultān took refuge, and where he died, has long since been swallowed up by the sea The Introduction of the Zafar-Nāmah says the sea is called Āb-i Sugūn, and the island on which the Sulṭān took shelter, Āb-gūn]

The Sulṭān, having taken shelter on one of them, moved occasionally, for safety's sake, and well he did, for a party of Mughals did actually come to the first island in search of him after he had left it The army of Mughals under Yamah Nū yān and others, who had reached Rai in pursuit of him, had returned on not finding him there, and invested the fortresses of Kārūn and Ī-lāl, in which his mother and wives and children had taken refuge, and soon took them The males were all slaughtered, even the infants, and the females were sent to Chingiz's camp The thoughts of the dishonour of the females of his family, the slaughter of his children and his servants, and the miseries of his country, afflicted him to such a degree that he died of a broken heart, and in great misery, in one of the islands above mentioned, and was there buried So great was the distress of the party, that his son, Jalāl ud Dīn, could not procure even a winding-sheet to bury him in, and he had to be consigned to the grave in part of the apparel which he had on at the time of his death Subsequently, however, Jalāl ud-Dīn removed his father's remains from the island to the fortress of Ardas [?]. The Mughals, some time after, gained possession of this place likewise, and they exhumed his remains, and burnt them That the Sultān died *on his way to* Khwārazm is like many other of our author's statements He never left the island alive His death filled Islām with distress, and this event took place in Shawwāl, 617 H

The Mughal troops, not finding the Sultān in the province of Māzandarān, passed out of it, and entered 'Irāk, on which Sultān Muhammad, with the few horsemen who still continued with him, left the island, but he was prostrated with disease of the bowels, and melancholy supervened, and he became quite out of his mind. He urged his son, Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, saying:—"Endeavour to take me to Khwārazm, for from thence was the commencement of our dominion." These lines, also, he often repeated:—

"When men become distracted about their own affairs,
Than that, it will be better that the thread of life were sever'd."

When his disease increased, he was totally unable to ride on horseback, and camels were procured for him, and he was placed in a camel-litter, and they sent him off towards Khwārazm. He died on the road, in the year 617 H.; and Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn brought his father's remains to Khwārazm, and buried them by the side of Sultān Takish, his father. Sultān Muhammad's reign extended over a period of twenty-one years. May the mercy of God and His pardon be on him!

XI. KUTB-UD-DĪN ARZALŪ SHĀH, SON OF MUHAMMAD, SON OF TAKISH, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH.

Kutb-ud-Dīn, was the son of Sultān Muhammad, and his mother was a kinswoman of his father's mother, and of the family of Kadr Khān of Kifchāk, and he was the heir-apparent to the throne of Khwārazm[6].

When the calamities consequent on the irruption of

[6] The name of this young prince is written in various ways—not only in our author's text, but also by other writers—Azīlāk, Arzāk, Ūzlāk, Arzalū, and Arzalāk, the last seems the most correct. Certain it is that he was not heir-apparent to the Khwārazmī empire. The word Shāh or Sultān *affixed* to his other name signifies that it was not his *title* as sovereign, but merely one of his names. Other writers, with whom I am acquainted, do not account him as a ruler at all. It was through the influence of Turkān Khātūn, Sultān Muhammad's mother, that this boy, of very ordinary intellect, was set up at Khwārazm, during Jalāl-ud-Dīn's absence with his father. Arzalāk's supporters imagined, that, in case Jalāl-ud-Dīn should ascend the throne and establish his power, they would not be permitted to do as they liked, as was likely to be the case with Arzalāk Sultān as sovereign, and, as long as their objects were gained, they cared nothing for their country. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the Mughals met with little or no opposition.

Chingiz Khān arose, and Sulṭān Muḥammad was obliged to fly from the banks of the Jīhūn and the vicinity of Balkh, and retired to Nīshāpūr, the grandmother of Arzalū Shāh, the mother of Sultān Muhammad[7], and the people of Khwārazm, the Maliks, and the Amīrs, concerted together, and raised Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Arzalū Shāh, to the throne of Khwārazm, and the whole of them applied themselves to his service

The Sultāns and Maliks, from both the east and west, and of the countries of Īrān and Tūrān, who were imprisoned at Khwārazm, were all drowned in the Jīhūn, and not one of them was left alive, by the time that one of the sons of Chingiz Khān, Tūshī by name, with a numerous army, from[8] Māwar-un-Nahr, was nominated to march into Turkistān and Khwārazm[9] and arrived before the gates of the latter-named city

As Arzalū Shāh did not possess the power to oppose him, he took along with him[1] his dependents, his sisters, and mothers[2], the ladies of the Ḥaram of Sultān Muhammad, his father, together with the Khudāwandah-i-Jahān, his father's mother, and brought them into Tabaristān and Māzandarān, and threw himself into the fortress of Lāl in Ṭabaristān[3]

[7] Turkān Khātūn, the consort of Takish, the strong-minded woman, who roasted her husband

[8] All the copies of the text collated, with one exception, are defective here

[9] When Chingiz arrived at Utrār, he left a force to invest it, but pushed on with the bulk of his forces to Bukhārā, and it was only after the fall of Samrḳand that troops were sent against Khwārazm In the first place, he despatched his three sons, Tūshī [Jūjī], Uktāe, and Chaghatāe, with several *tumāns* or hordes thither, but, having quarrelled on the road, they came to blows, and a number of the Mughal troops were slain by each other Chingiz then recalled them, and Tūlī, his other son, was sent in command in their stead

[1] Other writers state, that after Jalāl ud-Dīn left Khwārazm for Khurāsān, as mentioned in note [6], page 286, which see, his brothers, Arzalāḳ Sulṭān, Āḳ Sulṭān, and two others, followed after him, escorted by a body of troops, to endeavour to induce him to return They did not overtake him, but encountered on their way the same body of Mughals their brother had so recently opposed and escaped from They were all taken and, with their followers, put to the sword

[2] The mothers of the different brothers of Arzalū [Arzalāḳ Sulṭān]—the other wives of his father, Sulṭān Muḥammad, and his grandmother are meant here

[3] See latter par of note [6], page 277 Alfī calls it the fortress of Lār jār.

When Tūshī, son of Chingiz Khān, appeared with his troops before the gates of Khwārazm, the people of the city [the troops quartered there] came forward to resist them, and fighting commenced; but, in the course of a very few days, Khwārazm was taken, and the inhabitants were martyred, and the whole city was razed to the ground, with the exception of the Kūshk-i-Akhjuk, which was the ancient palace, and the sepulchral vault of Sultān Takish, Khwārazm Shāh, which was allowed to stand; but all else was overthrown.

After this, Tūshī pushed on in pursuit of the dependents and ladies of Arzalū Shāh's family, captured them all, and martyred the whole of them. The mercy of the Almighty be upon them![4]

XII. SULTĀN RUKN-UD-DĪN, GHŪRĪ SHĀNASTĪ, SON OF MUHAMMAD, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH.

Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn was another of Sultān Muhammad's sons, and his birth took place on the night preceding the day on which Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Muhammad-i-Sām, Ghūrī, retreated from before the gates of Khwārazm in the year 601 H., and, on that account, he was named Ghūrī Shānastī, that is to say, "The Ghūrī Breaker."

When the territory of 'Irāk fell under the sway of Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, he conferred the throne of that country upon Rukn-ud-Dīn.[5] The daughter of Malik Ulugh Khān-i-Abī Muhammad, who was

[4] Most of the copies of the text are defective here: only three have the last paragraph, and, of these, but two appear correctly written.

[5] Rukn-ud-Dīn was younger than his brothers, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn; but, having acquired greater ascendency, the government of 'Irāk was conferred upon him, when his father left 'Irāk on his last expedition into Māwar-un-Nahr. Yāfi'ī says he gave himself up to excess—he was only fifteen—and his father had just become aware of his misconduct, when the Mughal troubles began. On the death of his father, the Amīrs of that territory became disaffected. He moved against them, reduced them, and gave them their lives, and overlooked their misdeeds, thinking kindness would be returned with gratitude. But, after a short time, finding he could not hold his own, he retired, after his father's death, accompanied by only a few followers, towards Kirmān. He reached Gawāshīr, and was subsequently joined by the chiefs and partisans of the Malik of Zawzan [Kawām-ud-Dīn, Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk, Abī-Bikr, son of 'Alī, Az-Zawzanī. His son, 'Izz-ud-Dīn, held Kirmān and its dependencies after his father's death, but he was removed,

a descendant of one of the paternal uncles of the Khwārazm Shāhs, was given him in marriage, and the father-in-law was made the Lieutenant of Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, by Sultān Muhammad, and the whole of the Maliks of Ghūr, and the troops of the Jibāl [of Khurāsān], were left to serve under him. When [his father], Sultān Muhammad, retired from the territory of 'Irāk, the Turks of 'Irāk, who were slaves of the Atā-baks, assembled [their troops] together, and gave him battle, but the Khwārazm Shāhīs gained the victory, in the year 614 H.

Rukn-ud-Dīn reigned in 'Irāk for a considerable period; and, when the Mughal troops reached that country, and tribulation befell the Musalmāns, the whole of the Khwārazm Shāhīs fell into captivity, in the year 617 H., and were, in all probability, martyred[6].

XIII. MALIK GHIYĀS-UD-DĪN, ĀK SULTĀN[7], SON OF MUHAMMAD, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH.

Āk Sultān was another of the sons of Sultān Muhammad; and, when the latter obtained possession of the throne of

and the government was conferred upon Rukn-ud-Dīn], who were in those parts. He divided the treasure, accumulated by the Malik referred to, among his followers, and advanced to Isfahān to endeavour to gain a footing in 'Irāk again. When he entered it, the Kāzī kept aloof, and Rukn-ud-Dīn thought it advisable to leave the city, and pitch his tents outside. He was soon attacked by the Kāzī's adherents, on a hint from their master, who slew 1000 of Rukn-ud-Dīn's followers, and lost many themselves. When the Mughals had disposed of other matters in Khurāsān, a force was sent against Rukn-ud-Dīn. He had given up all hope of acquiring possession of 'Irāk, and had retired to Fīrūz-koh, and the Tatār forces invested him therein. He held out for six months, at the end of which period he had to come down and yield. All the threats of the infidels could not induce him to bend the knee to their leader, and he was put to the sword, along with his followers and dependents, and the people of the fortress. This took place in 619 H., but some writers say it happened in 618 H., and others, in 620 H.

[6] Here, also, considerable difference occurs in the various copies of the text, and the style is different, as in several other places. Some have, "and the whole of them were martyred."

[7] Pīr Shāh bore the title of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and he was ruler [nominally] of Kirmān after the Malik of Zawzan, and his son. Āk Sultān was *never* put in charge of any territory whatever. Our author has perpetrated another great blunder here. Āk Sultān was killed at the same time that Sultān Arzalāk and two other younger brothers were massacred by the Mughals. See note [8], page 286.

Kirmān, and the *masnad* of Gawāshīr, he placed the Khwājah of Zawzan upon the throne[8] of Kirmān. After some years, the Khwājah of Zawzan died He was an excellent man, and founded colleges of great repute, and rabāts [hostels for travellers], and erected the fortress of Salā-Mihr of Zawzan

When he died, Sultān Muhammad had conferred the throne of Kirmān upon his own son, Āk Sultān , and he proceeded into Kirmān, and brought under his jurisdiction that territory as far as the sea-shore, and the frontiers of Mukrān[9] When the calamities caused by the Mughal

[8] Utter nonsense the Malik of Zawzan was merely governor on the part of the Sultān, and never ascended a "throne"

[9] Ghiyās ud-Dīn, Pīr Shāh, had been *named* ruler of Kirmān by his father, "but what help is there, when man's proposals chime not with destiny's disposals?" When the convulsions arose at the outset of the Mughal troubles, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn determined to proceed into Kirmān At this time, Shujā'-ud-Dīn, Abū l-Kāsim, who had held the government on the part of the son of the Malik of Zawzan, was acting as the Prince's deputy The "world being filled with tumult and sedition," he would not receive him, and the Prince was compelled to retire into 'Irāk, where he stayed a short time A party of his father's troops, which had remained in concealment, now joined him, and Burāk, who was a native of Karā-Khitā ī, also became his adherent He was a relative—some say a younger brother, some the son—of Bānīko of Tarāz, and had been converted to Islām, and had risen in Sultān Muhammad's service to the rank of Hājib , and some writers state that he had been nominated preceptor to the young Prince Be this as it may, on being joined by Burāk and his followers, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn marched into Fārs against the Atā-bak Sa'd [see note [4], page 266], who was routed Ghiyās-ud-Dīn and his forces committed great devastation in Fārs, after which he retired Burāk, however, being aggrieved with him for some reason, deserted Ghiyās-ud-Dīn one night, and set out with his adherents, intending to proceed by way of Kīch and Mukrān into Hindūstān, "to take service with I-yal-timish, ruler of Dihlī, who was also a native of Karā-Khitā-ī" On reaching the frontier of Kirmān, Shujā'-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Kāsim, who had been made governor of Gawāshīr for Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, but who had refused to receive him, was induced by some of the youths among his followers, who sought to plunder Burāk's party and carry off the "moon-faced Khitā-ī damsels" among them, to intercept Burāk by the way They came into contact at Rūdbār of Jīrfat, and, during the fight which ensued, a party of Turks, serving with Shujā'-ud-Dīn, went over to Burāk Shujā'-ud-Dīn was taken and put to death, and Burāk acquired power over Kirmān This was in the year 621 H Shujā'-ud-Dīn's son continued to hold the citadel until Jalāl-ud-Dīn arrived After his separation from Burāk, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn had taken up his quarters at Rai , and, when his brother, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, reached 'Irāk, after his return from Sindh, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn had joined him, had misconducted himself, and, finally, deserted his brother in an engagement with the Tatārs, and finally retired into Khūzistān See note [9], page 297. He then sent an agent to Burāk to tell him of his arrival there. Burāk pretended to be overjoyed , and, after oaths and pro-

irruption befell the empire of Islām, and Chingiz Khān became triumphant over Irān, a body of Khitā-īs, and some troops of Sultān Muhammad, along with Burāk, the Chamberlain, a native of Khitā, a newly converted Musalmān, proceeded into Kirmān, and contention and strife arose between them and Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn-i-Āk Sultān The latter, not being powerful enough to repel the Khitā-īs, out of necessity, left Kirmān and proceeded into 'Irāk to his brother, Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, leaving the Amīr, Shujā'-ud-Dīn Abū-l-Ḳāsim, in the city of Gawāshīr, which was the seat of government and capital of Kirmān, with the name of Deputy and Seneschal of the city.

Burāk, Khitā-ī, the Chamberlain, with a numerous army, appeared before the gates of Gawāshīr, and took up his position there, and contention went on between them, which continued for a considerable length of time, until the period when Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, marched from the land of Sind, by way of Mukrān, into Kirmān As soon as he arrived in the vicinity of the latter territory, Burāk, Khitā-ī, the Chamberlain, having obtained news of the coming of Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, proceeded to wait upon him, and pay him homage, and Shujā'-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Ḳāsim, likewise, came out of the city of Gawāshīr to pay homage to the Sultān[1]

When Sultān Jalāl-ud Dīn reached the city, he had but a small following with him, and, therefore, he became anxious with respect to Burāk, the Chamberlain, and made over the country of Kirmān to him as governor, and proceeded into 'Irāk himself After Burāk, the Chamberlain, had acquired possession of Kirmān, Āḳ Sultān, having

mises had been entered into by both parties, Ghiyāṣ ud-Dīn set out for Kirmān with about 500 followers, and Burāḳ came forth to receive him with a large following They got on well together for some time, until Burāḳ began to treat the Prince with great arrogance, and finally demanded his mother in marriage She gave a reluctant consent for the sake of her son Two kinsmen of Burāḳ's now became partisans of the Prince, warned him of Burāk's designs against him, and asked his permission to kill him Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, remembering his promises and oaths, refused. A few days after, Burāḳ became aware of all this, his two kinsmen were cut to pieces, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn strangled, and his mother and all their followers and dependents were put to death, every soul, even to the infant at the breast Burāḳ sent the head of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn to Uktāe, son of Chingiz, and obtained from the Mughal the investiture of Kirmān, which he held for eleven years, when it passed to his descendants

[1] His son came out and presented the keys of Gawāshīr to the Sultān

quarrelled with his brothers, in 'Irāk, returned again into Kirmān, and obtained martyrdom at the hand of Burāk, Khitā-ī, the Chamberlain, and died[2]

XIV SULTĀN JALĀL-UD-DĪN, MANG-BARNĪ[3], SON OF SULTĀN MUHAMMAD, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH

Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, was the eldest son of Sultān Muhammad, and was endowed with great heroism, valour, and high talents and accomplishments

When his father, Sultān Muhammad, acquired possession of the territories of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, he conferred them on Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and made over both those kingdoms to his charge, and deputies of his were placed in those countries Ghaznīn was given to Malik Kurīz[4], Fīrūz-koh was entrusted to Mubāriz-ud-Dīn, Sabzwārī, and the Wazārat was entrusted to Shihāb-ud-Dīn-i-Alb, Sarakhsī Karrmān was given to the Malik-ul-Umrā [Chief, or Noble of Nobles], Burshor[5] [Peshāwar ?] and Bū-bikrpūr [or, Abū-

[2] Ghiyās ud Dīn was murdered in the fortress of Gawāshīr in 627 H There is some discrepancy as to dates, which I have not space to discuss, but the former appears the most correct, as Burāk evidently took advantage of Jalāl-ud-Dīn's defeat, mentioned in note [9], page 297, to make himself independent, and would scarcely have dared to put his brother to death while Jalāl-ud-Dīn had the power to chastise him

[3] In one of the oldest copies of the text where the vowel points are given, he is called Mang-barnī, and was so styled from having a mole on his nose He was, according to Yāfa-ī, and other trustworthy writers, the greatest, the most noble-minded, the most warlike, and the most devout of the sons of his father, and most worthy of the diadem of sovereignty His valour rivalled that of Rustam and Isfandiyār, and he was able, skilful, and sagacious If there was any man in those days capable of coping with Chingiz successfully, it was he, and, from his subsequent heroic actions, there can be little doubt but that his efforts would have been crowned with success, if his advice had been acted upon, or he had had the direction of affairs, and had been seconded by his brothers, nobles, and subjects, with that unity of purpose so essential in the hour of danger His brothers, however, were selfish beyond measure, and cared for naught but their own interests and worldly pleasures and excesses, whilst Jalāl-ud-Dīn was kept in constant attendance upon his father, contrary to his own inclinations

[4] Possibly, Kurbuz The majority of copies are as above, but others have کرپز کرنر and کریز [?] all of which seem meaningless

[5] This *may* refer to Peshāwar, which was called Bagrām up to Bābar's time, but there is a place named Burshor [برشور], much farther south, between Kandahār and the Indus, and our author, in his account of Mahmūd of Ghaznīn, when referring to the idol-temple which fell at his birth, says it was near Barshābur [برشابور]—quite a different mode of spelling See page 76

Bikrpūr] were conferred upon Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Muhammad Alī-i-Khar-post

When the irruption of Changiz Khān occurred, Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, was in attendance upon his father, as has been previously recorded, and, when he brought his father's remains to Khwārazm and interred them, his brother [Arzalū Shāh] was seated on the throne of Khwārazm, although he was a [much] younger brother; and both the brothers were apprehensive of each other[6] Kutb-ud-Dīn, Arzalū Shāh, conspired against Jalāl-ud-Dīn, who, having obtained information of his design, came out of Khwārazm, and departed by the route of the wilds of Shāristān From thence he proceeded to the westward of Nīshāpūr, and entered the desert between Khurāsān and Kirmān, with the determination of proceeding to Ghaznīn[7]

[6] After his father had breathed his last and had been buried, Jalāl-ud-Dīn left the island of Āb-i-Sugūn with a few followers, and set out for Khwārazm, where were his younger brothers, Arzalāk Sultān, Āk Sultān, Tīmūr Malik, Aghūl Ṣāhib, and Kajāe Tigīn, with 90,000 Kankulīs He had vast difficulties to encounter from the confused state of affairs at that time, the successes of Chingiz and his sons, and from his own countrymen, who considered that the glory of the house of Takish had departed It may be as well to mention, that the following notes give a *consecutive* account of Jalāl-ud-Dīn's life

All men of experience, and the soldiery generally, were desirous of the sovereignty of Jalāl ud Dīn, and, although the most solemn agreement had been entered into by the two brothers not to injure or molest each other, the ill-disposed Amīrs of Arzalāk's party, who desired a weak and inexperienced Prince at the head of affairs for their own selfish purposes, combined to fall suddenly upon Jalāl-ud-Dīn and slay him He, finding such acts could be contemplated at such a time, and knowing the state of utter misery in which the country was now overwhelmed, considered it advisable to leave Khwārazm in the hands of his brother and his party, rather than weaken the little power still remaining by civil strife He determined to proceed, attended only by a small following, by way of Nisā to Shād-yākh [of Nīshāpūr] As it was, an army of Mughals had already reached the Khwārazm territory, and Jalāl ud-Dīn was closely pursued [near Astawah, according to Alfī,] by a portion of that horde, on his way to Shād yākh, and had great difficulty in effecting his escape His brothers—four in all—who had followed after him to try and induce him to return, or, more probably, because they could not stay any longer, fell into the hands of this band, and were all put to the sword See note [1], page 280

[7] Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn only remained two or three days at Shād-yākh, in order to get together as many men as possible, and, on the 12th of Zī-Hijjah, he set out quietly at night, by way of Zawzan, towards Ghaznīn, to the government of which part he had been nominated by his father The Mughals were close at hand, and he had not left more than an hour before they appeared before the place As soon as they found he was not there they set out in pursuit, and pushed on until they came to a place where two roads branched off At

Trustworthy persons have related, that Jalāl-ud-Dīn, in that desert, saw Mihtar Khizr[8], who foretold his sovereignty, but, under this compact, that the blood of no Musalmān should be shed by his hand From thence, Jalāl-ud-Dīn proceeded into the territories of Nīmroz, Bust, and Dāwar, and came to Ghaznīn[9]

Malik Khān of Hirāt, who formerly bore the name of Amīn-i-Ḥājib [Amīn-ul-Mulk ?][1], and had killed Muhammad Kharnak, Ghūrī, and who had, before the arrival of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, set out towards Hindūstān, at this time, that the Sultān came to Ghaznīn, likewise, joined him Chingiz Khān detached an army, from his Mughal following, in search of Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, towards Ghaznīn, and Fikū[2] Nū-yān,

this place the Sultān had left a small party of his followers, under an Amīr, with directions, in case of his being pursued, to resist the Mughals for a short period, to give him time, and then to take the other road This was done, and the Mughals, thinking they were on the Sultān's track, took the wrong road The Sultān on this occasion is said to have made a march of forty farsakhs without a halt

On reaching Zawzan he wished to enter and take some repose, and give rest to his horses, but admittance was refused, the excuse being, that, in case of attack by the Mughals, the people could not hold out the place for an hour, and that any attempt at opposition would bring vengeance upon them He, therefore, continued his route as far as Mābarn-ābād [?] He left that place at midnight, and at dawn the next morning the Mughals reached it They followed in the track of the Sultān as far almost as Yazdawīah [also called Zaudīah—Jezdoun of the maps ?], a dependency of Hirāt [about seventy-five miles s w of that city], and then abandoned the pursuit

[8] Another of our author's childish tales, certified by "trustworthy authorities"

[9] The Sultān, without further trouble, reached Ghaznīn, on the 17th of Zī Hijjah, 617 H Amīn Malik, called also Amīn ul-Mulk [he is styled Yamīn-ul-Mulk in Rauẓat uṣ-Safā and Habīb-us Siyar, and Yamīn Malik by Alfī], the governor, who had 50,000 men with him, came out to receive the Sultān, and both the troops and people rejoiced at his arrival, for the government of the territory formerly possessed by the Sultāns of Ghūr had been previously assigned to him by his father He encamped on the Maidān-i-Sabz of Ghaznīn, and, as soon as the news of his arrival spread abroad, chieftains and troops [who were in those parts previously, no doubt] began to flock to his standard from all parts around, and among the number was Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāk, with 40,000 men, Kankulīs, Khalj, and Turkmāns, and the Amīrs of Ghūr also joined him from the parts adjacent His affairs now assumed considerable grandeur and magnificence, and a large army assembled around him

[1] Some copies of the text, but they are those least to be depended upon, differ considerably here They have,—"Malik Khān of Hirāt, who was named Amīn-i-Ḥājib, at the outset of the events respecting Muhammad Kharnak, Ghūrī, before Jalāl-ud-Dīn had come into Hindūstān," &c. The correct name of this chief was Amīn Malik, and he is also called Amīn-ul Mulk

[2] In some copies Fikū

who was Chingiz Khān's son-in-law, was the commander of that force.

Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn advanced against the Mughal army as far as the limits of Barwān[3], and overthrew the Mughal

[3] Early in the spring of 618 H. he put his forces in motion, and advanced to Barwān. Having encamped there, he received intimation that a Mughal army, under Bak-chak and Yam-ghūr [these leaders are somewhat differently called by some writers—Kam chak, and Yighūr, Tamghūr, and even Balghūr], was pressing the siege of Wāmīān [Bāmīān, *w* and *b* being interchangeable], and that it was in danger of falling into their hands, if not speedily relieved.

[With regard to these places—the town and fortress referred to—I must here make a few remarks. The town, or position, of Barwān, is likewise called Parwān, Farwān, Bārān, and Barwān on the Āb-i Bārānī, by as many different writers. The letters *b*, *p*, and *f* are interchangeable. The two first are undoubtedly incorrect. Bābar and Abū-l-Faẓl call the upper portion of the Kābul river the "Āb-i-Bārānī," and, in my humble opinion, this proves the correctness of the situation of this place, as given by Baihakī, Yāfa-ī, and Jāmi' ut-Tawārīkh—which latter work also states that it lies on the "banks of the Āb-i-Bārānī"—as situated between Ghaznīn and Wāmīān, but nearer Ghaznīn. What modern writers and travellers in Afghānistān call the Logurh [the Lohgar] river, the historians above quoted, and many others call the Āb-i Bārānī, and consider it, very properly, as the main stream of the upper portion of that river which, ultimately, enters the Indus above Atak. Barwān is also to be found in many maps, although the position may not be quite correct, at about five or six stages north of Ghaznīn. With respect to the fortress invested by the Mughals, the Introduction to the Zafar-Nāmah, an excellent and trustworthy authority, says it was "Bāmīān, also called Wāmīān," and this last seems to be the name which some writers have mistaken for Wālīān. Certainly there is a place mentioned in the MASĀLIK WA-MAMĀLIK named Wālīn, but one syllable less than Wālīān and Wāmīān, as being "the same distance from Khulum as the latter is from Balkh." There is also a Parwān or Farwān, on the Panjhīr river, but those who have *seen* the Parwān valley, north of Kābul, describe it as very tortuous, and, in many places, a mere rocky defile; and there is also the pass of the same name over Hindū Kush, not the easiest by far. If Barwān, or Parwān, north of Kābul, could possibly be the place referred to, and Wālīān——the Wālīn of MASĀLIK-WA-MAMĀLIK, and which Mr. Thomas, R. A. S. J., vol. xvii. p. 86, calls "Wawálín," and considers to have been situated near the "modern Kunduz" [Kundus, by 'Arabs, Kunduz, is described as *a very ancient* place, by oriental writers, who say the correct name was Kuhandujz, signifying a fortress, but by constant use shortened into Kundus. Baihaḳī repeatedly refers to Kuhandujz, and constantly mentions Walwālij ولوالج, also, but neither "Wáwálín" nor Wālīn]——be the place to which the Mughals were laying siege, Jalāl-ud-Dīn would have had to cross and re-cross the Hindū Kush on this occasion, a *rather* difficult matter at any time, even for travellers, much more for an army of about 100,000 horsemen, in early spring, and a dangerous one too, considering that Chingiz, with his main force, was before Tāe-ḳān, only about *twenty miles* from Kundus, while the Parwān Pass, and Sar-i-Ulang Pass, connected with it, and the other passes of Hindū-Kush, were no less than *eighty miles* off, or more. Jalāl-ud-Dīn might have been cut off from the passes easily by a force from Chingiz's army whilst he was engaged with the

infidels. He encountered them upon three different times in that quarter, and on all three occasions success and victory

Mughal forces before Wāmīān, or Wālīān so called. Besides, we are plainly told that Barwān, on the banks of the Ab-i-Bārānī, was a town or city *between* Ghaznīn and Balkh. Chingiz himself came in pursuit of the Sultān, by way of Andar-āb, Kābul, and Bāmīān.]

Leaving his heavy material and baggage at Barwān, Sultān Jalāl ud-Dīn marched to the relief of the fortress, and, having come upon the advanced force of the Mughals in that direction, made a dash upon them, and inflicted a loss of 1000 men. The Sultān's troops being the most numerous, the Mughals retired across the river, destroying the bridge after them [this shows the river, whatever it was, was not fordable], and took up a position on the opposite side. Volleys of arrows were discharged on either side until night closed, and during the darkness the Mughals, according to their favourite manœuvre, seemingly, decamped. [If Wālīān lay where Kundus does now, a messenger would have brought Chingiz with his whole army, or a large portion of it, from Tāe-kān before night.] The Sultān now caused a great quantity of food and other necessaries [scarcely brought over the Parwān Pass] to be sent to the fortress of Wāmīān, after which he returned to his camp at Barwān.

Chingiz, having heard before Tāe-kān of this reverse, despatched another force of 30,000 picked troops, under Shabkī Kotū [according to Yāfa-ī, but by our author and some others, Ikū Nū yān, by the Zafar-Nāmah, Kankūd and other leaders, and by others, Kūbūr] to take revenge, and prepared to follow in person, and one morning, in the early forenoon, *about a week after his return* to Barwān, intimation reached the Sultān that the Mughals were approaching. He at once put his troops in motion, and advanced about a league to meet them, and drew up his ranks in readiness to receive them. [If the modern Parwān be the place, a position they were not likely to venture into with such a large force able to attack them within it, and a strong fortress in their rear, the Mughals must have been about to issue from the pass, and the Sultān must have advanced towards its entrance to receive them, but I doubt very much whether those who have *seen* those passes would consider such to be probable or possible.] Amīn Malik had the right wing, and Saif ud Dīn, Ighrāk, the left, while the Sultān took post in the centre. He gave orders for the troops to dismount, and hold their horses' bridles in hand. [Thrown over the arm probably, but scarcely to "*bind the reins of their horses round their waists*." What if the horses had taken fright? Even with the reins thrown over their arms, the men would have had to fight in a single rank—a strange mode of fighting. The probability is that the bridles of the horses were fastened at the saddle, to, or round, the horses' waists, which would enable a few men comparatively to look after them.] This they obeyed, determined to do or die. The right wing, under Amīn Malik, being the strongest division of the Sultān's army, the Mughals directed their chief efforts against it, and it was forced back, but, prompt aid being afforded from the left and centre, the Mughals, in their turn, were compelled to give way. Not a man on either side turned his back: great valour was shown on both sides, and the fighting only ceased with the light.

Next morning preparations were made to renew the engagement, but the Sultān's troops, having noticed the ranks of another division [the "wood and felt" ranks of the Rauzat-uṣ-Ṣafā], apparently drawn up in rear of the Mughal ranks, conceived that reinforcements must have reached them during the night, and they seemed disinclined to encounter them. Counsel was taken as to the

rewarded him; but, on the news of these successes of his reaching Chingiz Khān, he, being at Ṭāl-kān of Khurāsān [Ṭāe-ḳān of Ṭukhāristān?] at the time, marched his armies towards Ghaznīn[4] Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn was unable to offer

advisability of falling back to and taking shelter near the foot of the hills, and retiring to the high ground and spurs, but the Sulṭān would not hear of such a prejudicial movement The troops were directed to dismount as on the previous day [ordering them to dismount would indicate ground impracticable for cavalry, but dismounting to fight also indicates a determination to conquer or die], and, on this occasion, the enemy's efforts were directed against the left wing under Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāḳ, the valour and spirit of whose men they had had such recent proof of, and their best men were pitted against it The troops of the left wing, however, stood their ground so determinedly, and plied their arrows with such effect, that the Mughals were hurled back They having turned their backs without venturing to renew the attack, the Sulṭān directed that the tymbals should sound the charge, upon which the whole force mounted and charged the Mughals [I fancy the Parwān Pass is not a *nice* place for a general charge by a numerous army of cavalry], who turned their backs and made off Again they rallied, charged the Sulṭān's advanced troops, and inflicted a loss of 500 warriors, but the Sulṭān flew to the rescue, and again charged the Mughals and put them to final rout, making great slaughter among them. The two leaders returned with the remnant of their forces to Chingiz's camp at Ṭāe-ḳān

The Sulṭān's troops, having defeated the Mughals, took to plunder, and, most unfortunately, a dispute arose between Amīn Malik and Saif ud-Dīn, Ighrāḳ, about a horse, and Amīn Malik, in the heat of the dispute, struck the latter over the head with his whip The Sulṭān was unable [not "unwilling"] to investigate the matter, because he doubted whether the Ḳankulīs [Amīn Malik's followers] would submit to any decision In consequence of this untoward event, Saif ud Dīn, Ighrāk, smarting under the insult, stayed with the Sulṭan but for the day, and, when night set in, "with the instinct [and cunning] of the wild beasts," he marched away with his whole force towards the mountains of Karmān and Sanḳurān [some say, Shanūzān]

This event completely broke the power of Jalāl-ud Dīn, having deprived him of nearly half his army, and, under the circumstances, he thought it advisable to retire to Ghaznīn

[4] Chingiz Khān, who had now disposed of Ṭāe-ḳān, having become aware of this division among, and partial dispersion of, the Sulṭān's army, hastened to take revenge Leaving his heavy material behind at Buklān, he advanced with his whole available force, by way of Andar-āb, it is said, against Wāmīān or Bāmīān [This *certainly* must be the Wālīān, as he would scarcely have left it unmolested] He was detained a month before it, and, having taken it, he put every soul to the sword, and then set out against Sulṭān Jalāl ud-Dīn

The Sulṭān, on becoming aware of Chingiz's intentions, being far too weak to make a stand against such forces, which no ruler of that time could outnumber, resolved to cross the Sindh, and retire into Hindūstān [the reason probably was, that he claimed the western parts of the Panjāb, and also of Sindh, as successor to the dominions of Mu'izz [Shihāb]-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, and, leaving a garrison at Ghaznīn, he set out. Ūz Khān was left at Kajlah [کجلا Kajlā, probably, the name of a place on the route to the Indus by the Paiwār Pass], with the rear-guard of the Sulṭān's small force, to endeavour to

resistance to these forces, and retired towards Burshor [Peshā-

hold Chingiz's advance at bay, and give him time to send his family and effects across, and to get his followers across also, on the appearance of the Mughals, but Ūz Khān was defeated and forced back. Chingiz, who saw through the Sulṭān's object, and knew that he had left Ghaznīn fifteen days before his reaching it, pushed on with all possible celerity, and, after crushing the Sulṭān's rear-guard, made a forced march during the night. It was in the month of Rajab, 618 H. [corresponding to September, 1221 A. D., although a few writers mention Shawwāl—December], and, when the morning dawned, the Sulṭān, who was encamped near the bank of the river nearly opposite the Nīl-āb ferry [the place where Tīmūr is said, subsequently, to have passed the Indus, but he crossed at Dīnkot], and who had along with him his family, dependents, and treasures, found the Mughals on three sides of him—they were in his front and on both flanks, and the river was in his rear. Notwithstanding the extreme danger of his situation, he was not to be daunted, and determined to stand his ground. The Mughals began by attacking his right wing [the odds were more than fifty to one], under Amīn Malik, a body of them having advanced along the river's bank to take him in flank, and they overpowered him, and most of his party were slaughtered. Amīn Malik, with the few men remaining of the right wing made for Barshāwar, but, as the Mughals had occupied the route, he and they were all slaughtered by the way. The left wing, under Khān Malik, was likewise overwhelmed. The Sulṭān had kept up this unequal combat from dawn to noon, and was now left with the remains of his centre reduced by this time to about 700 men [some say 100 only]. He flew from the flank to the centre, and centre to flank of the enemy, and fought like a lion at bay, charged them repeatedly [the Mughals were commanded not to kill him, but to take him alive if possible], overthrowing numbers, and clearing a space around him at every onset, and filling them with amazement at his valour. All was of no avail: it was like attempting to stay the ocean's billows, for the Mughal forces increased every moment by the arrival of fresh troops, and pressed forward, every instant contracting the area round the gallant Sulṭān. [If the reader will examine one of the Panjāb survey maps of this part, he will find that the nature of the ground was of some advantage to Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, by rendering it difficult for the Mughals to show an extended front.]

When he perceived that his situation was become desperate, and had gone beyond name and fame, he surveyed the scene with tearful eyes and fevered lip. At this crisis Ujāsh Malik [also Akhās], son of Khān Malik, his maternal uncle, seized the bridle of his horse, and dragged him away. With weeping eyes, and his heart filled with a thousand pangs, he bade adieu to his wives and children, his mother, and other relations and dependents, called for his state charger to be saddled and brought forth, and, having mounted him, once more, like the crocodile, he plunged into the sea of conflict, and, having forced back the foremost of the enemy for a short distance, turned round, divested himself of his armour, slung his shield at his back, and, seizing his canopy without its staff, and urging his charger with his whip [spurs not used], he plunged into the Sindh, although the water was at a distance of eight or ten yards below the bank, and, armed with his sword, spear, shield, and quiver of arrows, "like unto a fearless lion rushing along a plain, he passed the Jīhūn, and reached the opposite bank in safety, after having been carried down some distance by the force of the current, and before reaching a spot favourable for landing." [A *camel* does not look very "proud" when crossing a river, much less the Indus, even in a boat. See ELLIOT, vol. II., note 2, page 552.

war?]; and, on the banks of the river Sind, an encounter

Between a lion and a camel there is a *vast difference*, although they are but *two points*—شير and شتر—but who could mistake them, the camel being a very model of awkwardness? The word "Jīḥūn," used by one of the authors from which this is taken, seems to signify any mighty river, as the Jīḥūn of Sindh, and, in this sense, Ibn Khurdabih appears to use it There is a place, on the west bank of the Indus, a little below Nīl-āb, called Ghoṛā-Trap, or the "Horse's Leap," and very probably the name is derived from the Sulṭān's feat above recorded Chingiz Khān caused a monument [صفه] to be erected where the battle took place It has been said [ELLIOT, vol ii, App. page 571], that "the passage of the river [Indus] would have been no such very gallant feat [Columbus and the egg to wit nothing is *after* it has been accomplished!] in that month [December] when the river was at its lowest," and reference is made to "Altamsh" [I-yal timish] and old Ranjīt Singh, but where did they cross? Where the river was broad and shallow, and the current not rapid, but where Jalāl-ud-Dīn is said to have plunged in from the overhanging bank, some 25 to 30 feet above the water, was at a place a few miles below Nīl-āb, where the river is about 180 feet deep, 250 yards wide, and running at the rapid rate of nine or ten miles an hour The whole distance between Nīl āb and this place may be described as one immense and irresistible rapid See WOOD "Oxus"] Chingiz, seeing the Sulṭān in the act of crossing, galloped to the bank, and some of his Mughals would have thrown themselves in after him, but Chingiz forbade them, and they took to their bows A group, *who witnessed the scene*, relate that, as far as their arrows could reach, the water was red with blood, for several of his followers followed his example Some idea may be formed, from what has been noticed above, of the value of the "UNIVERSAL HISTORY," the best authority for the English reader to consult, when it is therein stated, that Jalāl ud-Dīn, when in the middle of the river—running about nine miles an hour—"stopped to insult Jenghiz Khan, who was come to the bank to admire his courage, and emptied his quiver of arrows against him"!!

Having reached the opposite side, the Sulṭān, slowly and sorrowfully, rode upwards along the bank until he reached a spot facing his own camp, and beheld the plunder of his family, kinsmen, dependents, his treasures, and all his belongings, without being able to render them succour, while Chingiz continued astride his horse on the opposite side, pointing out the Sulṭān to his sons The Sulṭān now dismounted from his charger, loosened the girths, took off the felt saddle-cloth, together with his own tunic and cloak, and his arrows, and laid them in the sun to dry, and spread his canopy on the head of his spear, which he stuck into the ground to shade him from the sun He remained all alone until the time of afternoon prayer, when about seven of his followers joined him, and a small tent was pitched for his convenience Whilst the light permitted, he watched the proceedings of the Mughals, "whilst the heavens above looked down upon him with wonder and amazement, as though they said,—

Never hath the world beheld a man like this,
Nor heard of one among the heroes of ancient times.'"

Chingiz Khān and the whole of the Mughals, who witnessed this wonderful feat, placed their hands to their mouths [denoting amazement], and Chingiz himself, when he beheld the Sulṭān's lofty bearing, turned his face towards his sons, and said,—"Such a son as this is worthy to survive his father! Since he has escaped the vortex of fire and water, and reached the shore of escape,

took place between them. Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn was defeated and overthrown, and he threw himself into the river, and retired, discomfited, into Hindūstān.

The august Sulṭān, Shams-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, despatched a force from his armies against him, upon which Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn turned aside, and proceeded towards Ūchchah and Multān[5] From thence he entered the

countless deeds will be achieved by him, and vast trouble caused, and, as long as he lives, it is fallacious for us to entertain the hope of dominion and empire, and how then is it possible for any prudent man to be heedless of his actions!"

Several historians say, that this event occurred in the "vicinity" [حدود] of Barshāwar, and, from this, we may judge how far Wāihind or Bahind, mentioned under Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn [page 76], may have been distant from that place. See also note [5], page 285.

[5] Here we have a good specimen of our author's wilful concealment and distortion of facts. He could not have been ignorant of these events, which happened during his own lifetime, in the country in which he was residing, and at Court, where all these matters were perfectly well known. He came first into Sindh in 624 H., not long after they happened. I must only give a brief summary of the principal events to elucidate Jalāl-ud Dīn's Indian career, and correct our author's blunders and misstatements. The Sulṭān, having crossed the Indus in safety, as soon as night came on, entered the Chūl [uncultivated or desert tract] of Jarūk—called to this day, the Chūl-i-Jalālī—with his few followers, and was joined, by degrees, by stragglers from his army, until they numbered about 50 or 100 men, some badly armed. With this handful of followers he attacked a town, where there was a considerable force of Hindūs, defeated them, and captured the place, and in it obtained some horses and arms. Shortly after, others of his men, who had escaped from the banks of the Indus, also joined him. He sent a force of 500 horse against another place in that vicinity, and again defeated the people of those parts, who showed hostility towards him. By degrees his force increased to between 4000 and 5000 men, and Chingiz, who was still in the vicinity of the Indus, on hearing of it, and fearing the energy of Jalāl-ud Dīn, despatched a force against him under a leader named Tūrtāe. The Sultān, not being strong enough to oppose the Mughals, retired through a part of the Panjāb towards the frontier of the kingdom of Dihlī. On this the Mughal leader again retired, after plundering the neighbourhood of Malkapūr. The Sulṭān despatched an envoy to I-yal-timish, the slave-king of Dihlī, on arriving near his frontier, requesting that the latter would assign a place for his residence for a short time, and urged this request upon the previous good understanding, which had existed between them as neighbours [his father's officials and the ruler of Dihlī probably], and further urged the great advantage of mutual support, and that, even for humanity's sake, he would grant this favour of an asylum. "The base nature of the slave, however, was," as one author says, "unchanged in the king, and, sprinkling his head with the dust of churlishness and ill-nature, he, after taking a long time to consider on the subject, put the Sulṭān's envoy to death [some say he had him poisoned], under pretence that the envoy had been conspiring against him, but, in reality, fearing the effect upon his own Turkish followers, and probably the Sulṭān's superiority over himself, his warlike character, his nobility of mind, and great energy. The manumitted slave

territory of Kirmān, and afterwards Fārs The Atā-bak, excused himself by saying, that the climate of the country would not agree with the Sulṭān's health, but that, if he would accept a place in the environs of Dihlī, one should be assigned to him This, of course, was to get him into his power, if possible As to I-yal-timish sending "an army" against the Sulṭān, it is absurd he knew better than to do that He did send a great man as envoy, with rich presents and supplies, and false excuses, for the murder of the Sulṭān's envoy The Sulṭān, having returned to Balālah and Nikālah, near Lāhor, and his forces having now increased, by the arrival of many of his old soldiers, to the number of about 10,000, but by no means sufficient to bring the ruler of Dihlī to account, despatched a portion of his army against the Hills of Jūd That force defeated the Khokar [or more correctly, Khokhar] chief, erroneously styled Rāe Kokār and Kokar by most writers [the Ghakkars are quite a distinct race], and returned with great booty The Sulṭān demanded the chief's daughter in marriage, which was readily acceded to, and, moreover, the Rāe sent his son at the head of a considerable body of his tribe, to join the Sulṭān's troops, and the title of Kutlagh [some say Ḳulīj] Khān was bestowed upon the latter

Hostility of long standing existed between the Khokhar chief and Kubāchah, governor of Sindh [the whole valley of the Indus, below the Salt Range, was called Sindh in those days], who had now begun to consider himself an independent sovereign He was encamped near Ūchchah with 20,000 men, and a force of 7000 was despatched against him, by the Sulṭān, under Jahān Pahlawān, guided by the chief's son They made a forced march, and, falling suddenly upon Kubāchah, in the night, totally overthrew him Kubāchah got on board a vessel, and made for his stronghold of Akar and Bakar [Sakar and Bhakar? Jami' ut Tawārīkh says, "two fortresses on *one* island"], "which are two islands in the river Sindh" [more on this subject anon], and the Sultān came to Ūchchah Kubāchah now managed to get back to Multan, after having, on the Sultān's demand, paid him a considerable sum of money as tribute The hot season coming on, the Sultān returned to the Salt Range hills again, and, on the way, took a fortress called Bisrām or Bisrām [Bisrām pūr?], where he was wounded in the hand by an arrow

Chingiz had despatched another army against him, and the Sultān was obliged to move towards Lower Sindh On his arrival in sight of Multān, he sent an agent to Ḳubāchah and demanded a contribution, but he, knowing the Mughals were on the move, refused, and showed determined hostility The Sultan did not tarry in the vicinity, but proceeded to Ūchchah, which, proving hostile also, he remained before two days, and set fire to From thence he advanced to Sindustān [the name given by the generality of historians is Sīwastān—Alfī says, "Sadūsān, which is Sīwastān"]—the present Europeanized Sehwān The city and fortress were held by a deputy of Kubāchah's, Fakhr-ud Dīn, Sālārī A force sent out by him, under Lāchīn, a native of Khiṭā, having been overthrown by the Sultān's vanguard under Ūz Khān, Fakhr ud-Dīn, on the Sultān's arrival, came forth, and delivered up the place Jalāl-ud Dīn entered the city, and remained there a month, after which he conferred a dress of honour upon Fakhr-ud Dīn, left him in charge as his lieutenant in Sindūstān, and marched to Dībal and Damrīlah A Ḥabash [Abyssinian or negro], who was ruler of that part, fled, got on ship-board, and escaped The Sulṭān encamped near those places, and, from thence, detached a force, under Khās Khān towards Nahrwālah, from which he returned with immense booty Sulṭān Jalāl ud Dīn founded a Jāmi' Masjid at Dīwal or Dībal, as it

Abū-Bikr, ruler of Fārs[6], gave the Sulṭān his sister in

is also called, on the ruins of an idol-temple [The situation of this place seems to have puzzled many Iṣṭakhurī says it lies west of the river Mihrān, Abī-l-Ḳāsim, Ibn Hūḳal, says, in one place, that it lies on the sea-coast on the eastern bank of the Mihrān, while, in another place, he says the waters of the Mihrān fall into the sea east of Dībal Abū-l-Kāsim-i 'Abd-ullah, son of Khurdād, Khurāsānī, author of the MASĀLIK-WA-MAMĀLIK, also says the Mihrān passes Dībal on the east, but Abū-l Faẓl says, plainly, that Brāhmanābād was subsequently styled Dībal or Dīwal and Thathah, and so does the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārikh and others also Extensive ruins exist for miles around Thathah, and, in endeavouring to fix the site of Dībal, which the ancient geographers say was situated on the coast, and modern writers expect to find there still, the latter do not make allowance for alterations and changes in the course, and for the deposits at the mouth of the Indus, which, during the lapse of many centuries, have increased the distance of the present Thathah from the sea many miles The mouth [or mouths] of the Indus must have changed considerably within the last 250 years, *if* Thathah and Dīwal be one and the same place, for Paynton, in his account of the voyage of Captain Christopher Newport, who took out Sir Robert Shirley as envoy to Persia in 1613, says Sir Robert was landed there He remarks,—"We came to an anchor *near the city of Diul, in the mouth of the river Sinde*, in 24° 30′ N LAT, and our varying at the same place 16° 45′" Thathah is in LAT 24° 44′, and Karāchī, which is also supposed by some to be the site of Dībal, lies in 24° 51′]

Whilst in Lower Sindh, information reached the Sulṭān, that his brother, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Pīr Shāh, was established in 'Irāḳ, but that the troops, generally, desired his [Jalāl-ud-Dīn's] presence, and were calling for him to head them, and further, that Burāk, the Hājib, was in Kirmān, and was then investing the town [city] of Bardasīr [Ibn Hūkal says—"Bardasīr, which is to say, Gawāshīr] These things, together with information respecting the movements of a large Mughal force [the one previously alluded to, which was despatched into the Mukrānāt—the Mukrāns], and the return of Chingiz to his own country again, determined the Sulṭān to set out for 'Irāḳ by way of Mukrān, which he did in 621 H, and, like Alexander before him, lost a number of his followers from the unhealthiness of the climate

From this point, in order to save space, I must greatly curtail the notes I had written, although the remaining events in the career of Jalāl-ud-Dīn are very interesting The Sultan entered Kirmān, and Shujā'-ud-Dīn, Abū-l Kāsim's son, who held out Gawāshīr [also called Bardasīr] for Ghiyāṣ ud-Dīn, the Sultān's brother, and who was then holding it against Burāk, the Hājib, came out and presented the keys to the Sulṭān Burāk pretended to submit and to be most loyal, and gave his daughter to the Sultān, but, subsequently, shut him out of the capital, and sent out his followers, although he pretended merely to hold it, and the territory of Kirmān, as the Sulṭān's deputy Jalāl-ud-Dīn had matters of greater importance to engage his attention at that time, and he accordingly set out for 'Irāḳ by way of Shīrāz, and sent an envoy to the Atā-bak Sa'd to announce his coming

[6] Not so the Atā-bak Sa'd still ruled in Fārs, and Abū-Bikr did not succeed him until 628 H —seven years subsequently How different was the behaviour of Sa'd to that of the "august Sultān" of our author! As soon as the Sulṭān's agent came, he despatched his son, Salghur Shāh, with 500 horse, to do him honour, and to apologize for not coming himself, because, some time

marriage, and entertained him as a guest. From Fārs, Jalāl-ud-Dīn entered the country of Āzarbāijān, and defeated the infidels of Gurj [7] [Georgia], and reduced that country under his jurisdiction.

previously, he had taken an oath which he could not break, that he would never more go forth to receive any one soever. Jalāl-ud-Dīn accepted his apology, received his son with great favour, and conferred the title of Farzand Khān upon him. On the Sulṭān reaching the neighbourhood of Sa'd's capital, he supplied him with every sort of thing that could be desired—clothes, arms, horses, supplies of all descriptions, and even Habashī, Hindī, and Turkish slaves to serve him. After certain agreements and stipulations had been concluded between them, the Atā bak Sa'd gave a daughter of his own in marriage to the Sulṭān, the ceremonies of which were duly celebrated, and a thoroughly good understanding was established between them, and Sa'd was confirmed in his possessions. On his departure for Isfahān, the Sulṭān induced Sa'd to release his son Abū Bikr, who had long been imprisoned for hostility towards his father [see page 178], and Abū-Bikr was released and allowed to follow in the train of the Sulṭān.

Having entered 'Irāḳ, the Sulṭān proceeded to Rai, and his brother, Ghiyāṣ ud Dīn, Pīr Shāh, pretended to submit to his brother's authority. On the way to Iṣfahān, the Sulṭān was joined by the venerable 'Alā ud Daulah, who bore the title of Atā-bak, and, for the last sixty years, had held the government of Yazd. He was the lineal descendant of the last of the Dīālamah rulers of the family of Buwīah. See page 66, and note 7.

Jalāl-ud-Dīn's affairs now began to acquire some stability. He determined to proceed to Shustar for the winter of 621 H., and afterwards, having previously despatched an envoy, to proceed to Baghdād and endeavour to establish friendly relations with the Khalīfah, and solicit his aid and support against the common enemy of their faith, or at least to obtain the countenance and sanction of the Khalīfah for his own efforts against them. All was to no purpose: the hostility of Un Nāṣir towards the father was continued towards the son, although the common enemy of their faith was, so to speak, at his own gates. He not only refused to hold any communication with him, but sent two armies to expel him from his territory; but the Sulṭān, who was compelled to fight in his own defence, defeated and routed both armies in detail, with much inferior numbers. Un-Nāṣir died in the following year, 622 H.

The Sulṭān, unsuccessful at the court of Baghdād, determined to bring under his jurisdiction the subject province of Āẓarbāījān, in which the Atā-bak, Yūz-bak, the son of the Atā bak, Jahān Pahlawān, ruled. Yūz-bak fled from his capital, Tabrīz, on the Sulṭān's approach, and retired to his stronghold of Alanjūḳ, leaving his consort, the daughter of Sulṭān Tughril [not Sanjar], Saljūḳī, in charge of the capital. She was aggrieved with Yūz-bak on some account, and stated that he had divorced her, and, having obtained a dispensation from the chief Ḳāẓī to that effect, she, after consulting with and obtaining the sanction of the chiefs and great men, agreed to deliver up Tabrīz to the Sulṭān, if he would, after the prescribed period, marry her. The Sulṭān agreed, and the capital was delivered up to him, and he entered it in 622 H. Subsequently, he went to Nakhjuān, and espoused Shams Malikah Khātūn, as agreed, and, a few days after the news reached her former husband, the Atā-bak Yūz bak, he died of grief and chagrin.

[7] Soon after Jalāl ud-Dīn engaged in hostilities with the Gurjīs, and was

He also fought engagements with the armies of Rūm and of Shām, and was defeated and overcome; but, at length, peace was concluded between him and the army of Shām Tūrtī, the Mughal, who had invested Multān[8], left Chingiz Khān, and came and joined Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and became a convert to the Muḥammadan faith

The Mughal forces, upon several occasions, went in pursuit of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, but victory always attended him[9]. At last, in the year 628, or 629 H, the Sulṭān was

successful against them, but was impeded in his operations by Burāḳ, the Ḥājib, throwing off his allegiance He determined to move against the rebel at once, and acted with such celerity, that on the eighteenth day he reached Kirmān from Tiflīs, only 300 horse having kept up with him Burāḳ hastened to make submission, by sending apologies, rich and costly presents, and protestations of loyalty for the future, but did not, of course, venture into the Sulṭān's presence The latter could do nought else than accept his submission, for during his absence, Malik ul-Ashraf, ruler of Shām, instigated by Burāḳ to create a diversion in his own favour, sent an army into the Sulṭān's territory, under the governor of Akhlāṭ, who carried off Shāms Malikah Khātūn from Khūe, and dishonoured her [Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says, Malik-ul-Ashraf dishonoured her, and Rauẓat-uṣ Safā says, it was the Ḥājib, 'Alī], and the Gurjīs also rose The Sulṭān lost no time in taking revenge, and carried slaughter and devastation up to the very gates of Akhlāṭ He had, however, to abandon his operations against it, from intimation that two Mughal armies had entered 'Irāk One of these supposed armies turned out to be Jahān Pahlawān, Īr-bak [Thus in one copy of Guzīdah, with the diacritical points, in others, Ir-lak and Ir-līk, and in other writers, Uz bak and Ūz-bak and Ūz-bak Khān, but I do not account the last three correct], and his followers, who had been left by the Sulṭān as governor of his conquests in the valley of the Indus Jalāl-ud-Dīn, however, broke up his camp before Akhlāṭ, and retired into 'Irāḳ to oppose the Mughals Nearly every copy of the text has Karkh instead of Gurj

[8] This statement is not mentioned by other authors quoted herein, and is very doubtful

[9] In Ramaẓān 624 H [Jāmi'-ut Tawārīkh and some others say, in 626 H, and others, 625 H, but the first, from other circumstances and data, is correct], he encountered the enemy between Iṣfahān and Rai The right wing of the Sulṭān's army, led by Ūz Khān, overthrew the opposing force of Mughals, when the Sulṭān's brother, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, who had charge of the other wing, deserted during the action, with all his adherents, and fled into Lūristān [It was subsequent to this that he was put to death by Burāḳ See page 285, and note [2]] This dastardly act on the part of his brother caused the Sulṭān's overthrow, and he had to cut his way out of the fight He succeeded in reaching the neighbouring hills, and, after some days, reached Iṣfahān, to the joy and surprise of the troops and people, who feared he must have perished The Mughals, after this, retired into Khurāsān again Their object, at this period, seems to have been to prevent the Sulṭān's government from acquiring any stability, to ravage the country they passed through, and to endeavour to surprise him In consequence of their retreat, the Sulṭān had time to renew

encamped on the confines of Āẕarbāījān, on the side of Shām and Diyār-i-Bakr, when an army of Mughals came unexpectedly upon him, and he was obliged to fly[1].

his operations in Gurjistān and Arman. He marched from Iṣfahān, in 625 H., and, having succeeded against the Gurjīs, marched to Akhlāṭ once more, took it by storm, captured the governor's [Ḥājib 'Alī's] wife, whom he made his slave, and amply revenged the outrage Shams Malikah Khātūn had suffered at her husband's hands.

Jalal-ud-Dīn now turned his arms against the Sulṭān of Rūm, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, son of Kai Ḳubād, Saljūḳī [see bottom of page 162], and Malik-ul-Ashraf, ruler of Shām, who had combined against him [all the Muhammadan rulers at this time, with few exceptions, seem bent on their own destruction, and played into the hands of the Mughals], and had been joined by forces from Arman, Gurjistān, and Kifchāḳ [Krim?]. In the first action, the Sulṭān overthrew a portion of them; but in a second engagement, having to dismount from his horse through illness, his troops, thinking he had retired from the field, became dispirited and gave way. They were not pursued, because the enemy considered their flight a mere stratagem of the Sulṭān's to draw them into an ambuscade. This is said to have taken place in 627 H. Jalāl-ud-Dīn had endeavoured [in 627-8 H.] to induce the rulers of Rūm and Shām to join him against the common enemy, but jealousy and suspicion on their part prevented so advantageous an alliance.

[1] The end of the gallant Sulṭān's eventful career, however, was approaching. He had passed the winter of 628 H. in the neighbourhood of Irmānīah, when intimation reached him of the despatch of a fresh and numerous army of Mughals, under Jirmāghūn, and of their early approach. He despatched Ūz Khān, with a strong patrol, to make inquiries. He proceeded as far as Tabrīz, where he was told that they had retired from the country again, and, without satisfying himself as to the truth of this report, he returned to the Sulṭān's camp with it. Thrown off his guard by this false report, the Sulṭān and his troops gave themselves up to festivity and carousal. After some time had elapsed, one night, in the month of Shawwāl of the above year, the Mughals came suddenly upon him. The Sulṭān, who was sound asleep at the time from the effects of his potations, was aroused by Ūz Khān, who urged him to fly. The Mughals had already got into his camp, and were slaying all who came in their way. Ūz Khān kept them at bay for a short time, during which the Sulṭān was able to mount his horse, and fly towards the hills of the Kurds. He wandered about for some time, when sleep overcame him; he lay down, and fell fast asleep. A Kurd, attracted by the richness of his dress, seized him. The Sulṭān made himself known to him, and requested the man to conduct him to Malik Muẓaffar, the then governor of Akhlāṭ. The Kurd conducted him first to his dwelling, and then went back to the place where he had found the Sulṭān asleep to search for his horse, which had strayed whilst his master slept. Another Kurd, whose brother had been killed in the storming of Akhlāt—some say by the Sulṭān's own hand—having heard where he was, came, during the absence of his clansman, and slew him in revenge for his brother's death.

With Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Khwārazm Shāhī dynasty terminated. Some authors relate that he was not slain on the above occasion, but that he changed clothes with the Kurd, and turned devotee, and wandered about the world. Curiously enough, I have accidentally met with a confirmation of this. It is

He succeeded in reaching a place in the territory of Akhlāt, and halted to rest near a village, the chief of which recognized him In a battle, which had taken place between the Sultān and the troops of Shām, he had slain the brother[2] of that chief Having the Sultān thus in his power, that chieftain martyred him The next day, information was conveyed to the sovereign of Shām, who was greatly grieved [at his fate], and he commanded that the murderer should suffer condign punishment.

On the occurrence of this misfortune, the sister of the Atā-bak, Abū-Bikr, ruler of Fārs [Jalāl-ud-Dīn's consort], reached Shām She was treated with honour and reverence, and was conducted back to Fārs.

Thus the dominion of the Khwārazm Shāhs terminated, and their remaining Maliks, and their followers, took up their residence in Shām and in Misr

most interesting, and from one who attended him in his last moments Shaikh 'Alā ud-Daulah, Al-Byābānkī, us-Simnānī relates as follows —"When at Baghdād, I used daily, at noon, to wait upon the pious and venerable Shaikh, Nūr-ul Ḥakk wa ud-Dīn, 'Abd-ur Raḥmān-i Isfarāīnī—may his tomb be sanctified! I happened to go upon one occasion, at the usual hour, and found him absent from his abode, a rather unusual occurrence at that time of the day I went again on the following morning to wait upon him, and inquired as to the cause of his absence on the previous day He replied, 'My absence was caused through Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, having been received into the Almighty's mercy' I inquired, 'What, had he been living all this time?' He answered, 'You may have noticed a certain aged man, with a mole upon his nose, who was wont to stay at a certain place,' which he named I had often remarked the venerable devotee in question," and that was the heroic, but unfortunate Sultān, Jalāl-ud-Dīn According to this account, Jalāl ud-Dīn could not have died until 688 H, above sixty years after the period above mentioned

[2] *The most reliable copies have* "*brother*," *others,* "*brothers and sons*," and some again, "sons" only

SECTION XVII

THE SHANSABĀNĪAH SULTĀNS, AND THE MALIKS OF GHŪR

MINHĀJ-I-SARĀJ, Jūrjānī, the servant hopeful of the Divine mercy—the Almighty guard him from negligence and inadvertency [1]—says, with respect to this account of the Shansabānīah Maliks of Ghūr, after this manner —That the following pages are illumined with the sun of the illustrious race of the Sultāns of Ghūr, together with that of the offset of the fragrant tree of the Maliks of Ghūr—may the Almighty God render their dust fragrant, and assign to them a habitation in Paradise [1]— in the manner of a record, from the dawn of the morning of their dominion, and the noon-day splendour of their sovereignty, together with the genealogy of their family, until the expiration of the empire of that princely house, and the last of the Maliks of that kingly dynasty—the mercy of the Almighty be upon those among them who have passed away [1] [1]—in such wise as masters have, in histories, made mention of them, in order that the robe of this chronicle may be adorned with an account of them, and also, in order that this [their] servant, and his priestly family, may acquit themselves of some portion of the debt of gratitude for benefits received, due unto those Sultāns—the light of the Almighty illumine their tombs [1]—and, in order that such as may inspect these pages may, please God, derive profit and instruction

Be it known, that that master of eloquence, Maulānā Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mubārak Shāh, of Marw-ar-rūd—the light of the Almighty illumine his tomb [1]—has strung the genealogical pearls of the Sultāns of this dynasty on the thread of poetry, and, having arranged those pearls in perfect

[1] When this flourish was penned they had ceased to hold any territory for nearly half a century

order, has affixed the head pearl of that string to the oyster-shell of the illustrious dynasty of Zuhāk, the Tāzī; and, from the time of those Sultāns up to the first commencement of the sovereignty of Zuhāk, he has mentioned the whole of them, father by father

This book[2] their servant, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, inspected in the year 602 H, before the exalted throne in the sacred *haram* [private dwelling] of that lady, the Princess of the Universe, and the most excellent of her day and of the age, the glory of the world and of the faith, the sovereign of all good qualities among the race of mankind, Māh Malik, daughter of the august Sultān, Ghiyās-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abī-ul-Fath, Muhammad, son of Sām, Kasīm-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn—may the light of the Almighty illumine them! This Queen of the Universe used to bestow her fostering care and protection upon this frail creature [Minhāj-i-Sarāj], and, in her own princely hall, as though he had been a child of her own, he was brought up, and, in his younger years, he used, day and night, to dwell within her *haram*, and, under her blessed sight, he used to receive instruction

That princess was possessed of many virtues and endowments. First. she departed from this transitory sphere, and passed to the eternal mansion, within the veil of maidenhood Second she knew the whole of God's word [the Kur'ān] by heart Third she was a depository of all the traditions of martyrdom Fourth she used, once a year, to devote a certain period to religious exercises, and would repeat the whole Kur'ān in two genuflexions of prayer Fifth when her father, Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, went to the mercy of the Almighty, for a period of seven years the light of the sun and of day never shone upon her, and she continued in constant and solitary prayer The mercy of the Almighty be upon her, and may her happiness and her reward be ample in heaven!

In short, that master of eloquence, Maulānā Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mubārak Shāh, has composed that genealogical list in verse, in the name of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, Jahān-soz, and, at the outset, I heard from the sacred lips of that

[2] One historian quotes a portion of Fakhr-ud-Dīn's work, but it is too long for insertion here He was a Saiyid, hence he is styled Shāh

most excellent of her time, and Khadijah[3] of the age, the Malikah-i-Jalālī[4], that, when some portion of the book and chronicle in question had been composed in verse, through a change which had showed itself in the temperament of Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mubārak Shāh, this poem was neglected by him until the time when the throne of the kingdom became adorned and beautified with the majesty and august splendour of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn[5], Muhammad-i-Sām, when this chronicle became graced with his name and titles, and was brought to completion

The Chronicler relates after this manner —The Almighty knoweth the truth !—that this dynasty are called Shansabānīān with reference to their paternal ancestor [Shansab by name], who, after the removal of the sons of Zuhāk, grew up in the country of Ghūr, and attained great authority, power, and superiority, and acquired a name The great probability is, that this personage lived in the time of the Khilāfat of the Lord of the Faithful, 'Alī—may God reward him !—and that he received conversion to the faith at the hand of 'Alī himself[6], and that he took, from that Khalīfah, a mandate and a standard, and to every one of that family, who used to sit upon the throne, that covenant which the Lord of the Faithful, 'Alī, had written, used to be presented to him, and he would agree to abide by it, after which he would become [legally] king The family likewise were among the clients of the Khalīfah 'Alī, and affection towards the High Priests of the family of the Chosen One used to be a firm tenet in their creed

ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST [ANCESTORS] OF THE FAMILY, THEIR GENEALOGY, AND THEIR PROGENITORS, UP TO ZUḤĀK, SURNAMED TĀZĪ

Zuḥāk has been mentioned in the section on the ancient kings of Īrān, and the duration of his reign was a thousand years less one day and a half

[3] Muhammad's first wife

[4] The same lady he previously referred to under the name of Māh Malik

[5] One of the oldest MSS has Mu'izz-ud Dīn, the younger of the two brothers

[6] Jahān-Ārā, and some other histories distinctly state that Shansab, son of Kharnak, was contemporary with the Khalīfah 'Alī, and that he was converted to the Muḥammadan faith by him Compare our author's statement above with that at page 312

The learned in chronology differ considerably with respect to his ancestry and his forefathers, from Mihtar Ādam down to Mihtar Nūḥ, on account of the great lapse of time[7]. The fraternity, who account Ẕuḥāk among the descendants of Sām, son of Mihtar Nūḥ, relate as follows:—Ẕuḥāk[8], son of 'Anwān ['Ulwān], son of 'Amlāk ['Amlāt and 'Alāk], son of 'Ād, son of 'Āṣ ['Awaṣ and 'Awaẓ], son of Iram, son of Sām, son of Nūḥ, son of Lamak; while others again have related that his [Ẕuḥāk's] name was Bīwar-āsp, son of Ārwand-āsp, son of Ṭūḥ, or Ṭawaḥ [Ṭarḥ], son of Kābah [Kāyah?], son of Nūh.

Some, on the other hand, have stated:—Bīwar-āsp, or Bīwar-asp, son of Ārwand-āsp[9], son of Zankabā [Ranbakā], son of Tāzio-barsed [Tāzio-barsid, Tāzio-barshed, Tāzio-

[7] The Muḥammadan historians are at variance respecting the descent of Ẕuḥāk. Our author, in his account of him in Section V., says he was called Bīwar-āsp, and that God sent Nūḥ to him to exhort him to repent of his misdeeds, and that Nūḥ continued for ages to do so. He would not repent, and the Flood followed. Our author then copies Tabarī [tolerably correct], and says that that author [the most trustworthy perhaps of any] states that Bīwar-āsp lived before the Flood, in which he perished, and, one thousand years after the death of Nūḥ [compare with his statement here and at page 312], a king arose of the seed of Sām, son of Nūḥ, named Ẕuḥāk, who was a sorcerer.

Immediately after quoting Tabarī, our author again says that Pesh-dād, son of Hoshang, had a son, Tāzio by name, who is the father of all the 'Arabs. He had a son Zankabā, who had a son Ārwand-āsp, who was father of Ẕuḥāk. The Tārīkh-i-Muḳaddasī, there quoted by him, says Ẕuhāk's name is Bīwar-āsp, son of Ārwand-āsp, son of Ṭarah, son of Kāyah, son of Nūḥ.

The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī, and some others, say the 'Ajamīs call Ẕuḥāk, Bīwar-āsp, and that the Patriarch Ibrāhīm lived during his reign, but further state that great discrepancy exists among authors as to his descent. The 'Arabs say he was brother's son of Shadād-i-'Ad, and trace his descent to Iram, son of Sām, brother of Arfakhshād, while the Irānīs say his name is Ārwand-āsp, son of Rīnkāwar [Zankabā?], son of Sāhirah, son of Tūjz, son of Farāwal, and that Tūjz was Hoshang's brother. Guzīdah and others trace his descent from Jamshed, and say he was his sister's son, but the greater number of chroniclers agree that he was sixth in descent from Kaiūmurt, also written Kaiūmurṣ. The people of Yaman, again, say Ẕuḥāk was of Yaman, of the tribe of Tubba' [the royal tribe of Arabia Felix, of whom Balḳīs, Queen of Sheba [Sabā], was one], and that he was the first of the Fir'awns of Miṣr.

[8] It will be well to mention here that the *first* name given in the following pages is the one considered *most* trustworthy from comparison, and in which the greater number and best copies of the text agree, and that those within brackets are less so according to position.

[9] Alwand-āsp and Ārwand-āsp are also the names of the father of Luhr-āsp, also called Ārwand Shāh.

narsad, Tābūr, Tāzbū, and Tāzbūr], son of Farāwwal [Farāwal, Ḳarāwal?], son of Sīā-mak, son of Mubshī [Mushbī], son of Kaiū-murs, son of Ādam—peace be unto him!—while others again say —Kaiū-murṣ, son of Lāwad, son of Sām, son of Nūh

The writers of chronicles [other than those above?] relate after this manner, that Ārwand-āsp was the father of Ẕuḥāk[1], and son of the son of Tāzīo-barsed [Tāzīo, Tāzbū, and Tāzbūr], and, with the concurrence of historians, Tāzīo-barsed, likewise, was the father of all the 'Arabs, and brother of Hoshang Malik[2], and the 'Arabs are called Tāzī[3] through affinity to him He held dominion and sovereignty over the nomad tribes of 'Arabs, as did his descendants after him From him the authority passed to his son, Zanbakā [Zankabā?], and from him to the latter's son, Ārwand-āsp [Ārwan-āsp], who was a just, wise, and God-fearing man He had a son, Ẕuhāk by name, who was exceedingly malicious and factious, a blood-shedder, and a great tyrant, and a cruel man, whom Shaitān [Satan] had led astray from the right way[4] He dug a well in the

[1] According to Ṭabarī he [Ẕuḥāk] was a descendant of Hām, son of Nūḥ, and after the Flood there was no king upon the earth for a thousand years, until Ẕuḥāk, the sorcerer, arose, but there are different accounts of him, and great discrepancies exist among authors concerning him There are the remains of an immense fortress near Bamīān, still known as the castle of Ẕuḥāk-i Mārān, or Ẕuḥāk of the Snakes

[2] Hoshang is considered the fourth in descent from Ādam, and was the son of Sīā-mak, who was son of Kaiūmurt Some consider him to be Arfakhshād, son of Sām, who composed the Jāwīdān-Khirad He is said to have founded Istakhur—Istakhur is the 'Arab form of writing it—of Fārs, Bābal, and Sūs

[3] Called also Tājī by 'Ajamīs, and hence the name Tājik [*k* added to 'Ajamī names forms a diminutive], by which the descendants of 'Arabs were styled who were born in and had grown up in 'Ajam At present the term is used with respect to Persian-speaking people who are neither Turks nor 'Arabs, and of which race the inhabitants generally of towns and cities in Afghānistān, and several districts likewise under Afghān sway, and also of several independent states to the north, consist The Afghāns often style them "Tājik-Mājik" Numbers of 'Arab tribes, or parts of tribes settled in different parts of 'Ajam, after its conquest by the first Musalmān invaders, and several tribes dwelling among the Afghāns, and often confounded with them, claim 'Arab descent In my proposed history of the Afghān tribes, I shall be able to enter into more detail on this subject Modern philosophers, however, are, as a matter of course, divided in opinion about the derivation of the name, and also as to the descent of the people, but why should we begrudge them the infinite pleasure of still speculating upon the matter, and trying to make every other account fit that of certain Greeks? See page 309.

[4] A few copies have "from the right way, *so that* he dug a well," &c

path which his father was wont to pass, and Ārwand-āsp, who had become old and infirm, fell into it, and was killed[5]

Zuhāk now became sovereign over the 'Arabs, and, after Jamshed [Jamshed's time?] conquered the whole world, and by sorcery and tyranny brought the whole of it under his sway The author of the Tārikh-i-Mukaddasi states, that Zuhāk possessed a cylinder, made of gold, in which were seven apertures, each of which was named after one of the seven climes of the four quarters of the earth. When the inhabitants of either of these climates happened to rebel against his authority, he would raise incantations in the aperture named after such climate, and breathe into it, and famine, pestilence, and calamity would arise in it

After a thousand years of his sovereignty passed away[6], Almighty God was pleased to release the world from his tyranny and oppression, and the kingdom came to Faridūn. He seized Zuhāk, and confined him in a pit on mount Dimāwand, in 'Irāk

ACCOUNT OF BUSTĀM, MALIK OF HIND AND OF SIND[7]

This Bustām Malik held the dominion of Hindūstān[8] at the hand of Zuhāk, and he was one of Zuhāk's descendants,

[5] According to trustworthy authorities, this Bīwar-āsp became styled Zuhāk, from the old Persian words آك ده *dah-āk*, signifying "ten vices and defects," and the 'Arabs, in copying the name, used ض for د or ذ and transformed it into ضحاك by changing the ه also into ح With this change of letters, the original meaning of the word became changed, for ضحاك [Zuhāk] signifies "a mocker," "laughing"

His vices and defects were hideousness, dwarfishness, excessive arrogance and pride, shamelessness, audacity, gluttony and voracity, a foul tongue, recklessness, lying, injustice, ferocity and tyranny, depravity of heart, and stolidity These are rather more than *ten* however Rauzat-uṣ-Safā says Bīwar is from the Pahlawī, and in Darī means ten thousand, and, therefore, Dah-āk received the name of Bīwar-āsp because he had always ten thousand 'Arab horses in his stables

[6] Tabarī says his age was a thousand years, while other writers state that he reigned for that period of time

[7] Nine copies of the text have "Malik of Hind and of Sind,' and others have "Hind and Ghūr" In the map, if such may be so called, accompanying the account of Sijistān and adjacent parts, in the "MASĀLIK WA-MAMĀLIK,' the river of Hind and Sind adjoins Ghūr on the north-east

[8] *Sic* in all copies of the text

namely[9]:—Busṭām, son of Mihs͟hād [Mis͟hhād, Mams͟hād, S͟hamād, S͟hād, S͟hihād, and S͟hihādan], son of Narimān [also called Nadimān], son of Afridūn [or Faridūn], son of Sāhind [Sāmind and Sāmid], son of Sifand-āsp [or Isfand-āsp], son of Ẓuḥāk, son of Suhrāb[1], son of S͟haid-āsp, son of Siā-mak, son of Marniās [Marsās and Marnās], son of Ẓuḥāk the Malik

When Ẓuhāk was made captive, Afridūn despatched an army to take possession of Hindūstān; and Busṭām, who did not possess the power to oppose the forces of Afridūn, retired towards the mountain tracts of S͟haknān[2] [S͟hag͟hnān] and Bāmiān, and therein took up his residence. On a second occasion the forces of Afridūn were directed to proceed in search of him, and Bustām had several times, for the purpose of hunting and in his rambles, come from the mountains of S͟haknān and Tuk͟hāristān[3] into the mountain tracts of G͟hūr That district was called Hazār-C͟has͟hmah [the thousand springs] on account of the number of rivulets in it, and Bustām, at this time, retiring before the army of Afridūn, came into G͟hūr, and at the foot of the mountain of Zār-i-Marg͟h[4] [the place where Marg͟h grows] he fixed his residence[5]

[9] Other writers say that Busṭām was one of the descendants, not sons, of Ẓuḥāk, and that his progeny increased in G͟hūr up to the time of S͟hansab, who was contemporary with the K͟halīfah, 'Alī S͟hansab was the son of K͟harnak, and from him descended Busṭām, as well as Pūlād See page 311

[1] Jahān Ārā has S͟hahrān

[2] The letters ḳ and gh are interchangeable A few copies have شغان for شقان

[3] Not Hwen Thsang's "Tokháristan," extending "ten days' journey by thirty," but a much smaller Tuk͟hāristān is meant here

[4] Zār signifies a place of growth, and "marg͟h" is the name of a species of verdure called also *farez*, which any browsing animals feed on with great avidity It is odoriferous, the reed *scaenanthemum*

[5] Other authorities state that when Faridūn overcame Ẓuḥāk, a number of his *descendants* fled, and took shelter in the mountains of G͟hūr, and that Busṭām, who was one of his progeny, and who held Hindūstān, being unable to cope with the forces of Faridūn, he [Busṭām] *also* took shelter in G͟hūr The place he took up his residence at was, from the number of its springs and rivulets, called Hazār-C͟has͟hmah, and was an exceedingly pleasant and strong spot, and therefore he chose it, saying to himself "*baro, ma-andesh !*"—"Go to, don't be concerned!" and that spot was subsequently called Mandes͟h Busṭām prospered there, and his descendants multiplied, and they were rulers, one generation after the other Other writers say he first fled for shelter "to the mountain tracts of Bāmiān, which lie between Balk͟h and Kābul, and from thence entered the difficult country of G͟hūr, in which he founded several strong fortresses He had wandered about in several parts previously before reaching

At this point in the account of Busṭām, the masters of history have two traditions, one of which is that just related The other tradition is from the Muntakhab-i-Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī, which one of the great men of Ghaznīn composed in the time of the Sulṭān i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Sām—the Almighty illumine his tomb!—which is as follows:—

"When Afrīdūn overcame Ẕuḥāk, and took the dominion from him, two brothers, his sons, reached Nihāwand The elder brother bore the name of Sūz[6], and the younger was called Sām The elder brother, Sūz, became Amīr [chief or ruler], and the younger, who was named Sām, became the Sipah-sālār [leader or commander of his forces][7]

"Amīr Sūz had a daughter, and the Sipah-sālār, Sām, a son, and these two cousins had, in early childhood, been betrothed to each other, and they had fixed their hearts upon each other The Sipah-sālār, Sām, died, and his son had become valiant and a great warrior, so much so, that in that day he had no equal in manliness and valour After the decease of his father, certain envious and malicious persons arose, who slandered him to his uncle, Amīr Sūz, in consequence of which his uncle became irritated against him, and he determined to bestow his daughter upon the son of some one of the Maliks of the parts round about

"When his daughter became aware of this, she made her cousin acquainted with it, so that, one night, he came and unfastened the gate of the fortress, and, having loosed and brought out ten chosen horses[8] from the stables of Amīr

Ghūr; and, as soon as Farīdūn became aware of his whereabouts, he despatched large forces against him, but, after protracted hostilities, the forces of Farīdūn were glad to accept terms, on account of the difficult nature of the country, and the strength of Busṭām's castles Tribute and taxes were imposed upon him [Busṭām], and he had to content himself with Ghūr, and not to molest other parts of the country His descendants increased and multiplied up to the time of Shansab, who is said to have been converted by 'Ali The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh states that the Ghūrīs are styled Banī Rāsib, otherwise famous under the name of Uẕ-Ẕuḥāk.

[6] Some copies have Sūr, but the oldest have as above One has Sawār!

[7] Such being the case, wherefore any cause of dispute afterwards, and appeal to the Khalīfah, as to who should be ruler and who commander of the troops? See page 313

[8] Two copies of the text, which are reliable, have "ten chosen horses of his father, from the stables of Amīr Sūz"

Sūz, he set the damsel and her servants upon them and made off, taking away as much coin as he was able to remove. With all diligence possible he made for the foot of the mountains of Ghūr, and there he took up his quarters The girl and her cousin said [to each other], 'Za-o i. e Az-o] ma-andesh'—be not afraid of him—and the name of that place became Mandesh[9], and there their affairs assumed stability[1]"

According to the first tradition, however, when Amīr Busṭām, with his followers, took up his residence in that locality, information was conveyed to Afrīdūn He was desirous of sending forces, for the third time, for the purpose of destroying and exterminating Bustām and his followers, or to take him [alive] if possible The sons of Afrīdūn, Tūjz and Salm, by means of treachery, killed their brother, Ī-raj, who was on the throne of Īrān[2], and,

[9] "Lamandesh" in most copies of the text, but impossible from what he has just stated Some copies are very different here, in style as well as words, and have, "*They* said that the name of that place was Dū-mandesh, and at this time, on account of that great personage's coming thither, the name became Bulandesh" The I O L MS, and R A S MS, both agree that the name was "Roz-mandesh, and the name became Bulandesh," but omit the first clause of the last sentence Mandesh is mentioned by some old writers as the name of a stronghold in Khurāsān Desh must not be confounded with the Sanskrit word *Des*—a country, &c See note [6], page 306

[1] i e There they settled down permanently

[2] In his account of Farīdūn in Section V, our author says Ī-raj, the youngest son, held the countries of 'Irāḳ i-'Arab, and 'Irāḳ i-'Ajam, and Hind and Sind Salm signifies *peace*, Tūjz [also Tūj], *boldness*, *daring*, and Ī-raj, *wisdom with tact* The Rauẓat-uṭ-Tāhirīn states that he held Khurāsān, and only a portion of Hind and Sind

The Rauẓat us Ṣafā and some others say that a sept of the descendants of Ẓuhāk, not the sons of Ẓuḥāk, finally took up their residence in the mountain tracts of Ghūr, and that they were hard pressed for some time by the forces of Farīdūn, and became as desirous of accommodation as Farīdūn's general was of granting it, and the Ẓuḥākīs agreed to pay taxes and tribute, and not to encroach on other territory See note [5], page 306 7

In the account of the ancient kings of Asia, contained in the Rauẓat-uṭ-Tāhirīn, taken from the work compiled from ancient records in the Pahlawī language in 259 H, and which work, subsequently, was partly put into verse by the poet, Daḳīḳī, in Ismā'īl Sāmānī's reign, and afterwards resumed by Ansārī, and completed by Firdausī, in Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn's time, but of course greatly embellished by the poets, and also in Tabarī, and Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, there are detailed accounts of the reign of Farīdūn, but although the death of Ī raj is given therein, and agrees with what our author says [he doubtless took his short notice from Tabarī], of course, nothing whatever is mentioned about Bustām Karsh-āsp, ancestor of Rustam, held Kābul,

on that account, Shāh Afrīdūn was greatly afflicted in heart, and distressed in mind, and he did not obtain[2] his revenge upon Busṭām. The latter, having found time and opportunity, turned his attention to peopling and rendering habitable the mountain districts of Ghūr, and parts adjacent

He despatched trustworthy agents to the presence of Shāh Afrīdūn, and sought for peace Afrīdūn complied with the request of Busṭām, and, as he had now obtained security and safety, the followers, dependents, and partisans, and the 'Arab tribes akin or related to Ẓuḥāk, from all parts around, turned their faces towards the mountain district of Ghūr, and took up their residence in that country, and the number of those tribes became very great.

As Almighty God had willed that from that race pious kings and potent sovereigns should arise, He prospered and blessed those tribes so that they attained unto the faith and covenant of Islām; and from the mine of the seed of

Zābul, and Sijistān for Farīdūn, and any petty chief would naturally have been tributary to the former The nephew of Karsh-āsp, Narīmān, had a son named Sām, who was father of Zāl, father of Rustam Sām is said to have held Zābul, and Kābul, as far as Hind, in feudal sovereignty from the rulers of Īrān What I wish here to draw attention to, however, is the following · "Zāl, having succeeded to his father's fief, went to Kābul [Zābul?] from Zaranj [founded by Karsh-āsp], and MIHRĀB SHAH, of the race of Ẓuḥāk, the Tāzī, the tributary ruler, came forth to receive him, and acknowledged his supremacy Mihrāb Shāh gave his daughter to Zāl, and she was Rustam's mother" Subsequently, this same Mihrāb Shāh is said to have led the right wing of the army of Kai-Ḳubād, the first of the Kaiānīān dynasty, in the expedition against Afrāsiyāb, the Turk The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh also states that, when Afrāsiyāb crossed the Jīḥūn into Khurāsān, he detached a force to intercept Sām, or keep him in check, and, when the force reached the Hīrmand, Mihrāb Shāh, who held the city and fortress of Zābul, as deputy of Zāl, sent a message, as a ruse only, to its commander, saying, "I am neither Zābulī nor Īrānī, but of the race of Ẓuḥāk, and am loyally inclined to Afrāsiyāb" These accounts are, at least, equally as trustworthy as the legends of Greeks about themselves, and perhaps more so I hope very shortly to give them in detail I am one of those [weak-minded persons perhaps] who consider the historians of a country best qualified to write its history—its early history at least—and prefer the accounts of ancient Persia, given by the old Īrānī and 'Arab writers after the time of its conquest, to those of Greeks who do not even know the names correctly, just as I should esteem the history of England, from the pen of a Hume or a Lingard, superior to one written by a native of India who had sojourned three months in London, or by a Chinaman who had never visited it

[2] One copy has, "and he did not give his mind to taking revenge on Busṭām"

them the gems of sovereignty were arranged upon the thread of dominion Some thousands of mosques were founded in place of ancient idol-temples, and the laws and canons of Islām were promulgated to the very extremity of the region of Hindūstān which adjoins that of Chīn—the mercy of the Almighty be upon them! These Sulṯāns likewise acquired slaves, every one of whom spread the carpet of justice upon the surface of the world, and raised palaces of beneficence and munificence, and, up to this present time, the heir of that sovereignty and successor to the functions of that empire, is the pearl of the oyster-shell of ascendency, out of the ocean of dominion, the Great Sulṯān, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abī-l-Muẓaffar, Mahmūd, son of the Sultān, Ḳasīm-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn[4]—the Almighty perpetuate his sovereignty and dominion, and may he long reign!

The Sultāns of the Shansabī dynasty have been divided into four groups —I, that class, the mention of which will now be recorded, of which Sulṯāns Fīrūz-koh was the seat of government, II., the dynasty of the Sulṯāns of Bāmīān, who were a branch from this great tree of sovereignty, III, the dynasty of the Sulṯāns of Ghaznīn, which was the capital of Sulṯān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Ghāzī, son of Sām, and his own particular slaves, every one of whom, after him, ascended the throne, and IV, the dynasty of the Sultāns of Hindūstān, the heritage of which dominion, and the sovereignty of which monarchy passed to them, and after whom the race of Shamsī[5] became established upon the throne of royalty May the Almighty purify the tombs of those who have passed away, and prolong the sovereignty of those remaining to the judgment day!

As much as was discoverable respecting this race in chronicles has been recorded [here], although, in the com-

[4] Some of the best copies of the text have, "son of the Sulṯān of Sulṯāns," and omit the Ḳasīm altogether *If* the Shansabānī Sulṯāns had any right to assume such a title [explained farther on], neither the slave, nor the slave's son, this "pearl of the oyster-shell of ascendency," the poor puppet to whom our author dedicated his work, had the most remote right to assume it

[5] Only a single copy has this passage correct The slaves here referred to were not relatives nor kinsmen of each other Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, however, married a daughter of Ḳuṯb-ud-Dīn, I-bak, his owner, who ruled in Hindūstān, and the dynasty of the former, from his name, Shams-ud-Dīn, is styled the Shamsī or Shamsīah dynasty

pilation of it, there was not an uninterrupted succession to be set forth[6].

I AMĪR PŪLĀD [OR FŪLĀD], GHŪRĪ, SHANSABĪ.

Amīr Pūlād, Ghūrī, was one of the sons of Malik Shansab[7], son of Kharnak, and he brought[8] under his jurisdiction the districts of the mountain tracts of Ghūr He rendered the names of his fathers immortal, and, when the advocate[9] [of the cause] of the house of 'Abbās, Abū-Muslim-i-Marwazī[1], arose, and considered it expedient to oust and to expel the Amīr of the family of 'Ummīah from the territory of Khurāsān, Amīr Pūlād led the forces of Ghūr to the aid of Abū-Muslim-i-Marwazī[2], and greatly distinguished himself in supporting and assisting the house of 'Abbās and the family of the Prophet

For a long period the dominion over Mandesh[3], and the authority over the mountain tracts of Ghūr was exercised by him He died; and his dominions remained in the possession of the sons of his brother[4], and, subsequently, their affairs [and proceedings] were not to be discovered, up to the time of Amīr Banjī, the son of Nahārān.

II AMĪR BANJĪ, SON OF NAHARĀN, SHANSABĪ

Amīr Banjī, son of Nahārān, was a great lord, and, in Ghūr, his memory is undying, and he is accounted among the greatest and most famous of the Maliks of that country

[6] At this place, in some copies, a totally distinct idiom is used to express the same sense

[7] See note [9], page 306

[8] Some copies have "came" under his jurisdiction, and others "were" under, &c.

[9] It is something new, certainly, to find that "Ṣāḥib-i-Da'wat" means "*a founder*"

[1] That is, a native of Marw

[2] In the accounts of Abū-Muslim, the quondam "founder" of this house of 'Abbās, and in the accounts of those transactions in the history of the Khalīfahs, there is no mention, of course, of the great support they received from Pūlād the Ghūrī Some writers say that the fief of Ghūr was conferred upon Amīr Pūlād and his descendants on account of the services rendered by him, and that he added to it by annexing other tracts of country

[3] All the copies of the text here, with few exceptions, write this name differently as well as incorrectly There is no doubt that Mandesh is the correct name. See note [5], page 306, and note [6], page 308

[4] Which brother is, of course, nameless.

The whole of the Sulṭāns were descended from his sons[5]; and his genealogy has been thus made out:—Banjī, son of Nahārān, son of War-mesh[6], son of War-meshān [War-maṣān, Dar-manshān, War-mashān, and War-heshān], son of Parwez, son of Parwez[7], son of Shansab, son of Kharnak[8], son of Bain or Bayyin, son of Munshī[9], son of Wajzan [Wazn, Wazan, and Warat, or Darrat, or Dirat?], son of Hain [Hīn, or Hunain?], son of Bahrām, son of Ḥajash, or Khajash, [Jaḥs, or Jaḥsh?], son of Ibrāhīm, son of Mu'ddil [Ma'add, or Ma'id], son of Asad [Nāsad?], son of Shadād, son of Ẓuhāk

Amīr Banjī was excessively handsome, and of excellent disposition, and endowed with all good qualities and natural gifts When the dominion of the house of 'Abbās acquired stability[1], and the empire of Islām came under the sway of the Khalīfahs of that family, he presented himself at the Court of the 'Abbāsī Khalīfahs, and the first person of the Ghūrīān race who proceeded to the Khalīfah's Court[2], and brought [back] a covenant and a standard, was Amīr Banjī, son of Nahārān

The cause of his proceeding to the presence of the Lord of the Faithful, Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, was this —In the territory of Ghūr there was a tribe who are called Shīsānīān[3],

[5] And from him, too, we may suppose

[6] Jahān Ārā has Nahāwān [and Nahādān], son of Wīr-mesh [and War-mesh], son of War-manshān, and Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh has Nahāwān, son of War-mesh, son of War-mashān Firishtah [Muḥammad Ḳāsim, *not* "Briggs," who turns Shansabī into *Shisty*?], to judge from three or four copies of the text, has made a terrible hash of these names, and, of course, Dow scarcely ventures to meddle with them, but those he does interfere with he succeeds, as with others in every place in his volumes, in making so ridiculous that their own mothers could not distinguish them But what can be expected of a translator who does not appear to have known what مورخان [mu'arrikhān, signifying "annalists, historians"] meant, which he, in his innocence, styles "MOR CHAN, *the historian*" [vol 1 p 131], and yet his work is the great cabbage-garden for modern historians of India for the million!

[7] One copy alone of the text has "Parwez, son of Parwez," but it is one of the best copies I have

[8] Respecting this name there is not the least doubt "Ḥarnak" is not correct

[9] Another name for Uṭārid [Mercury] is Munshī

[1] Hārūn-ar Rashīd, to whose court Amīr Banjī went, was the *fifth* 'Abbāsī Khalīfah

[2] See page 302, where Shansab is said to have been converted by the Khalīfah, 'Alī, and to have brought back with him a covenant and a standard

[3] That is to say, the name of the tribe was Shīṣ, and, when speaking of its people, Shīṣān or Shīṣānīān

and they assert that, in the first place, their ancestor embraced the true faith, and then the Shansabānīān did; and Muḥammad, in the dialect of Ghūr, they call Ḥamad [Aḥmad ?], and, after they had embraced Islām, they became styled Ḥamadī [Aḥmadī ?], that is to say, Muhammadī[4] In the time of Amīr Banjī, the Mihtar [chief] of the tribe of Shīṣānīān was an Amīr named Shīṣ, son of Bahrām, and, in the language of the Ghūrīs, Shīṣ they call Shīs[5], and this tribe they call Shīsānīān, after the name of this Amīr Now between Amīr Shīs and Amīr Banjī, son of Nahārān, dissension arose about the lordship of Ghūr, and [in consequence] disturbance ensued among the people of that territory The whole agreed together, on either side, that both the Amīrs, Banjī and Shīṣ, should proceed to the presence of the Khalīfah, and whichever should bring back from the Court of the Khilāfat a covenant and a standard should be accounted Amīr. Both disputants made their arrangements with the determination of undertaking their journey, and setting out towards the Dār-ul-Khilāfat. The throne of the Khilāfat, at this time, was adorned by the radiance of the Lord of the Faithful, Hārūn-ar-Rashīd

The chronicler relates that, in that country [Ghūr] there was a merchant, a Yahūdī [Jew], [a follower] of the religion

[4] By nearly every other writer of authority they are said not to have embraced Islām up to the time of Ḥusain, son of Sām, son of Ḥasan, who was made ruler of Ghūr by Mas'ūd-i-Karīm, Sulṭān of Ghaznīn See page 321 and note [7]

I have several times mentioned that the various copies of the text collated may be divided into two sets, which, in many places, differ considerably in idiom At this place, the oldest and best copies have Khamad [حمد], Khamadī [حمدی], and Akhmadī [حمدی], and also at page 369, whilst the more modern copies have Ḥamad, and Hamadī, with the exception of the I O L. MS No 1952, which, at page 369, has Khamadī also. The points of letters are often omitted in writing, and ح might be written for خ, but that ح should be written for ح, although possible, is not so probable Still I do not consider myself quite justified in adopting the reading of the older copies, although the Ghūrīān tribes *may* have given ح the harsher sound of خ I certainly have never met with a similar instance of the kind We may suppose, with some certainty, that the Ghūrīāns merely adopted the other name of Muḥammad, derived from the same root, namely Aḥmad, by which the prophet is mentioned in the Ḳur'ān [a matter which has been much discussed], and hence they used Aḥmadī in preference to Muḥammadī See page 369

[5] That is to say, the Ghūrīs did not correctly pronounce the ث s, lisped s of the 'Arabs, but pronounced it as common س

of Mihtar Mūsā [Moses], on whom be peace! This merchant entertained a friendship for Amīr Banjī. He had travelled a great deal, and had acquired great experience in the ways of the world, and had frequented the capitals of the rulers of the countries around, and had become acquainted with the usages and forms of etiquette of the Courts of Sultāns and Princes; and he set out in company with Amīr Banjī.

He was acquainted with the objects and intentions of Amīr Banjī, and he said to him:—"If I should instruct thee in etiquette, and make thee acquainted with the usages of decorum and politeness, and give thee proper knowledge of the forms and ceremonies observed at the Court of the Khilāfat, and in the presence of sovereigns, so that on that account the authority and government of the territory of Ghūr shall be conferred upon thee, do thou enter into a covenant with me, that, in every tract that I may desire, throughout the whole of thy territory, thou shalt assign a locality to, and cause to settle therein, a number of the Banī-Isrā'īl [children of Israel], followers of the faith of Mihtar Mūsā, in order that under the shadow of thy protection, and beneath the guardianship of thy Maliks and thy offspring, they may dwell in peace and tranquillity[6]." Amīr Banjī, son of Nahārān, entered into a covenant with that merchant of the Banī-Isrā'īl, and said:—"When thou teachest me the usages of politeness, and instructest me in the rules of conduct and demeanour necessary to be observed before princes, and in paying homage at the Court of the Khilāfat, I will fulfil the whole of thy requests, and fully satisfy thy desires."

This covenant having been duly settled on both sides, the merchant of the Banī-Isrā'īl commenced to instruct Amīr Banjī in the polite usages necessary to be observed before princes, and at the Courts of sovereigns, and the requisite forms of respect and reverence needed at the

[6] I would here call the reader's particular attention to the universal tradition of the Afghāns, recorded in all histories of them, respecting their claim to Israelitish descent. But they consider it an insult to be called Yahūdīs or Jews, and declare that they are Banī-Isrā'īl. Many European writers declare most energetically that such a descent is impossible. Perhaps if it had been recorded in Greek or merely mentioned by one of that nation, they would have been equally energetic in the other way.

Khalîfah's Court. The merchant likewise began to put in order and make ready a dress for him, consisting of a tunic, a cap, boots, and breeches, and to perfect him in riding and in the mode of wearing his arms, in such wise, that his rival, Shîs, son of Bahrām, knew nothing whatever of all this [preparation] until they arrived at the Khalīfah's capital.

Shîs, son of Bahrām, proceeded thither just as he was, in the short Ghūrîān garments which he was accustomed to wear at home, whilst Amîr Banjî, son of Nahārān, entered the Khalîfah's capital in a dress befitting an Amîr, and becoming a great personage

After they had been permitted to make their obeisances before the Khalīfah's Court, when a convenient opportunity arose, each of the disputants represented what were his objects and wishes, in a respectful manner, and with many expressions of his devotion and loyalty, and stated to the Wazīr and the Ustād-ur-Rāz-bān[7] the matter of the dispute between them, and made fully known what were their desires and requirements. The Lord of the Faithful, Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, after he had been pleased to peruse their statements, and his august consideration and attention had been drawn to their case, was pleased to regard Amîr Banjī, son of Nahārān, with favour

As Amîr Banjī was blessed with great good fortune, combined with a most felicitous destiny, and his good nature was adorned with gracefulness of manners, the Lord of the Faithful was pleased to remark .—"Hazā Ḳasīm," that is to say, "This Banjī is good looking, has a noble bearing, and appears endowed with the necessary qualifications of government and sovereignty, combined with good looks and artlessness of nature Let the whole of the territory of Ghūr be made over to him, and let the championship of the forces of the country of Ghūr be entrusted to Shîs, son of Bahrām" Both of them were invested with a robe of honour of the Dār-ul-Khilāfat, and these titles were bestowed upon them, and they took their departure, and returned to Ghūr again, according to the command of the Khalîfah's Court[8]

[7] The Ustād-i-Rāz bān was an officer who represented to sovereigns the statements of persons who desired that their cases should be investigated by the monarch himself.

[8] Another author, who says nothing whatever about any Jew merchant,

From that time forward, the title of the Shansabānīān Sulṭāns, according to the august words of the Lord of the Faithful, Hārūn-ar-Rashīd[9], became Ḳasīm-i-Amīr-ul-Muminīn—the Lord of the Faithful's handsome [one]

When these two personages returned to Ghūr again, the government of the territory [was assumed] by the Shansabānīs, and the championship of the forces by the Shīṣānīs, and that arrangement continued up to the present age according to this settlement The Sultāns were all Shansabānīs, and the Champions, such as Mu-ayyid-ud-Dīn, Fath-i-Karmākh[1], Abū-l-'Abbās-i-Shīs, and Sulimān-i-Shīs, were all Shīsānīs—the mercy of the Almighty be upon the whole of them!

III SŪRĪ, SON OF MUḤAMMAD

From the time of the government of Amīr Banjī up to the present period[2] [of Sūrī's rule], nothing was found in

relates that Amīr Banjī, having added considerably to his previous territory by seizing other tracts, became one of the most powerful of the Maliks around He was famed for his noble qualities and disposition, and, during the Khilāfat of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, he proceeded to the Dār-ul Khilāfat He was treated with great favour on account of the successes which had been gained, by his efforts, in the arrangement of the important affairs of the house of 'Abbās, and, on beholding him, the Khalīfah uttered these words "Hazā-Ḳasīm," which is to say "good looking," and, consequently, he obtained the title of Kasīm-i-Amīr-ul Mūminīn He returned to Ghūr again, with a robe of honour and a patent of investiture The dominion over those parts continued in the possession of himself and his descendants until the time of Sūrī, the son of Muḥammad, who *was one of Banjī's descendants*, and lived in the time of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn

[9] No other Khalīfah confirmed it, I fancy, if Hārūn bestowed it. By our author's own account, they did not even *assume* the title of Sulṭān up to Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī's time He was *seventh* after this Sūrī

[1] Some copies have کرخ and one has کرخ but Karmākh is correct

[2] Jahān Arā and Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh differ from our author considerably here [he certainly acknowledges his want of materials] —Sūrī, son of Muḥammad, was the grandson [farzand-zādah] of Amīr Banjī, and he flourished, not in the time of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, but in the time of the Ṣuffārīān Sūrī's *son*, Muḥammad, was a contemporary of Maḥmūd's The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, Fasiḥ ī, and others also, state that Muḥammad, son of Sūrī, was a contemporary of Maḥmūd, but that, when Sulṭān Maḥmūd got rid of Muḥammad, son of Sūrī, ruler of Ghūr, his grandson, Ḥasan by name, through fear of the Sulṭān, retired into Hindūstān, with his family, and took up his residence in that country What reason there could have been for this, when the father could stay, is not given. Some others, again, say that sometimes Muḥammad, son of Sūrī, would be obedient to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and, at others, in open revolt, as circumstances permitted, until, after some years,

chronicles respecting the state of the country of Ghūr that could be particularly enlarged upon, and, as the compilation of this ṬABAḲĀT was completed at the sublime capital, Dihlī—may its pre-eminence never decline!—and the kingdoms of Islām were thrown into convulsion through the irruption of the Mughal infidels—the Almighty confuse them!—and the country had become isolated, and the extreme parts disturbed and unsettled, it was impossible to copy from the history which the author had examined in the territory of Ghūr[3] As a matter of necessity that which has been obtained from the Tārīkh-i-Nāsirī, and the Tārīkh of Ibn-Haiṣam-i-Sānī, together with some traditions from the priesthood of Ghūr, have been [therefore] recorded, and the author hopes that he may be forgiven by those who look into the work [for any errors or shortcoming that may be found in it]

They thus state, that Amīr Sūrī was a great Malik, and that most part of the territory of Ghūr was under his jurisdiction, and, as in some parts of that country, such as Zāwulistān[4], the people, both high and low, noble and ignoble, were not [yet] exalted to the excellence of Islām, they were, at that time, at continual feud one with another When the Ṣuffāriān came out of the territory of Nimroz, and advanced to Bust and the district of Dāwar, and Ya'kūb, son of Laiṣ, attacked Lakan the Lak[5], Amīr of

partly by stratagem and partly by peaceful means, the Sulṭān succeeded in securing Muḥammad, son of Sūrī, whom he took along with him towards Ghaznīn, but that he died by the way, at Kīdān The Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī gives a more trustworthy account, and which, if dates are examined, certainly seems correct For further particulars see note [7], page 321

[3] The history in verse composed by Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mubārak Shāh, mentioned at page 300

[4] Great discrepancy exists in most of the copies of the text with respect to his name Some have Wālishtān, Wāeshān, and Wālshīān, but two good copies have Zāwulistān very plainly written, and that may be considered the correct reading

[5] Ya'ḳūb i-Laiṣ reduced Bust, Zamīn i-Dāwar, Ghaznīn, Tukhāristān, and other tracts in 256 H, and, in the previous year, fought an action with Ṭūḳ, son of Muḳlas, in Kirmān, but who Lakan the Lak [some copies have Lak-Lak] was it is difficult to say There is no mention of this matter in any author with whom I am acquainted, but Lak is the name of a sept of nomad Kurds, of which people there seems to have been a considerable number in those parts at that time There are some tribes dwelling among the Afghāns to this day, erroneously supposed by Englishmen to be Afghāns, who claim to be Kurds

Aytkīn-ābād[6], which is the district of Ru<u>kh</u>aj, the tribes of the <u>Gh</u>ūrīs fortified themselves on the summits of the rocks, and remained in safety; but they used to be at constant enmity with each other—the followers of Islām and the unbelievers[7]—so that they were in the habit of keeping up a war from kū<u>sh</u>k to kū<u>sh</u>k[8], and lived in a constant state of contention and strife.

Through the natural impregnability of the strong mountains which are in <u>Gh</u>ūr[9], others [foreigners] used not to subject them to their power, and the head of the whole of the <u>Sh</u>ansabānīs of Mande<u>sh</u> was Amīr Sūrī[1]

There are five great and lofty mountains[2] in <u>Gh</u>ūr, respecting which the people of <u>Gh</u>ūr are agreed that they are the strongest mountains in the world. One of these is Zār-i-Mar<u>gh</u> of Mande<u>sh</u>, at the foot of which mountain is the kū<u>sh</u>k and capital of the <u>Sh</u>ansabānīs, and they [the people of <u>Gh</u>ūr] contend that the Sīmur<u>gh</u> nourished Zāl-i-Zar [Zāl, the ruddy-faced], who was the father of Rustam, in that mountain Some of the dwellers at the skirt thereof maintain, that it was in one of the years between 500 H and 600 H, when the sound of lamentation and regret issued from that mountain, "Zāl-i-Zar hath passed away" The second mountain [range] has the name of Sur<u>kh</u>-<u>Gh</u>ar[3], and that also is in the Mande<u>sh</u> district,

[6] Some copies have Lātkīn ābād, but the above is the correct reading, but Ru<u>kh</u>aj—رخج—which is said to have been a district of the territory of Bust, might be read Zaranj—زرنج—and I am almost inclined to consider the last reading correct All the copies of the text are more or less imperfect here One copy also says plainly that "the tribes of <u>Gh</u>ūrīs sought shelter on the borders of Sind," and this seems the preferable reading, but the majority of copies are as above

[7] That is, those not yet converted to the Muḥammadan faith, and, probably, some of the Banī-Isrā'īl before referred to, and such tribes as have since retired northwards towards Hindū-Ku<u>sh</u>, or have now nearly disappeared

[8] A kū<u>sh</u>k here means a fortified village, and also a castle, &c See note [2], page 331

[9] There would be considerable difficulty in finding "the mountains of Rásiát, which are in Ghor," for a very good reason—that they do not exist The word "rāsīāt" is not a proper name, but the plural of "rāsīah," which means "strong mountains" See Elliot's INDIA, vol ii p 284.

[1] From this statement it is plain, as in Baihaḳī's account farther on, that <u>Gh</u>ūr was under several petty chiefs Sūrī was chief of Mande<u>sh</u> only

[2] The word koh, here used, may signify a mountain range, or a single mountain

[3] It is impossible to fix the names of two of these five ranges with any degree of certainty, for there are scarcely two copies alike out of the twelve

in the limits of Tajir-Koh[4]. The third mountain is Ashuk, in the district of Timrān, the size and altitude of which is greater than that of any other part of the territory of Ghūr; and the district of Timrān is [situated] in its hollows and [on] its sides The fourth is the mountain range of Waranī, in the valleys and on the skirts of which are the territories of Dāwar and Wālisht[5], and the kasr[6] of Kajūrān. The fifth is the mountain of Ro'en, in the central part of Ghūr, of immense strength and altitude; and they have stated[7] that the fifth mountain [range] is the Faj [defile, pass] of Khaesār[8], the length, extent, and loftiness of which is beyond the bounds of conjecture, conception, and understanding In the year 590 H., one half[9] of the trunk of an ebony tree was found at the summit of it, more than one thousand *mans*[1] in weight; and no one was able to conceive how, or in what manner, it could have been brought, or have fallen there.

collated One, the very old copy I have often referred to, has سرخغر — Surkh-Ghar, as above, which means the red mountain, and the next oldest copy سرخغر between which two words there is but a very slight difference The remaining copies have سرجغر — سرجعر — سرحطر — سرجعر — سرجعب and the like

[4] As many other copies have تغير — تغر — تغير — تهر — تغر — حبس — تجبس — چس

[5] It is impossible to fix some of these names satisfactorily Some copies of the text have داور و والشت Dāwar *and* Wālisht, while others again leave out the *and* altogether The very old copy I have often referred to has as written above, but another very old copy, one of the St Petersburg MSS., has غور و والشت "Ghūr and Wālisht" This is somewhat remarkable, as Baihaķī mentions a گور والشت Gūr-i-Wālisht, as lying in the route between Ghaznīn and the fortress of Mandesh, in which stronghold Mas'ūd of Ghaznīn confined his brother Muhammad, and he also mentions والستان Wālistān, in connexion with Bust and Kusdār One of the Paris copies here has "the district of زاربستان Zāristān," and leaves out Dāwar Although so many copies have Wālisht, I am half inclined to read this part of the sentence thus— كه بلاد داور و زاولست "which are the territories of Dāwar and Zāwul"

[6] Ķasr and Kūshk have both one meaning the first is 'Arabic and the last Persian. See note [2], page 331

[7] From this remark it is evident our author does not describe these mountain ranges from his *own* knowledge

[8] Faj is not a proper name it means a wide and open route or road between two mountain ranges, a pass Khaesār is a well-known place, and is mentioned in a number of places throughout the work, and therefore the "Faj Hanisar" is as much a myth as the "mountains of Kasiat"

[9] The printed text, the I O L MS and the R A S MS, have "a kasr [see meaning of ķasr, note [2], page 331] of the trunk of an ebony tree"

[1] The *man* varies from forty to eighty pounds in different parts The former probably is meant here

IV MALIK MUḤAMMAD, SON OF SŪRĪ

Abū-l-Ḥasan-ul-Haiṣam, son of Muḥammad-i-Nābī[2], the historian, relates in this wise —that, after the sovereignty of Khurāsān and Zāwulistān passed from the Sāmānis and Ṣuffāris, and devolved upon Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn[3], he had, upon several occasions, marched forces from Bust towards the mountain [tracts] of Ghūr, and had put numbers to the sword, and, when the throne fell to Amīr Mahmūd-i-Sabuk-Tigīn, the sovereignty of Ghūr had passed into the hands of Amīr Muhammad, son of Sūrī[4], and he, having brought the territories of Ghūr under his sway, sometimes would pay obedience to the Court of Sultān Mahmūd-i-Ghāzī, and at other times would act in a rebellious manner, and manifest a refractory spirit, and would withhold the amount of tribute and arms[5] stipulated, and, relying on the faith of his strong fortresses, his power, and the ample number [of his people], he used continually to show hostility

The heart of Sultān Mahmūd, for this reason, was ever

[2] Every copy of the text, with one exception, says "Nābī" here, instead of Sānī, and therefore, as I previously conjectured, the correct name of the history so often quoted must be the Tārīkh of Ibn Haiṣam-i Nābī, entitled the Kiṣas i Sānī

[3] See page 74, where our author says that Sabuk-Tigīn took possession of Ghūr, together with Bust, Zamīn i Dāwar, Bāmīān, and all Tukhāristān Here we might have expected to have heard something of Alb-Tigīn, Balkā-Tigīn, Abū 'Alī-i Lawīk, and Pīrey See note [5], page 71

[4] Our author is quite correct here [and Ārā and some others agree] with regard to Muḥammad, *son* of Sūrī, having been contemporary with Maḥmūd The reason why the great blunder has arisen that it was Sūrī who lived in Maḥmūd's time, is, that some authors and translators, in their simplicity, thought the words "Muḥammad-i-Sūrī" signified *one* man, instead of which they mean Muḥammad, son of Sūrī Another matter I would also remark upon —Sulṭān Mahmūd made raids upon the Afghāns in 411 H, and again in 416 H, but they are never mentioned in connexion with the Ghūrīs by Baihaḳī and such like trustworthy authors, a pretty good proof, were any wanting, that, although the Afghāns are Patāns, the Ghūrīs are not, and never were so accounted by any historian, nor by the Afghāns nor Ghūrīs themselves It does not follow that, because a Tājīk is called Sūrī, he should be of the Afghān clan of Sūr, of the tribe of Lūdī, so styled from their progenitor named Sūr, but not Sūrī It is a curious fact that the Afghāns are not mentioned by our author but *once*, towards the end of the work

[5] Ghūr appears to have been famous in those days for the manufacture of warlike weapons

on the watch, and, on account of his [Muḥammad's, son of Sūrī,] numbers, his power and dignity, and the fact of the great [natural] strength and altitude of the mountains of Ghūr, the Sultān used well to consider in his mind, until, with a large army, he came into Ghūr, and he [Muḥammad, son of Sūrī,] was invested within the fortress of Āhangarān[6]. Muhammad, son of Sūrī, held out the fortress for a considerable period, and defended it energetically, but, after some time, the stronghold was gained possession of by his descending from it, on terms of accommodation, and presenting himself before Sultān Mahmūd.

The Sultān took him, together with his youngest son, who was named Shīs, away to Ghaznīn, because Amīr Muhammad-i-Sūrī entertained the greatest affection for his youngest son, Shīs. When they reached the precincts of Kīdān, Amīr Muhammad-i-Sūrī died. Some relate after this manner—that, when he became a prisoner, through the proud spirit within him, he was unable to brook disgrace. He had a signet-ring, beneath the stone of which some poison had been set, and, at this time, he availed himself of it, and died[7].

[6] Not mentioned in his account of the strong fortresses of Ghūr, but there was a place called Dīh [village] of Āhangarān [Ahangarān is the plural of Āhangar, a blacksmith], near Ghaznīn, and the river of Ahang, which flowed past that city. 'Utba' also mentions it. See following note.

[7] Before giving the accounts of other authors, I will first give an extract from the Kitāb-i-Yamīnī of 'Utba', as he was a contemporary of Maḥmūd, but he seldom mentions dates.

He says, Maḥmūd became greatly incensed against the tribes of Ghūr, who were unbelievers, on account of their waylaying caravans and levying black-mail, thinking their hills and defiles impregnable. An army, consisting of horse and foot, was assembled to punish them, and Altūn-Tāsh, the Ḥājib, and Arslān-i-Jāzib [called a Multānī, but it appears he had only held the government of Multān] were appointed to the command. They set out, but had such hard fighting with the Ghūrīs that Mahmūd, finding they made little progress, resolved to proceed in person, attended by a body of his Ghulāms. He succeeded in defeating them, and, after penetrating narrow passes and defiles, made a road which enabled him to reach Āhangarān, the stronghold of their Malik, who was called Ibn-i-Sūrī [i. e. "Surī's son" and thus he agrees with our author, and others I have quoted, to the effect that the correct name of this chief is Muḥammad, son of Sūrī, son of Muhammad. See also Baihaķī's account farther on]. Sūrī's son, with a force of 10,000 men, came out of his stronghold, and, being intrenched behind walls [breastworks?], and availing himself of the ravines, hills, and broken ground, succeeded for half a day in resisting all efforts to dislodge him. Maḥmūd had recourse to a

Sulṭān Maḥmūd sent his [Muhammad's] son, S͟hīṣ, back

stratagem He directed his troops to face about, as though about to give up the contest and retire This had the desired effect, and Sūrī's son, the Hindū [as 'Uṭba' calls him], came forth from his strong position to follow in pursuit The Sulṭān faced about, and defeated him Sūrī's son was taken, together with great booty, consisting of arms and other war material Sūrī's son subsequently poisoned himself by means of his ring, which contained poison

'Uṭba' also makes a difference, as do all writers of any knowledge of their subject, between G͟hūrīs and Afg͟hāns, and never confounds them

Other writers contend that Muhammad and his son, Ḥasan by name, not S͟hīṣ, were made captive by Maḥmūd, and imprisoned Their place of confinement was the upper story of a tower, thirty ells from the ground, an aperture of which faced the open country Muḥammad gave himself up for lost, but, not wishing that his family should be ruined, desired Ḥasan to make for G͟hūr He contrived to effect the escape of his son by tearing up the blanket given him to lie upon, to make it into a rope, by means of which he lowered Hasan to the ground, who escaped to G͟hūr As soon as the Sulṭān became aware of Hasan's escape, he put Muḥammad, the father, to death Hasan obtained the rule over G͟hūr, and had a son, Ḥusain by name, who had seven sons This is the 'Izz-ud Dīn, Husain, the IXth chief of our author

Jahān Arā, Muntak͟hab-ut-Tawārīk͟h, and some others agree as to Muḥammad, Sūrī's son, having been made captive by Maḥmūd, but, like our author, contend that he [Muḥammad] was succeeded by his son Abū-'Alī, who had always been obedient to Maḥmūd, and that he was appointed to the chieftainship of G͟hūr by that Sulṭān, and that afterwards Abū-'Alī was ousted by his nephew, 'Abbās, son of S͟hīṣ [who had been taken captive with his father] The chieftainship then passed into the hands of Muhammad, son of 'Abbās, then to Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Hasan, his son, and then to the latter's son, Ḥusain, the 'Izz ud Dīn, Husain of our author He, as well as other writers, does not make any remark whatever upon Abū-'Alī's having been deprived of the chieftainship by 'Abbās, son of S͟hīṣ In this case the line *terminated* in Abū-'Alī's family, and passed to the younger branch, and thus the G͟hūrīān Sulṭāns *are not descended from him at all*, but from S͟hīṣ

The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā considers this statement weak, and quotes, as does also the Habīb-us-Siyar and the Mir'at-i-Jahān-Numā, another tradition to the effect that when Maḥmūd marched an army into G͟hūr, and took Sūrī [Muḥammad, son of Sūrī—Rauẓat-us-Ṣafā makes this blunder here, after having previously called him by his correct name] captive, and put him to death, his grandson [if such be correct, what became of the son?] Ḥasan, with his family, through fear of Mahmūd, fled into Hind, and, *as they had not yet been converted* to the Muḥammadan faith, they took up their residence in an idol temple [in a Dharm sālā perhaps] This Hasan had a son named Sām, who, after his father's decease, was converted to Islām He proceeded to Dihlī, and followed the occupation of a trader [and, according to the Rauẓat-us-Ṣafā *only*, used to carry goods from Hindūstān to G͟hūr, and bring other commodities back from thence This seems strange however, since, if he could have gone back to G͟hūr in this way, his father surely need not have left it, unless he liked] He had a son named Husain, who was endowed with many excellent qualities After some years had passed away, and Sām had acquired considerable wealth, the desire of returning to his native mountains induced him to set out for G͟hūr He embarked on one of the seas [the word used also signifies a large river, which is probably meant here] of Hind, together with his

to Ghūr again. He had [already] conferred the govern-

family and effects, on board a vessel which met with a contrary wind, which raised a violent storm The vessel and all on board, with the exception of *Ḥusain, son of Sām, went to the bottom* Ḥusain, when the ship was sinking, succeeded in getting upon a plank or log of wood, and, at the very same time, a lion [Dow calls the lion "*his father*," mistaking ببر for پدر or پیر], which was being conveyed upon the vessel's deck, also sprang upon it, and for three days and nights Ḥusain and his strange companion remained in this state upon the log, at the end of which period they were wafted to the shore The lion made for a neighbouring forest, and Husain for a town near by Being a stranger and not knowing any one, and the time night, he went and lay down upon one of the benches or platforms, which are to be found in front of almost all shops in India, and fell fast asleep The watch on going their rounds perceiving him there, and, not knowing who he was, took him for a thief, and dragged him away to prison, where he remained for about seven years The governor of that place having been attacked with a dangerous disorder, by way of atonement, ordered all the prisoners to be set at liberty Husain, son of Sām, by this means obtained his freedom, and set out for Ghaznīn On the road thither he fell in with a band of robbers, who, finding him a powerful and intelligent youth, induced him to join them, and he was provided with a horse and arms It so happened, however, not long after, that a band of troops in the service of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm of Ghaznīn, which had been for some time on the look out for the robbers, came upon them unawares, and made the whole gang captive They were brought bound into the presence of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, who directed that they should suffer death One after the other several underwent their sentence, until it came to the turn of Husain, son of Sām While the executioner was blindfolding him, he exclaimed, "O God! I know that error is not agreeable to Thee, why then is it that I, although innocent, am thus to suffer death?" These words affected the executioner, and the matter was represented, through one of the Court, to the Sulṭān, who directed that Ḥusain should be brought before him He stated his pitiful case to Ibrāhīm, who, on hearing it, took compassion on him, pardoned him, and enrolled him, in a subordinate office at first, among his chamberlains When Sulṭān Mas'ūd, surnamed the Beneficent, succeeded his father, Ibrāhīm, he conferred upon Husain, son of Sām, son of Muḥammad, [grand(?)]son of Sūrī, the government of the district of Ghūr, and the title of 'Izz-ud-Dīn Some say Ibrāhīm gave Ḥusain a kinswoman of his own in marriage [our author states, at page 105, that one of his own ancestors married a daughter of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm] After Husain's death, enmity arose between his descendants and Bahrām Shāh, Mas'ūd's son, as mentioned by our author farther on, and as will be hereafter noticed Many authors very properly consider 'Alā-ud-Dīn to be the first of the dynasty, and the dynasty to consist of five persons only, whose dominion lasted sixty-four years, the others being merely accounted petty chieftains

There can be no doubt whatever that the Ghūrīs were merely petty mountain-chiefs up to the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, and the extent of country they dwelt in proves it, but, as the Ghaznawīd dynasty declined, the Ghūrīs waxed stronger and more independent after the decease of Mas'ūd-i-Karīm [the Beneficent], who gave the government of his native country to Ḥusain, son of Sām, when the Ghaznawīd empire began rapidly to decay Our author's desire at all times appears to be to glorify the Ghūrīs, and, therefore, the fact of their having been merely petty tributary chiefs did not chime in with his wishes We find Maḥmūd and his son Mas'ūd continually passing

ment of Ghūr upon Muhammad-i-Sūrī's eldest son, Amīr Abū-'Alī, as will, subsequently, be recorded.

from Ghaznīn to Balkh and Kābul, Ghaznīn to Hindūstān, Ghaznīn to Sijistān, and from Ghaznīn to Hirāt, and thence up the valley of the Murgh-āb, and Mas'ūd appears to have passed through Ghūr to Ghaznīn, when he had to fly, after his defeat by the Saljūks, and yet we hear *not a word* about these powerful rulers of our author, although the Sultāns must have passed through the mountain tracts of Ghūr constantly—in fact the Sultāns of Ghaznīn held several fortresses in Ghūr, and Tigīn ābād was in that very part, and Muhammad, brother of Mas'ūd, was confined in the fortress of Nāe in Wajīristān, one of the very districts mentioned by our author as forming part of the Ghūrīān dominions. I think 'Utba' and Baihakī were more than likely to have had thorough knowledge of these potent Maliks and sovereigns so called, yet Baihakī and 'Utba' treat them as very petty chieftains, although they held some strong fortresses. Our author quotes Baihakī constantly about other matters, *but not here* in regard to what happened under his [Baihakī's] own observation as it were, and this looks suspicious. I will now give an abridged account of what he does say respecting Sultān Mahmūd's proceedings with respect to Ghūr, and of the expedition undertaken by his gallant son, Mas'ūd, against some of its petty chiefs, during the time he held the government of Khurāsān, before he succeeded to the throne of Ghaznīn.

"In the year 401 H., Sultān Mahmūd went on an expedition into Ghūr against the infidels of that part, by way of Zamīn-i-Dāwar, taking along with him his two sons, Mas'ūd and Muhammad, both at that time in their fourteenth year [they were not twins], and also their uncle [Mahmūd's youngest brother], Yūsuf, then seventeen.

"These three young Princes were left in Zamīn-i-Dāwar, with the heavy materiel and baggage, and Mahmūd left them there because he considered that district auspicious, it having been the first territory entrusted to him by his father, Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn. The narrator of the preceding and following events, 'Abd-ul-Ghaffār, says, 'my grandfather, who related this, was at that time in the service of Bātīkīn, the Zamīn Dāwarī [i. e. of Zamīn-i-Dāwar], who was governor of that district on the part of Sultān Mahmūd, and he [my grandfather] was directed to remain in attendance on the Princes.' [There is not the slightest allusion either to Sūrī or his son here, although it is the year in which his son Muhammad is said to have been made captive by Mahmūd.] * * * * In 405 H., Mahmūd began to make raids upon Khawānīn, which is a tract of Ghūr, adjoining Bust and Zamīn-i-Dāwar, in which were infidels exceedingly tall and strong, and they held many passes and strong fortresses. On this occasion the Sultān had taken along with him his son Mas'ūd, and he then greatly distinguished himself, and showed many proofs of his manhood and valour. When a body of them [the infidels] retired for refuge to their stronghold, one of their chiefs was standing on a tower of the fort, and was acting with great insolence and audacity, and galling the Musalmāns, when Mas'ūd, who was fighting on horseback, hit him in the throat with an arrow, and he fell dead from the tower. The chief's companions became heart broken at this, and surrendered the fortress, and all this was accomplished by one wound dealt by a brave hand. Amīr Mahmūd was delighted with his lion like son, and, whilst he was yet in his youth, made him his heir, for he knew that after his own death there was no one able to maintain the dynasty but he. [See note [4], page 92.] * * * * In 411 H., Mas'ūd [he had been declared heir-apparent, and appointed governor of Khurāsān, with Hirāt as the seat of

V MALIK ABŪ-'ALĪ, SON OF MUḤAMMAD, SON OF SŪRĪ

Amīr Abū-'Alī, son of Muhammad-i-Sūrī, was a man of

government] proceeded to Hirāt, and determined to undertake an expedition into Ghūr

"He set out from Hirāt, in Jamādī-ul-Awwal, with a strong force of horse and foot, and five light elephants The first march was to Badshān [one MS has Badshāhān], and the next to Khusān [one MS Chashān or Chushān, but several of these names cannot be considered *certain*, although all available MSS have been compared, and the printed text of MORLEY, which has been carefully edited], and then to Bariān [MS Paiāyān] There a halt took place to allow all the troops to come up, after which Prince Mas'ūd marched to Pār [MS Bār], and from thence, after two days, to Nakhshab [MS Nahshab or Nibshab], and then to Bāgh-i Wazīr, outside, and that Ribāṭ [public edifice, a kārwānsarāe] is the commencement of the frontier of Ghūr

"When the Ghūrīs became aware of this movement of Amīr Mas'ūd, they retired to their strongholds and deliberated about making resistance Before he set out on this expedition, Mas'ūd had conciliated Bū-l-Hasan-i-Khalaf [Bū or Abū l-Hasan-i-Khalaf would signify the father of Hasan, and son of Khalaf According to some authors already quoted the son of Muḥammad, son of Sūrī, was named Hasan See para 2, page 321], *one of the most notable of the chieftains of Ghūr*, and had induced him [Bū l-Hasan] to submit to his authority, and it had been agreed, that, on the Amīr's troops reaching that Ribāṭ, Bū-l-Hasan should present himself there with his forces fully equipped On the day Mas'ūd reached that place, Bū-l-Hasan joined him with a considerable force, amounting to 3000 horse and foot, and brought along with him numerous offerings and contributions in the shape of shields, armour, and whatever was most esteemed of the produce of Ghūr Mas'ūd treated him with favour, and he was followed by Sher-wān This was another of the chiefs on the frontier of Ghūr and Gūzgānān [pronounced and written Jūzjānān by 'Arabs], and he too came attended by numerous forces, horse and foot He likewise had been conciliated by Amīr Mas'ūd, and he brought along with him offerings beyond compute Amīr Muḥammad [Mas'ūd's brother] had used the utmost endeavours and contrivances to induce this chieftain to come and attach himself to him, because his territory adjoined Muḥammad's appanage, which was Gūzgānān, but he had declined because people were more inclined towards Mas'ūd

"Having been joined by these chiefs, Mas'ūd resumed his march, but went on in advance himself, slightly attended by about fifty or sixty ghulāms, and 200 foot, selected from each *dastah* or band He reached a fortress which they called Bar tar, an exceedingly strong place, and garrisoned by a numerous and well armed force He prepared to attack it, his party not being patient enough to wait for the arrival of the army He led the way himself, followed by his ghulāms and the foot, and they shouted the *takbīr*, on which the accursed unbelievers [these Ghūrīs were not Muhammadans] of this fortress of Ghūr sprung up infuriated, and set up a yell sufficient to rend the ground Mas'ūd ordered his ghulāms to take to their bows, and they kept up such an effectual fire of arrows, that not a Ghūrī dared show his head above the walls, and this enabled the foot, by means of lassos [used up to a recent

good disposition and excellent qualities, and was highly commended for the excellency of his faith.

period] to assault one of the bastions. They effected an entrance, and drove the Ghūrīs before them, and, being joined by the ghulāms, completely cleared the walls and bastions, making great slaughter among the unbelievers, and taking a great number of captives and a considerable amount of booty of all descriptions. After the fortress had been captured, the main body of the troops arrived, and many were their praises and congratulations, that such a strong fortress had been taken by such a mere handful of men.

"From thence Mas'ūd marched towards the tract of Zarān [in one copy of the original, Razān, but the first is the most probable], the people of which agreed to pay taxes and tribute, and presented contributions in gold, silver, and arms. From that part to the district called Jarūs [also Kharūs and Harūs] where War-mesh-i-Bat dwelt, was a distance of ten farsakhs [leagues]. The Amīr did not commence hostilities against this chief, War-mesh-i-Bat, because he had sent an agent to the young Amīr tendering submission and allegiance, and had promised that, when Mas'ūd should return to Hirāt, he would present himself before him, and enter into stipulations respecting tribute. That district, and the place where this chieftain dwelt, were excessively strong, and the most difficult portion of the whole territory of Ghūr, its people the most warlike and the strongest men in that part. *It had been the capital of the Ghūrīs in bygone times*; and, whatever ruler held that tract, the whole of the rest of the territory used to submit to him, up to the time that Amīr Mas'ūd marched into that part of the country."

[There can be no doubt but that Baihaḳī, who was a native of the Ghaznīn district, and who wrote his work at Ghaznīn upwards of a century before our author composed his history, must have had a much greater knowledge of Ghūr and its people; yet this extract makes the accounts of Ghūr and of the Ghūrīs more puzzling than ever. That the latter were not all converted—if any were—to the Muḥammadan faith is clear, and it is also clear that up to this time they were under several petty chiefs, independent of each other, though perhaps nominally acknowledging the supremacy of the chief of Zarān, whose place of residence *had been the capital of Ghūr in bygone times*. But the name of this chief is the most perplexing. In Morley's edition of the text of Baihaḳī he is called Ra'īs-i-Bat, or Tab [تب or بت رئیس], and, in a note, Ramīsh [رمیش], and in another place ورنی. A MS. in my possession has War-mesh [ورمیش], but, the passage being so important, I sent it to Professor Rieu, of the British Museum, who has been so very kind as to compare my translation with another copy of Baihaḳī in the British Museum, and, from what the Professor says, there is no doubt that the first name is War-mesh, and this is remarkable, because this very name occurs among the names of the ancestors of Amīr Banjī [see page 312], and occurs again at page 366. What Bat or Tab may mean it is impossible to say. It might be part of *but-parast* [بت پرست] idol-worshipper, infidel; but that all the known copies of the original should have left part of the name out [Morley collated his edition of the text with four or five copies] is improbable. The word is not Pus'hto, and there is no Afghān tribe or clan of this name. Had the Ghūrīs been Hindūs instead of Tājīks, we might suppose it was a corruption of Sanskrit Bhat, a hero, a warrior. I dare say, however, that some one will be able to account for the name, and perhaps show to his own satisfaction that this chief must have been one of the Bhatī tribe of Jats now in the Panjāb. We might as well have Bhatīs in Ghūr as "*a fugitive band of Crusaders*" from Palestine

At the time when his father held the sovereignty of

in the army of Ghūrīs who conquered the upper provinces of India, according to the interpreters of the poem of the Bard Chand—but I have forgotten myself *Pat* might be *Pat*, and that will be surely founded upon and shown to be part of the word Patān, and can be made "Pathan," "Patan," or "Pahtan," with the greatest ease. If it were not a dangerous practice to tamper with proper names, I should be inclined to read, Shīṣ.]

"The Amīr now despatched an intelligent person to this chief, and two men of Ghūr of the followers of Bū-l-Hasan-i-Khalaf and Sher-wān were sent along with him to act as *interpreters*, with a message combining threats and hopes, as is usual on such occasions. The agent departed, and the Amīr followed in his steps. The former, and the others with him, reached the place in question, and he delivered his message to those arrogant fellows [sic], who manifested great fierceness and defiance, and said that the Amīr had made a great mistake in imagining that either the people of that part or that district were similar to those he had met with and had passed through; that he had better come there, and he would find sword, spear, and stone [rock] ready for him. This insolent message roused the ire of Mas'ūd. He halted his troops for the night at the foot of the mountain, arms were distributed, and, at dawn, the force moved forward. The drums and trumpets sounded, and the soldiers began to ascend the heights, on which the Ghūrīs showed themselves like so many ants or locusts on the tracts above them, horse and foot, all well armed, and occupying all the paths and defiles leading to it, who raised shouts and yells, and began casting stones with their slings, at Mas'ūd's force.

"The best of it was, that that mountain was somewhat depressed, and partly composed of earth [not very rocky?] and accessible in every direction. The troops were told off in parties, to advance by the different practicable paths, and Mas'ūd himself kept parallel to them, for the fighting there was likely to be severe. Bū-l-Ḥasan-i-Khalaf, and his men, were sent to the right, and Sher-wān, with his contingent, to the left. The accursed ones evinced the utmost daring, and pressed forward with impetuosity, particularly in front of the Amīr, and they disputed the greater part of the ground with determination. The troops were hard pressed, and the enemy crowded towards the standards of the Amīr, and the fighting became desperate. [This reads something like an UMBEYLAH expedition.] Three mounted warriors of the enemy succeeded in getting close up to the Amīr, who, perceiving them, smote one of them full on the breast with his mace of twenty *mans* in weight [the *man* varies from forty to eighty pounds], which laid him sprawling on his back, and prevented his rising again; and the ghulāms attacked the other two, and hurled them from their horses. This was enough for the Ghūrīs, who gave way; but they continued, now and again, to face about and dispute the ground, until a village [town] was reached at the foot of the mountain [on the other side], and, on the way thither, numbers were slain and made captive. The fugitives threw themselves into this place, which was of vast strength, and contained numerous kūshks [here kūshk seems to mean a castle or fortified house], after the manner of the Ghūrīs, and sent away to a stronghold, at a distance in the rear, their women, children, and everything they could remove. The unbelievers resisted obstinately up to the time of evening prayer, and great numbers of them were killed, and numbers of Musalmāns were martyred [Mas'ūd's troops are referred to here]. When the night closed in, the unbelievers decamped, and the village [or town] was taken possession of by the troops, who occupied themselves, throughout the night, in plundering it.

["At

Gh̲ūr, and the mountain tracts of Mandesh̲[8], the whole of

[8] This tends to show that Gh̲ūr and Mandesh̲ were separate tracts.

"At dawn next day, the Amīr again moved forward towards their [other] stronghold, two leagues distant. He had to pass through a constant succession of defiles and passes, and did not reach it till the time of afternoon prayer. They found a fortress, as they had been informed, stronger than any other in the whole of Gh̲ūr, and no one recollected hearing that it had ever been taken by force of arms. Mas'ūd, having reached it, disposed his forces around this stronghold, and, during the whole night, preparations were made for attacking it, and the battering rams were placed in favourable positions."

I must here still further curtail this interesting account of the expedition for want of space. Suffice it to say that breaches were made and bravely assaulted and as bravely defended, the Amīr being ever in front, and thereby inspiring his men with strong hearts. After four days' very severe fighting, each day increasing in severity, it was carried, at last, sword in hand, the Gh̲ūrīs defending every inch of the breach. Great numbers of them were slain and taken prisoners, but the latter were protected on making their submission, while slaves and booty to a vast amount were captured. Mas'ūd had it proclaimed that he gave up all gold, silver, slaves, and other booty to the troops, but that all arms and war materiel taken was to be brought to him. A great quantity was accordingly brought and laid before his tent, and such as was most valuable or rare he selected, and divided the rest among his soldiers. Of the prisoners, one half was made over to Bū-l-Hasan-i-K̲h̲alaf, and the other half to Sh̲er-wān, for them to take to their own territories. Orders were also given to raze that stronghold, so that, from thenceforth, no rebel might take shelter therein. When the rest of the Gh̲ūrīs found what had happened to the fortified town and the other stronghold, they began to fear, and became submissive and willing to pay tribute and obedience; and even War-mesh̲-i-Bat began to quake. He made intercession through Bū-l Hasan-i K̲h̲alaf and Sh̲er-wān, and sent an envoy, tendered his submission, and increased the amount of tribute and contributions. His offers were accepted on the stipulation that every castle he [War-mesh̲] had taken on the side of Gh̲arjistān should be given up. Although War-mesh̲ ground his teeth at this, he could do nothing else than agree, and those fortresses were given up to governors of the Amīr. Whilst the latter was still in Gh̲ūr, that chief sent in his contributions and offerings; and, subsequently, when Mas'ūd reached Hirāt, War-mesh̲-i-Bat presented himself at the Court, was well received, had a dress of honour conferred upon him, and returned to his country along with the two other friendly chieftains.

After the capture and destruction of the fortress above referred to, Amīr Mas'ūd advanced against another, a famous place, and of vast strength, named Tūr [this name is doubtful, the variants are Būr and Nūr]. It was carried by storm after a week's fighting and great slaughter, and the two friendly chiefs took part in it. Mas'ūd placed a governor of his own in the place, after which he set out on his return to Hirāt. At Mār-ābād, ten farsak̲h̲s [leagues] from that city, large quantities of arms and war matériel, as stipulated for by others of the Gh̲ūrīs to avert molestation, were found already collected, together with what War-mesh̲-i Bat had despatched.

The narrator, 'Abd-ul-Gh̲affār, then adds, that "no sovereign ever acquired such power over Gh̲ūr as the martyr, Mas'ūd, did; for, although the first

the people had their eyes upon him, and affection towards him was instilled into their minds. Notwithstanding that his father used to act in a rebellious and contumacious manner towards Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn, and his son, Sultān Mahmūd, Amīr Abū-'Alī at all times used to manifest his fidelity and allegiance towards the Sultān, and he was in the habit of writing letters containing the expression of his fealty and his affection, and despatching them to Ghaznīn, the capital.

When the contumacy and defection of his father went beyond the bounds of forbearance, Sultān Mahmūd brought an army against him from Ghaznīn, and, after considerable effort, the Sultān succeeded in securing the person of Amīr Muhammad-i Sūrī, and took him away along with him towards Ghaznīn, and bestowed the government of Ghūr upon Amīr Abū-'Alī, his son.

As soon as Amīr Abū-'Alī became installed in the government of Ghūr, he conferred great benefits upon the people, and directed the erection of many buildings of public utility. Masjids and colleges were founded in Ghūr, and he also built a *Jāmi'* Masjid, and liberally endowed the whole of them. He held priests and ecclesiastics in great respect, and considered it incumbent on himself to venerate hermits and recluses.

During his time, the people of the territories of Ghūr dwelt in tranquillity and repose, and his brother, Shīs, son of Muhammad, passed his days under his protection.

When the appointed period of Amīr Abū-'Alī's dominion came to an end, and the empire of Ghaznīn [also] reverted from Mahmūd to his son, [Sultān] Mas'ūd, a son of Amīr Shīs, 'Abbās by name, having attained great dignity and power, broke out into rebellion, seized his uncle, Amīr Abū-'Alī, and reduced the whole of the country of Ghūr under his own sway, and the reign of Amīr Abū-'Alī came to a termination, and he died.

Musalmāns [the 'Arabs] conquered 'Ajam and Khurāsān, they found it impossible to enter Ghūr, and, although Sultān Mahmūd, on *three separate occasions*, by the same route of Zamīn-i-Dāwar, attacked different frontier tracts of Ghūr, yet he did not penetrate into the defiles and more difficult parts, still, it was not through inability to do so, for his designs and objects were different to those of his successor."

VI MALIK[9] 'ABBĀS, SON OF SHĪS, SON OF MUḤAMMAD, SON OF SŪRĪ

Amīr 'Abbās was a warlike, intrepid, and pitiless man, and endowed with great manliness, strength, and activity. When he attained the full vigour of youth, and his whole strength, he entered secretly into a compact with a party of adherents and young men, and gained them over to his own rebellious views He then suddenly rose, and seized his uncle, Amīr Abū-'Alī, ruler of Ghūr, and imprisoned him, and appropriated the whole of his uncle's property, his treasures and his hoards, to himself He was exceedingly determined, cruel, and tyrannical, and lawlessness and injustice were engrafted in his nature

He commenced to act illegally, and began to seize people's possessions and property, so much so that the commonalty, and his own immediate followers, were quite miserable, and became perfectly helpless in his hands, and to such degree, that, for a period of seven years during his reign, no animal—such as the horse, camel, cow, or sheep—brought forth young, and the rain from the heavens ceased to fall, and, according to one story, women also did not bear children, through the ill-luck consequent on his tyranny

The chronicler thus states, that he possessed two fine [and powerful] dogs, which were constantly kept fastened by heavy chains, and iron collars round their necks One of these dogs had been named Ibrāhīm of Ghaznīn, and the other, 'Abbās of Ghūr These animals used constantly to be brought before him, and the chains to be removed from them, and they were set to fight together Whenever the dog bearing his own name overcame the other, that day Amīr 'Abbās would make great rejoicings, and bestow liberal presents, but, on days when the dog named Ibrāhīm of Ghaznīn gained the advantage [over his antagonist], he would become infuriated, and greatly ill-treat and torment people, and not a single person among his favourites and attendants dared to say anything to him

With all this tyranny and oppression, however, he was

[9] Two copies of the text style him Amīr-ul-Kāmil—the perfect or thorough Amīr

gifted with a profound knowledge of astrology. He had taken great pains with respect to that science, and had shown vast perseverance and assiduity in its acquirement, and had gained a deep knowledge of it. In the country of Mandesh, in the Khittah [district] of Sangah, the original fortress which Bustām-i-Zuhāk had founded, he [Amīr 'Abbās] directed should be entirely reconstructed; and skilful artisans were obtained from parts around [for the purpose]. The walls, after the manner of a parapet, were carried from that castle, on two sides, to the strong ground on the summit of the mountain of Zār-i-Margh; and, at the foot of that mountain, on a knoll, a lofty Ḳasr [castle] was directed to be raised, with twelve towers; and in every tower, in likeness to the zodiacal circles in the firmament, there were thirty openings—there were six towers towards the east and north, and six others towards the west and south—marked out; and these were so arranged that, every day, the sun would shine through one of those openings approximate to the position of its rise[1]. By this means he used to know in what degree of what sign of the zodiac the sun was on that particular day; and this performance indicates the proficiency and knowledge which Amīr 'Abbās had attained in the science of astrology.

During his reign, likewise, the Ḳasrs of Ghūr were constructed[2], and plenty reigned throughout the country; but, as people now abominated him for his excessive tyranny,

[1] See the view of the Castle of Zuhāk in SALE'S "Defence of Jalālābād," and also in HART'S "Character and Costume of Afghānistān." The view in the first mentioned work answers tolerably well to this description. It is much to be regretted that no effort was made to explore Ghūr, even by means of natives, or gain some information about it, during our occupation of Afghānistān. What a field it must be for archæological research!

[2] The Persian word "kushk," and its 'Arabic equivalent, "kasr," signify a palace, a large and lofty stone or brick building, a castle; but here "kasr" means one of those fort-like villages, many of which, though on a smaller scale than in past ages, probably, may still be seen in scores in the tracts west of Kandahār and Ghaznīn, as well as in other parts of Afghānistān. Our author says above, that these structures "were constructed" in the time of 'Abbās, but of course many must have existed before, and his own statements confirm it. He must mean that *many more* were constructed during the chieftainship of 'Abbās. Sometimes he uses the 'Arabic, at others the Persian word. There are several places which were once fortified after the above fashion still remaining in Afghānistān, such as Kūshk-i-Safed, Kūshk-i-Nākhūd, and others, but not "Khushk," as written by recent travellers. Khushk signifies "dry."

oppression, and injustice, and the empire of Ghaznīn, and throne of sovereignty, had passed to Sulṭān Razẓī-ud-Dīn, Ibrāhīm, son of Mas'ūd, a party of the most powerful and eminent men, and the nobles of Ghūr, despatched letters to Ghaznīn, imploring the Sultān's assistance

In conformity with these solicitations, Sultān Ibrāhīm marched a large army into Ghūr, and, when he reached it, the whole of the forces of Ghūr went over to that monarch, and they delivered Amīr 'Abbās into the Sultān's hands[3] He commanded that Amīr 'Abbās should be placed in confinement, and he took him away to Ghaznīn, and conferred the territory of Ghūr upon his [Amīr 'Abbās'] son, Amīr Muhammad[4]

VII AMĪR MUḤAMMAD, SON OF ABBĀS

When Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of Mas'ūd, seized Amīr 'Abbās, and sent him away to Ghaznīn, at the solicitations of the chief personages and eminent men of Ghūr, he made over the country to Amīr Muhammad-i-'Abbās[5]

He was endowed with great good nature, was of exceeding amiability of heart, and of excellent disposition, most just, conscientious, and merciful, a patron of the learned, an impartial judge, and a cherisher of the weak and helpless In the place of every one of the odious and hateful proclivities towards inhumanity and tyranny which were in his father, the disposition of the son was implanted with a thousand amiable and admirable qualities

[3] There operations are not mentioned by other authors, but a few notice, very briefly, that Amīr 'Abbās carried on hostilities with Sultān Ibrāhīm

[4] This too is pretty good proof, by our author's own account, that the Ghūrīs were subject to the Sultāns of Ghaznīn, but, as the power of the latter declined, consequent on the rise of the Saljūḳs, and after Mas'ūd-i-Karīm's death, the Ghūrīs acquired more power See top of next page

[5] Which is impossible, if what other writers state as to Husain, son of Sām, having been saved from shipwreck, and Ibrāhīm's son, Mas'ūd-i-Karīm, having conferred the chieftainship on him, be taken into consideration Muhammad, son of Sūrī, was taken prisoner in 400 H, or, according to some accounts, in 401 H From that time, up to 493 H, when Mas'ūd-i-Karīm conferred the fief of the tributary province of Ghūr upon Husain, son of Sām, son of Hasan, son of Muḥammad, son of Sūrī, none of this family held independent sway over Ghūr As already shown from the account of Mas'ūd the Martyr's expedition into it, it was held by several petty chiefs independent of each other See note 7, page 321

When the territory of Ghūr was assigned to Amīr Muḥammad, the whole of the grandees, the chiefs, and most distinguished personages of the country, submitted to his authority, and, to the best of his ability and power, he began to labour and study to revive and restore the observances of goodness and utility, and the laws and usages of benevolence, beneficence, and justice. He used to render homage to the Sultāns of Ghaznīn with heartiness and loyalty, and pay them submission and vassalage, and used to despatch the fixed tribute regularly.

During his reign the gates of repose and tranquillity were opened to the people of Ghūr, and they all passed their days in the enjoyment of peace and security; happiness and plenty reigned; and his country, his people, and his retainers dwelt for a long while in the enjoyment of competency and affluence, up to the period when he passed away and was received into the mercy of God.

VIII. MALIK KUTB-UD-DĪN, AL-HASAN, SON OF MUHAMMAD, SON OF 'ABBĀS.

Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the grandfather of the great Sultāns of Ghūr[6], was a just Amīr, high-principled, and of handsome countenance. The proofs of his goodness, equity, clemency, and beneficence were sufficiently obvious and manifest to the inhabitants of Ghūr.

Such factions as were in the habit of acting contumaciously he used to occupy himself in chastizing and overthrowing, and considered it incumbent on himself to punish severely the disaffected and seditious. The tribes of the territory of Ghūr, having sprung from families of 'Arabs[7], and having been nurtured, and grown up, in a

[6] According to the statements of other authors given in note [7], page 321, the grandfather of the Sultāns of Ghūr, that is to say, of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and his brothers, was Hasan, son of Muhammad, son of Sūrī, who was let down from the tower by his father, and who had a son, Husain, the IXth chief mentioned by our author. But, according to the other tradition quoted by Rauẓat-us Ṣafā, Habīb-us-Siyar, and other histories, in the same note, their grandfather would be Sām, son of Hasan, grandson of Sūrī, who was drowned. See note [4], page 335, in which it is stated that "Husain, son of Sām, of the race of Sūrī," was taken captive by Sultān Sanjar in 501 H.

[7] See note [4], page 320. The Afghāns have, certainly, as well as other mountain tribes, behaved at all times in the manner mentioned here, but so

mountainous tract of country, obstinacy, turbulence, and contumacy were implanted in the constitutions and characters of the whole of the Ghūrīān tribes. Feuds and contentions would continually arise of one tribe against another, and conflicts constantly ensue. Every year one district or another of the territory of Ghūr would manifest antagonism [to the constituted authority] and withhold the payment of the regulated amount of revenue; and up to [near] this present time, when the dominion of the Ghūrīān Sultāns came to its termination, the state of these peoples continued to be seen and witnessed [after the same fashion].

Upon one occasion, during the time of Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, a tribe who dwelt in Tak-āb [8] of the territory of Wajīristān, rose in rebellion. Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, with his followers and the chiefs of Ghūr, appeared at the foot of that Kūshk and the stronghold of that faction, and summoned them to surrender. They refused to submit, and commenced hostilities. Unexpectedly, by destiny's decree, an arrow from the bow of fate came from the rebels and struck Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn in the eye, and, as it had wounded a mortal part, he died from the injury. His retainers and followers, immediately on seeing the effect of that arrow's wound, with the utmost daring, and putting forth all their energy, attacked and carried the Kūshk and stronghold by storm, and put the whole of the rebels to the sword, and that place was completely destroyed. Up

have the people styled Kohistānīs, who inhabit the valleys immediately north of Kābul, and also the Balūchīs, and they [the latter] have not yet, I believe, been quite made Paṭāns of, although *some* progress has been made towards it. Such conduct seems inherent in all mountain races, whether in the east or in the west.

[8] There is a river and valley of Tag-āo, or Tag-āb, in Afghānistān, but to them cannot possibly be referred the locality indicated here, for they are some sixty miles to the *eastward* of Kābul. I think the translation of this compound word may throw some light on its whereabouts. The word "Tak-āb," or "Tag-āb," both of which forms are correct, also the forms in use among natives of those parts—Tak-āo and Tag-āo, and Āb-i-Tang—are described by an old author as "ground furrowed by water [a ravine or series of ravines], a defile, a valley between two mountains, and ground, whether in a valley or not, in which, here and there, water collects and remains, and in some places flows, and in which there is pasture and much verdure. They are also used for the name of a territory, and there is a small district so named." I think the place alluded to by our author is not far from Āb-i-Istādah, but more to the west. Wajīristān has been often mentioned in the account of the Ghaznawīds.

to the time of the last of the Sultāns of Ghūr, and the termination of the sovereignty of the Shansabānīs, no king would grant permission for the restoration of that Kūshk, its equipments, and the suburbs of that place, with the exception of the Kūshk of Amīr Kharnak, which was in that Āb-i-Tang, for his ancestors had always been obedient[9]

When Kutb-ud-Dīn, Hasan, departed this life, his son, Amīr Husain, succeeded him

IX MALIK 'IZZ-UD-DĪN, AL-HUSAIN, ABŪ-UṢ-ṢALATAIN[1], SON OF KUTB-UD DIN AL-HASAN

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain, was a sovereign[2] upright, of handsome countenance, devout, and endowed with all good qualities, and distinguished for his many virtues During the period of his rule, the territory of Ghūr and the Bilād-i-Jibāl[3] [mountain country] were populous and prosperous, and the tribes and inhabitants of those tracts enjoyed ease and content, and, under his protection, lived in safety and security Priests, recluses, and holy men, and the whole of the people, without interruption, attained the fulfilment of their requirements and desires in an abundant degree

The Almighty God blessed his devoutness and good disposition by bestowing upon him seven sons, the fame of whose sovereignty and dominion became published throughout the seven climates of the world Of these sons four attained unto empire and dominion, and from them descended sons of renown in the world, who became

[9] Discrepancy more or less exists among all the copies of the original here The oldest and most trustworthy are as above The Paris copies too are defective, and in one copy the last part of this sentence runs —"No *sovereign set about* the restoration of that Kūshk, except Amīr Kharnak, who was in the neighbourhood of that Āb-i-Tang, and those parts were obedient to him"

[1] One of the oldest copies has "Abū l-Mulūk" here, instead of Abū-uṣ-Ṣalaṭain

[2] See note [4], page 320, and note [5], page 332 'Izz-ud-Dīn, the title, signifies "Glory, &c, of the Faith," but "*'A'iz ud*-Dīn" nothing, for it is meaningless Husain also is his correct name, confirmed by numerous other authors, and Haṣan was his father's name, as our author states

[3] Ghūr is mountainous enough, surely, as well as the Bilād-i-Jibāl. From our author's statement, however, they are separate tracts of country.

sovereign princes, as will be subsequently narrated and recorded.

This Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, was firmly attached to and in amity[4] with, the Sanjarī dynasty and the Saljūkī sovereignty, and every year he used to despatch to the court of Sulṭān Sanjar such things as had been customary and established, such as armour, coats of mail, steel caps, and other equipments, and war material[5] There is also

[4] His "attachment to the Sanjarī dynasty" may also easily be accounted for In 501 H, Sulṭān Sanjar, whilst in charge of Khurāsān, nine years before he became supreme ruler of the Saljūḳ empire, fought a battle with the *Maliks* [here a further proof that there were several petty chiefs] of Ghūr, who were *of the race of Sūrī*, and Ḥusain ['Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain, of our author], son of Sām, was made prisoner Sulṭān Sanjar ordered him to be put to death, but, at the intercession of the celebrated Shaikh Aḥmad, Ghazzālī, the Sulṭān of Mashā'ikh, as he is styled, he was spared, and set free. For two years he used to light the fires of the cooks of the Sulṭān's army, until, one day, the Amīr of the troops of Khurāsān, 'Imād-ud-Daulah, Ḳīmāj, chanced to meet with him He took compassion on Husain, and represented his case to the Sulṭān, who directed that Ḥusain should be brought to his presence When he was admitted, he kissed the ground of the Sulṭān's court Sanjar said to him —"I understand that thou hast neither wealth nor power left to thee, notwithstanding thou wast a chief and leader Has neither kindliness nor sympathy been left to thee?" Husain replied —"When this head was my own head, I had the good fortune to be attended by a thousand servants, but now that it belongs to thee, thou keepest me thus wretched and abject"

Rashīd-ud-Dīn, who also relates this anecdote [but, strange to say, under the account of his son, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, although he calls him Husain too, and leaves out all mention of the first part of the name, 'Alā-ud-Dīn], says that Ḥusain wandered about the Sulṭān's camp for two years as a mendicant [our author would scorn to relate this, as it did not tend to the glorification of the Ghūrīs, and their slaves, his patrons], when "one day Amīr Ḳimāj was passing the shop of a cook, he chanced to notice Husain, who was attending the fire, and watching the cook's pot" When admitted to the presence of the Sulṭān, Rashīd-ud-Dīn says the Sulṭān thus addressed Ḥusain —"I gather that thou hast neither wealth nor power left to thee hast thou not the means and the power of keeping one head and face clean?" The rest of the anecdote agrees with Faṣiḥ-ī, related above

Sulṭān Sanjar was touched, took pity on him, pardoned him, and sent him back to his native country attended by a large following, and to the end of his days Husain paid obedience to that monarch

Faṣiḥ-ī further states that "Husain, son of Sām, who escaped drowning, and the sword of the executioner," only died in 545 H He ruled that territory justly, and, up to his time even, great numbers of the inhabitants of the mountain tracts of Ghūr had not been converted to Islām, but were made converts of by him This Husain, the same chronicler states, was succeeded by his son, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, in that same year For further particulars, see under 'Alā-ud Dīn, note [2], pages 347 to 350

[5] Ghūr, and mountain tracts around, appear to have been famous for the manufacture of arms and armour, and iron mines must have been worked therein.

a remarkably fine breed of dogs in Ghūr, so powerful that, in frame and strength, every one of them is a match for a lion[6]. A number of this breed of dogs, with valuable collars round their necks, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, was in the habit of sending to the Sulṭān's [Sanjar's] presence; and he used to receive in return dresses of honour and many valuable presents

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn likewise was wont to keep on terms of amity and friendship with the Sulṭāns of Ghaznīn[7], and for a considerable length of time the government of the territory of Ghūr was held by him up to the period when he died

He had [as before stated] seven sons, the eldest of whom was Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, of Bāmīān, but an account of whom will be contained in another chapter on the Sultāns of Bāmīān, which will commence with a mention of him, and be therein recorded.

The names of his sons are as follow:—Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, Amīr of Bāmīān and Ṭukhāristan, Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, Amīr of Ghūr and Fīrūz-koh, Malik-ul-Jibāl, Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Amīr of Ghūr, and Fīrūz-koh, Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, sovereign of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain[8], sovereign of Ghūr, Ghaznīn, and Bāmīān, Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn,

[6] This fine breed of dogs, or rather one very similar, still exists among the Ghalzī tribe of Afghāns, who trace their descent *on the father's side only* from the son of a chief of Ghūr, whom their traditions style Shāh Husain, but he fled from Ghūr, and took shelter among the Afghāns at a much earlier period, in the time of the Khalīfah, 'Abd-ul-Malik, son of Mirwān, who reigned from 66 H to 86 H He was adopted by an Afghān Shaikh, but the names of his ancestry, as mentioned by the Afghān historians, do not agree with those mentioned by our author This Shāh Ḥusain's grandfather, according to them, was forty ninth in descent from Ẕuhāk Had not the names and the dates been so very different, I should have been inclined to consider Shāh Husain of the Ghalzīs, and the Husain of others, who was saved from shipwreck, and received the fief of Ghūr from Mas'ūd i-Karīm, as one and the same person

[7] Sulṭān Mas'ūd conferred the sovereignty upon ['Izz-ud-Dīn] Ḥusain in 493 H, the year after the decease of his own father, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm It is no wonder he kept on good terms with his suzerains Fasiḥ-ī says he died in 545 H, and that this was the same Husain, son of Sām, and *one of the kindred* of Muḥammad, son of Surī See preceding page, note [4] It is strange, but several of the best copies of the text have "Sulṭāns of Ghūr and Gharnīn" here

[8] In two copies he is here styled Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn-i-Sām.

Muḥammad, Kharnak, Malik of Mādīn of Ghūr; and Malik Shujā'-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, Amīr of Jarmās[9] of Ghūr.

X MALIK-UL-JIBĀL, KUTB-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF ['IZZ-UD-DĪN] AL-HUSAIN

Of the seven sons of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, the eldest among them all was Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, of Bāmīān, mention of whom will be made in the other chapter [referred to previously], the foundation of the dynasty of the Sultāns of Bāmīān dating from the rise of his power[1] His mother was a Turkī handmaid, and after him, in succession [in age], came the Malik-ul-Jibāl [the Lord of the Mountains], Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad[2] His mother was a woman who was of no high descent, and was the Ḥājibah [Chamberlain] and attendant of the mother of the other

[9] Some copies have Ḥarmās, and some Barmās

[1] This was the proper place to have separated these dynasties, as this chief was the first of the rulers of Ghūr and Fīrūz-koh after the patrimony had been divided This has been done by other writers, but they make Kutb-ud-Dīn the first of the dynasty of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, and his brother, Saif-ud Dīn, Sūrī, second Had our author given an account of Saif ud Dīn second as in the order of the events, instead of *last*, he would have saved his readers some perplexity and trouble

[2] So far, other writers agree pretty well with our author, but here considerable difference arises The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, quoting other authors, says, that Kutb-ud Dīn, Muhammad, who is known as the Malik-ul-Jibāl [Lord of the Mountains], *was sent for* by Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznīn – after he had made an accommodation with the sons of 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain—and that he made him his son-in law, but, through his having been suspected of a crime, he was removed by poison This is said to have been the first enmity that arose between the Ghaznawīds and the Ghūrīs, but such is not correct, as already shown Jahān-Arā agrees with the above, however, with this exception, that, in the latter, it is stated that he, the Malik-ul-Jibāl, *came from* Ghūr and *presented himself* at the Court of Bahrām Shāh The Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī, and some others, however, agree more with our author's statement, and say, that Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, on the death of his father, 'Izz ud Dīn, Husain, succeeded to the dominion of Ghūr, and divided the patrimony among his brothers, one of whom [Kutb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad] became irritated with his brothers, and went to the Court of Bahrām Shāh, who put him to death for some reason, and this caused enmity between the two houses The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā and some others, however, consider this statement very weak, and quote the tradition which I have already given at page 321, note 7, and state, that, after the death of Ḥusain, enmity arose between his descendants and Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznīn, and hostilities took place between them upon several occasions, which will be subsequently referred to

sons, the Sulṭāns, namely, Sulṭān Sūrī; Sulṭān[3] Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām; Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain; Amīr [Shihāb-ud-Dīn] Muḥammad, and Amīr [Shujā'-ud-Dīn] 'Alī[4], the other sons of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Al-Ḥusain.

When Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, who was the father of the Sultāns, departed this life, Sultān [Saif-ud-Dīn] Sūrī, in succession to his father, ascended the throne[5] and divided his father's dominions among his brothers. An account of Sultān Sūrī will, please God, be given in the chapter on the Sultāns of Ghaznīn.

In this division, the territory of Warshādah[6] was assigned to the Malik-ul-Jibāl, Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, and there he fixed his seat of government. Subsequently, it so happened, that he had to seek for a [suitable] place in which to found a strong fortress and a handsome city, such as would be suitable to his dignity. He despatched persons on whom he could depend into the parts adjacent, until [at length] his opinion led him to fix upon the position of Fīrūz-koh, and he founded the fortress and city of Fīrūz-koh.[7]

Sultān Sūrī made the fortress and town of Istīah[8] his capital, and to Malik Nāṣir[9]-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Mādīn

[3] Styled Sultān without reason. Malik is his correct title, as given at the head of this notice in the copies of the text.

[4] These two last, here styled Amīrs, are the sixth and seventh sons mentioned over leaf, viz. Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn [called Nāṣir-ud-Dīn subsequently], Muhammad, and Malik Shujā'-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, the XIIth and XIIIth of the family.

[5] See note [4], page 336.

[6] Some few copies have Warshād, and Warshār.

[7] In several other places our author mentions "the territory of Ghūr *and* the Bilad-ul-Jibal," thus indicating that they were separate, and yet Fīrūz-koh was the capital of the Bilād-ul-Jibāl, and in his account of the division of their father, 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Al-Husain's, territory, and the names of the districts, *the whole* appear included in Ghūr, of which Fīrūz-koh was the capital! The *mention* of the places shows the extent of the territory held by these chiefs—the mighty monarchs of our author. It is a curious fact, and a very important one, that the name of Kandahār *never once occurs* in our author's work. It is not strange, however, because Kandahār is a comparatively modern place, and is not mentioned by contemporary writers, under that name at least, until very many years after our author's time. Tradition says that Kandahār stands a few miles east of an ancient city named Wahund, and Masson also refers to it, but calls it Vahund. Can this be the place the idol-temple of which fell on the night of Mahmūd of Ghaznīn's birth?

[8] Other old writers call this place "Istīā, which is the name of one of the mountains of the range between Ghaznīn and Hirāt," and give the vowel points. The Burhān-i-Kāti' also confirms it.

[9] There is no son of this name among those previously mentioned. Pro-

was given. Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, had the district of Sangah, which was the capital of Mande<u>sh</u>, assigned to him; and the district and castle of Wajīah[1] were made over to Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and the probability is that the territory of Ka<u>sh</u>ī [or Ka<u>sh</u>ā] was fixed upon for Malik Fa<u>kh</u>r-ud-Dīn.

By heaven's decree, however, contention arose between the Malik-ul-Jibāl [Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad], who was at Fīrūz-koh, and the other brothers, and the Malik-ul-Jibāl became indignant with his brothers, and withdrew to <u>Gh</u>aznīn, and it was [at this time] the reign of Bahrām <u>Sh</u>āh. This Malik-ul-Jibāl was endowed with great beauty and comeliness, and urbanity to perfection. When he reached <u>Gh</u>aznīn he opened the hand of munificence and liberality, and affection for him, according to the saying, "Man is the servant of kindliness," began to take root in people's hearts, and became firmly established. The inhabitants of <u>Gh</u>aznīn entertained a great liking for him, but a number of envious persons set upon him, and had it represented to Bahrām <u>Sh</u>āh that he [the Malik-ul-Jibāl] was, with treacherous eyes, regarding that sovereign's *haram* [some female or females of his family], and was expending his property liberally, with the object of rising against him [Bahrām <u>Sh</u>āh]. The latter issued commands to administer to him, secretly, poisoned <u>sh</u>arbat [which was done], and he died, and they, moreover, buried him at <u>Gh</u>aznīn. On this account, enmity and hatred arose between the Mahmūdī family[2], and the family of <u>Sh</u>ansabī, and the race of <u>Z</u>uhāk.[3]

When the account of what had befallen Ḳutb-ud-Dīn reached[4] Sultān Sūrī's hearing, he marched an army to <u>Gh</u>aznīn and took that country, as will be hereafter recorded, since, although this was the place for mentioning

bably, <u>Sh</u>ihāb-ud-Dīn is meant, or, otherwise, <u>Sh</u>ihāb is a mistake for Nāṣir, but there is a Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Muḥammad, mentioned immediately after Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, at page 343, which see.

[1] One of the Paris copies has دحمر 'قلعه — the Maiden's Castle — but the majority, including the oldest copies, have وجيه, and some have وجير, which a copyist *may* have read دحمر. One copy has وجه.

[2] Their enmity, according to other authors, appears to have had a different origin. See under 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, page 347.

[3] All the copies collated agree with regard to this part of the sentence — "the race of <u>Sh</u>ansabī *and* the race of <u>Z</u>uḥāk."

[4] *Four different verbs* are used in the different copies of the text in this sentence, although the signification conveyed is much the same.

and recording the proceedings of Sulṭān Sūrī, still, as Sulṭān Sūrī was the first person of this family who assumed the name of Sulṭān, and the first to ascend the throne of Ghaznīn, an account of him will, please God, be given in another chapter, at the beginning of the history of the Sultāns of Ghaznīn.

XI SULTĀN BAHĀ-UD-DĪN, SĀM, SON OF 'IZZ-UD-DĪN, AL-ḤUSAIN[5]

When the Malik-ul-Jibāl retired to Ghaznīn [as previously related], and left the buildings of the city of Fīrūz-koh in an unfinished state, Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, came from [the territory of] Sangah to Fīrūz-koh, and went on with the building of the city and fortification, and brought to completion those edifices and the royal palaces He also commanded the erection of the fortresses of Ghūr, and contracted alliance and entered into amity with the Shārs of Gharjistān[6] He ascended the throne of Fīrūz-koh in the year 544 H[7] When the construction of the capital of Fīrūz-koh was completed through his propitious auspices, he gave directions for the construction of four strong fortresses on the confines of the territory of Ghūr, Garmsīr, Gharjistān, and the mountain tract of Hirāt, and the Ḳaṣr

[5] In some copies the names of his children follow immediately after his name and title

[6] The Shārs of Gharjistān, who had for many years acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sāmānīs, had submitted to the suzerainty of Sulṭān Maḥmūd as early as 389 H The Shār, Abū Naṣr, son of the Shār, Rāshid, and Abū-Naṣr's son, the Shār, Abū Muḥammad, acknowledged the Sulṭān's suzerainty in that year, and read the khuṭbah for him, and impressed his name and titles upon their coin In 405 H the Shār, Abū Nasr, who had become disaffected, was seized and imprisoned by Maḥmūd's command—his father, Rāshid, is said to have solicited protection some time before, and it was granted ['Utba' agrees, and says "he went into retirement"], and he had presented himself at Court The Sulṭān *purchased* from him [the Shār] his possessions in Gharjistān, and *had made over the price in money to him* This was one hundred and forty-six years before the time our author says Bahā ud-Dīn, Sām, became ruler The Shār, Abū Naṣr, died in prison, at Hirāt, in 406 H, after which the Shārs are not mentioned by other writers

[7] Bahā-ud-Dīn died in 544 H, the same year in which he succeeded His brother, Sūrī, had been put to death, and Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznīn had died the previous year Our author's mode of arrangement here causes confusion. Bahā ud-Dīn is the third of the dynasty of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, and only succeeded after Saif-ud-Dīn had been put to death See also the Kitāb-al-Yamīnī of Al-'Utba'

of Kajūrān in the district of Garmsīr and Ghūr, the fortress of Sher-Sang in the mountains of Hirāt, and that of Bindār [or Pindār], in the hills of Gharjistān, and Fīwār, between Gharjistān and Fāras [or Bāras].

After the martyrdom of [Saif-ud-Dīn], Sūrī [yet to be mentioned], as Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn was the eldest of the five brothers [styled Sultāns], the sovereignty of the kingdom of Ghūr devolved upon him. The Malikah of Kīdān, who was also of Shansabānī lineage, the daughter of Malik Badr-ud-Dīn of Kīdān, was married to him, and Almighty God blessed him with two sons and three daughters by that Malikah of high descent. The sons were Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām [8], and Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām—the Almighty illumine them!—the amplitude of whose dominions comprehended the eastern quarter of the world, and the fame of whose expeditions against infidels, whose holy wars, the energy and vigour of whose rule, justice, and beneficence will continue imperishable and manifest on the outspread world until the latest revolutions of time. Some of those glorious actions and annals in the account of each of them, by way of ensample, will, please God, be subsequently recorded.

Of the daughters, one was the Malikah-i-Jahān [9], mother of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī; the second, the Hurrah-i-Jalālī, mother of Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, son of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, of Bāmiān; and the third daughter was the Malikah-i-Khurāsān, the mother of Alb-Arsalān-i-Ghāzī [1], son of Malik Ḳazil-Arsalān, Saljūkī, the brother's son of Sultān Sanjar.

When the account of the affliction and degradation which had befallen Sultān Sūrī at Ghaznīn, through the hostility and perfidy of the retainers of the Mahmūdī dynasty, reached the hearing of Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, he came to the determination of wreaking vengeance upon the inhabitants of Ghaznīn, and, without occupying himself

[8] Sām was not his name, nor the name of his brother; neither does our author mean that such should be supposed, but some translators have supposed it was the son's name instead of the father's.

[9] Malikah-i-Jibāl in nearly every copy, but the above is correct.

[1] Other authors style him Alb-i-Ghāzī only. He held the fief of Hirāt subject to the Ghūrī Sultān upon one of the occasions when Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, invested it. See note [7], page 257.

in mourning ceremonies for his brothers [2], he assembled the forces of Ghūr, and of the parts and tracts around, and on the confines of it, and of the hill-tracts of Jarūm and Gharjistān, and, having arranged and ordered them, he turned his face towards Ghaznīn in order to accomplish that important matter. After great preparation, and being fully equipped, he moved forward, and a large army marched under his standards. When he reached the district of Kīdān, excessive anxiety and grief for the death of his brothers, and the strength of his feelings, brought on an attack of illness, and there [at Kīdān] he died [3].

In the same manner as Sultān Sūrī, at the time of his proceeding against and capturing Ghaznīn, had entrusted the capital of the kingdom of Ghūr, and had made over the government of that territory to him, Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, the latter, at this time, when about to march an army himself against Ghaznīn, assigned the capital of Ghūr, and the rule over the territory of the Jibāl [mountain tracts] to Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain-i-Jahān-soz [his brother], and consigned to him his children, dependents, Amīrs, property, and effects.

When Bahā-ud-Dīn died at Kīdān, and that circumstance came to the hearing of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, he, likewise, without occupying himself in mourning ceremonies, assembled [4] together the forces with all celerity, and set out towards Ghaznīn.

XII. MALIK SHIHĀB-UD-DĪN [5], MUHAMMAD, [KHARNAK,] SON OF AL-HUSAIN, MALIK OF MĀDĪN OF GHŪR.

Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Kharnak, was the brother of the Sultāns, and the district of Mādīn, which

[2] His two brothers, Kutb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, and Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī.

[3] He is said to have died of small pox, but the word used also signifies a tumour, and the like. Rauẓat-us-Safā and some others say Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, died of phrensy, or inflammation of the brain, on the way back to Ghūr, *after* the taking of Ghaznīn by 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and his brother, Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, who was left there as ruler! See note [2], page 347.

[4] Here again some copies of the text use different verbs to express the same meaning.

[5] He is called Nāṣir-ud-Dīn repeatedly in most of the copies of the text, and in some, although the heading is written Shihāb-ud-Dīn, he is styled

was his territory, and is a tract of country on one of the confines of Ghūr, had been assigned to him by the mutual consent of his brothers, after the decease of their father.

He had two sons, one of whom was Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, whom they placed upon the throne, at the capital, Fīrūz-koh, during the absence of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, in Khurāsān, and his attendance[6] at the Court of Sultān Sanjar, an account of whom will be hereafter recorded. The second son was Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī[7], who, after his father's death, succeeded him in the possession of the district of Mādīn. This Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, had three children, one a daughter, and two sons, and the daughter was older than the sons. She was married to the holy warrior and martyr, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i Sām, and by her that conquering Sultān likewise had a daughter who died a maid[8], and whose tomb is at the capital city, Ghaznīn.

Of those two sons of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, one was Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, of Mādīn, who was martyred by the Turks of Khwārazm[9] during the period of their domination. The second son was Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, and the writer of this book, in the year 618 H., waited upon him in the territory of Kazīw [or Gazīw][1] and Timrān, and witnessed numerous marks of urbanity and generosity from him. At that period the author had espoused[2] a daughter of one of the great men and a kinsman of his own. That was in the period of his first manhood, and in that same year in which Chingiz Khān, the

Nāṣir-ud-Dīn in the account of him. As 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Al-Husain, had no son of this name, and as all the copies agree in the list of the seven sons, as to Shihāb, I have adopted that reading here, which is certainly correct. This Shihāb-ud-Dīn had a son named Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, and hence the mistake may have arisen.

[6] His captivity in fact, but this our author did not consider necessary to mention. See note [3], page 358.

[7] Not to be confounded with 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jahān-soz's son, nor 'Alā-ud-Dīn's brother. There are three of his title in all.

[8] Several copies have "died in her infancy." This can scarcely be correct, as it may be doubted whether the tomb of *an infant* would have been mentioned.

[9] See note [1], page 274.

[1] A few copies have کریو [Kaiīw or Garīw], and others کیو and کریو

[2] "Was about to espouse" in a few copies, but if he had not espoused this wife he would not probably have required a horse.

accursed, crossed the Jiḥūn into Khurāsān, and was bent upon marching to Ghaznīn. In short, the author memorialized Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, for a horse, and, in verse, represented the matter of his marriage with one of his own kinswomen for that Malik's information. In reply to that versified narrative, he composed this quatrain, and with his own august hand wrote it on the back of the story, and put it into the author's hands :—

"God willing, affliction will have departed from thy heart,
And that pearl of great price will have been by thee bored [3]
The horse thou hast solicited of me requires no apology
With the horse, much more apology might be made [4]"

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, sent his humble servant a dun-coloured horse of three years' old, ready saddled and caparisoned—the Almighty reward him for it!

That Malik-zādah, after the calamities which befell Ghaznīn and Ghūr[5], came to the city of Dihlī, and presented himself at the Court of the august Sulṭān, Shams-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn [I-yal-timish], and was received by him with honour and kindness, and, from the Maliks and other nobles, he received deference and respect.

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, died at the city of Dihlī in the year 620 H.

XIII. MALIK SHUJĀ'-UD-DĪN, ABĪ 'ALĪ, SON OF AL-ḤUSAIN, [SON OF SĀM], SON OF AL-ḤASAN, SHANSABĪ

Malik Shujā'-ud-Dīn, Abī-'Alī, son of Al-Ḥusain, son of Al-Ḥasan, was removed from this world in his early manhood, and his existence terminated whilst he was yet in the flower of his youth[6]. A son survived him, Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn,

[3] A virgin is styled an "unbored pearl"

[4] This somewhat obscure line *may* imply that the donor might have made apologies because the present was not more valuable.

[5] At the hands of the Mughals.

[6] From the heading the reader would suppose this article to have contained an account of Shujā'-ud-Dīn, but he is finished in two or three lines, and the article contains an account of his son and grandson Neither of these two brothers, Shihāb-ud-Dīn, nor Shujā'-ud-Dīn, can be considered as belonging to the dynasty any more than the whole of the race, as they never held sovereign power. They are not named even, separately, by other writers.

Abū-'Alī; and the brothers [of Shujā'-ud-Dīn, Abī 'Alī[7]] with one accord, when dividing the dominions of Ghūr, had invested him [Shujā'-ud-Dīn] with the district of Jarmās. When he died, they conferred the district of Jarmās upon his son, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Abū-'Alī.

The Malik-ul-Jibāl, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, who had been martyred at Ghaznīn, had left a daughter, and she was given to 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Abū-'Alī, in marriage[8], and, after that noble lady was espoused by him, the Almighty blessed them with a son, who had the good fortune of becoming both a Ḥājī [a pilgrim] and a holy warrior[9], namely, Malik Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Pearl of Ghūr[1], and it happened in this wise:—When [his father] Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Abū-'Alī, died, and his son grew up, the Almighty bestowed such grace upon his mother that she decided upon undertaking a journey to the Ḳiblah, and up to that period not one of the Maliks of Ghūr had attained that felicity.

Malik Ziyā-ud-Dīn, in attendance upon his mother, was proceeding on the journey to the holy places by way of Hirāt, Khurāsān, and Nīshāpūr. At that time Sultān Takish, Khwārazm Shāh, was at Nīshāpūr, and Malik Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, in the habit of a Sayyid, with his hair twisted into two long ringlets, presented himself at the Court of that Sultān, and had the happiness of being permitted to kiss Sultān Takish's hand.

Malik Ziyā-ud-Dīn [in the company of his mother] had the happiness of performing the orthodox pilgrimage with great reverence, and with the observance of all the rites and ceremonies. He gave directions to build a Khān-kāh [chapel] at Makkah, and provided all the necessary funds for raising the structure, and left trustworthy persons of his own to see it carried out.

He also returned, along with his mother, to the territory

[7] Abū, or Abī-'Alī: either is correct.

[8] Our author's mode of narration tends to confuse. This 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Abū-'Alī, is the father of Ziyā-ud-Dīn, afterwards styled 'Alā ud-Dīn. See note [2], page 391, and note [9], page 394.

[9] He accompanied his second cousin, Sultān Mu'izz-ud Dīn, on his campaign against Rāe Pathorā of Ajmīr. See page 125.

[1] These words دُرّ غور Durr-i-Ghūr, occur again in the list of Maliks at the end of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn's reign, and in some other places.

of Ghūr; and she acquired the name of the Malikah-i-Ḥājī [the Pilgrim Princess], and founded a great number of masjids, pulpits, and colleges in the Ghūrīān country. May they both become acceptable in the sight of Almighty God!

XIV SULTĀN 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN, AL-ḤUSAIN, SON OF ['IZZ-UD-DĪN,] AL-ḤUSAIN, SON OF SĀM, SON OF AL-ḤASAN[2]

When Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, son of ['Izz-ud-Dīn,] Al-Ḥusain, who was marching an army against Ghaznīn,

[2] Of all the persons mentioned in Oriental history, greater discrepancy occurs with respect to 'Alā ud-Dīn, Jahān-soz's name and proceedings, probably, than regarding any other man

Some authors call him Hasan, son of Husain, some [but these authors are but *two*] Husain, son of Ḥasan, some, Husain, son of Ḥusain, son of Ḥasan, son of Sām, others copy our author, while others again, and they seem most correct—they *certainly are* as to his own and his father's name—style him 'Alā ud Dīn, Husain, son of ['Izz-ud-Dīn], Al Ḥusain, son of Sām, son of Ḥasan [Sūrī s grandson], son of Muḥammad, son of Sūrī

With respect to his rise to power, the different accounts [I quote here from *sixteen* authors] may be classed under no less than five heads.

The *first* is, that, after Sultān Bahrām of Ghaznīn had been put in possession of the throne by his maternal uncle, Sultān Sanjar, distrust arose between them [Sanjar marched to Ghaznīn to bring Bahrām to submission in 530 H, according to Faṣiḥ-ī], and, on this, Bahrām began to enter into friendly negotiations with *the sons* of 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Al-Husain, and invited one of them to his capital, and expressed a wish to take him into his service, in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two families Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad [the Malik-ul-Jibāl of our author], the *eldest* of the sons, proceeded to Ghaznīn, and for some time he was treated with great distinction, but was subsequently guilty [or suspected?] of some crime, and was put to death by Bahrām Shāh's orders

Enmity now arose between Bahrām and the sons of Al-Husain, and they began to attack each other's territory, and several encounters took place between them [Faṣiḥ-ī says they fought about Tigīn-ābād as early as 521 H, but this *may* be an error for 541 H], and our author himself in his account of Sanjar's reign, page 149, says that hostilities arose in that reign "between the Sultāns of Ghaznīn and the *Maliks* of Ghūr, and the latter were overcome," and, subsequently, refers to the time when "the territory of Ghūr came under the rule of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain," and, *on the death* of Al-Ḥusain, their father [in 545 H, according to Faṣiḥ-ī, but it must have been *five years* earlier, at least], hostility, which hitherto had been concealed, was openly shown by 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, and his brothers, and they rose against Bahrām Shāh, and he set out on an expedition against Ghaznīn, accompanied by Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, and Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām ['Alā's full brothers]. They were opposed by Bahrām Shāh, who was defeated, and retired into Hind

Having obtained possession of Ghaznīn, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, left his brother, Sūrī, as ruler there, and returned to Ghūr. [This event is said to

in order to take revenge for [the slaying of his brothers], Sulṭān Sūrī and the Malik-ul-Jibāl, died on the way thither,

have occurred in the fifth month of the year 543 H [October, 1052 A.D.], and by Faṣiḥ-ī in 542 H [October, 1051 A.D.], but, as the father only died it is said in 545 H., both cannot be correct.] On *the way back* his brother, Sām, died of inflammation of the brain [phrensy, according to some, a tumour, or small-pox, according to others].

In the following winter Bahrām returned from Hind with a numerous army and several elephants, and appeared before Ghaznīn. Sūrī came out with 300 Ghūrīs and 1000 Ghuzz Turks, and endeavoured to reach Ghūr, but the Ghuzz deserted to Bahrām, and Sūrī was taken, paraded on a bullock through the city, and hung along with his Wazīr. This occurred in 543 H. according to Faṣiḥ-ī, but in 544 H. according to several other trustworthy authors. 'Alā ud-Dīn, Husain, again marched to Ghaznīn to avenge Sūrī, again took the city, plundered, and fired it, then abandoned it, and returned to Fīrūz-koh, destroying all the buildings raised by the Maḥmudī family, on his way back. This is said to have taken place in 547 H., but such cannot have been the case: it must have been towards the end of 544 H., or early in 545 H., at the latest. Alfī says in 547 of the "Riḥlat" [*death* of Muḥammad, not the Hijrah], which would make it as late as 558 H.!

Most of the authors from which the above is taken contend that 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, was *the first of the family* who attained to independent sovereignty, that the dynasty consisted of *five* sovereigns, and continued for a period of sixty-four years. It terminated in 607 H., so must have commenced in 543 H.

'Alī, Jatrī, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, were defeated by Sulṭān Sanjar in 545 H. [some say in 544 H.], but Faṣiḥ-ī says in 547 H., just before he [Sanjar] marched against the Ghuzz, in 548 H., which will be referred to farther on.

Fanākatī says, and somewhat astonishing it is, that Husain, brother of Sām, was put to death by Bahrām Shāh's orders, and he [Husain] went to Sulṭān Sanjar and *solicited aid. Sanjar assisted him with an army!* and he then fought a battle with Bahrām Shāh, who was defeated and retreated into Hindūstān. After this, the same author states—and the Jāmi'-ut Tawārīkh agrees—that Husain ['Alā-ud-Dīn] left his brother Sām in charge of Ghaznīn, and returned himself to Ghūr. He then agrees with the statements of other writers as to the hanging of 'Alā-ud Dīn's brother, but says it was Sām [Bahā-ud Dīn], not Sūrī, that Bahrām Shāh took and hung after his return from Hindūstān. Ḥusain returned, made a general massacre, and devastated the place, and 70,000 persons were slain. *On this Sultān Sanjar resolved to proceed against him*, and, in a battle, Ḥusain was taken prisoner. For further particulars regarding this see page 357, and notes [2] and [3] page 358.

The *second* account is, that Husain ['Izz-ud Dīn], the father of the seven sons, raised to the rulership of Ghūr by Mas'ūd-i-Karīm, having died in 545 H. [540 H.?] was succeeded by the most prominent of his sons, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, who rebelled against Bahrām Shāh, marched against Ghaznīn, took it, *during Bahrām's absence*, and set his brother, Sūrī, upon the throne of the Maḥmūdī's. Soon after Bahrām returned, and hung Sūrī. The remainder of the account agrees pretty well with the first.

The *third* is, that Bahrām Shāh was *dead before* 'Alā-ud-Dīn reached Ghaznīn the second time, and in this statement a number of the most trustworthy authorities agree, and further that Khusrau Shāh, his son, had succeeded just before 'Alā ud Dīn's advance, and, on his approach, Khusrau Shāh

at Kīdān, Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn ascended the throne of the dominion of Ghūr, and assembled the forces of Ghūr, of

abandoned Ghaznīn and fled to Lāhor [Baiẓawī states that it happened in 550 H., but this is the only authority for that date, which cannot be correct, and if Sūrī, according to the other statement, was put to death in 544 H., 'Alā-ud-Dīn would scarcely allow six years to elapse before avenging him]. On 'Alā-ud-Dīn's departure, Khusrau Shāh *returned to his devastated and ruined capital, and continued there* until the Ghuzz Turks, who had defeated and made captive Sulṭān Sanjar, Khusrau's maternal great uncle, invaded Khurāsān, and appeared before Hirāt, and from thence advanced towards Ghaznīn.

Sanjar had marched against the Ghuzz in 548 H.—some few authors say in 547 H.—and was taken prisoner in the first month of the former year [March, 1056 A.D.], they had invested Hirāt in 549 H., and gave up the attempt early in 550, and then appear to have advanced towards Ghaznīn, and this must have been the year in which Khusrau Shāh *finally* abandoned Ghaznīn, and not that in which 'Alā-ud Dīn, Ḥusain, devastated it.

Some writers, who agree generally with this last account, say that Khusrau Shāh had reigned about a year when 'Alā-ud-Dīn arrived in the neighbourhood of his capital, and that he [Khusrau Shāh] was taken, and confined within the walls of the citadel, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn set up his two nephews, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, at Ghaznīn. Most authors say Khusrau Shāh died in 555 H., but others again state that his death took place in 544 H., and according to our author, who says he succeeded in 552 H., and reigned seven years, it would be in 559 H. See note [4], page 112.

The *fourth* account is, that, on the death of the father, ['Izz-ud-Dīn], Al-Ḥusain, Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, succeeded him, and that he seized upon Ghaznīn, while his other brother, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, seized upon Ghūr. This is said to have taken place in 543 H., and it is further said that, after Sūrī had been hanged, Bahā ud Dīn, Sām, set out to avenge him, and died on the way [in 544 H.].

The *fifth* account agrees pretty well with our author, and may have been partly copied from his work, although such a fact is not mentioned. It is to the effect, that Sūrī took Ghaznīn to avenge the death of his brother, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, put to death by Bahrām Shāh, and that, after Sūrī's death along with his Wazīr, Bahā ud-Dīn, Sām, set out to avenge him, and died on the road. 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, followed, on which Bahrām Shāh fled, and the city was taken. The date of the first capture of Ghaznīn is said to have been 542 H., or 543 H. [Our author says that Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, succeeded to the sovereignty of Fīrūz-koh and Ghūr, when Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, his brother, set out on his expedition against Ghaznīn, in 544 H.—the *first* date he gives in the whole Section—and tends to show that Ghaznīn must have been taken in 543 H.]

It is absurd to suppose that Ghaznīn was taken by 'Alā-ud-Dīn in 550 H., and still more so to suppose that 547 of the Riḥlat could be the possible date, and, although the exact date is not to be found in authors generally, it is quite clear that Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, took it first in the fifth month of 543 H. [middle of October, 1051 A.D.]. Bahrām returned in the depth of winter [probably in January, 1052 A.D.], and hung him. Bahā-ud Dīn, Sām, his brother, succeeded him as ruler of Ghūr in 544 H., and died soon after, in the same year, on which 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, who was not one to allow *five or six years to elapse*, at

the capital, Fīrūz-koh, and of Gharjistān, and determined to march against Ghaznīn.

When Sultān Yamīn-ud-Dīn[3], Bahrām Shāh, became aware of this matter, and of his ['Alā-ud-Dīn's] intention, he caused the troops of Ghaznīn and of Hindūstān to be got ready and organized, and led them from Rukhaj[4] and Tigīn-ābād, in the district of Garmsīr, towards Zamīn-i-Dāwar. As Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, with his forces, had [already] reached Zamīn-i-Dāwar, Sultān Bahrām Shāh despatched envoys to him, saying, "Return again to Ghūr, and in thy ancestral possession remain in quietness, for thou wilt not be able to resist my forces, for I bring elephants [along with me]." The envoys having delivered the message with which they were entrusted to Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, he replied, saying, "If thou bringest elephants[5], I will bring the Kharmīl, but, God knows, indeed, thou fallest into error, that thou hast put my brothers to death, and I have not slain any person belonging to thee But hast thou not heard what Almighty God says[6]?—"Whosoever is

once marched against Ghaznīn, and took it towards the close of the same year, 544 H, the same in which Guzīdah and a few others say Bahrām died What tends to prove all this is, that in 545 H 'Alā ud-Dīn was taken captive by Sultān Sanjar, *after* the former had sacked Ghaznīn, and was detained in captivity some two years, during which time another ruler was set up in Ghūr, and 'Alā ud-Dīn only obtained his release just before Sultān Sanjar set out on his unfortunate expedition against the Ghuzz, which was in 547 H, for Sanjar was defeated by them and taken prisoner, on the first day of the first month, Muharram, 548 H [20th March, 1056 A D] See also page 358, and notes [2] and [3]

'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, made no attempt to retain possession of Ghaznīn, and he abandoned it, and retired into Ghūr, but destroyed every building pertaining to the Maḥmūdī sovereigns, on his way back The reason why he abandoned it must have been his fear of Sultān Sanjar, or of Bahrām's or Khusrau's return, as the case may be, and of meeting a fate similar to his brother Sūrī's

[3] In three copies of the text at this place he is called Yamīn-ud-*Daulah* In his account of Bahrām Shāh's reign our author styles him Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, and says Khusrau Shāh's title was Mu'ayyan-ud-Dīn. See pages 109 and 111, and note [8]

[4] A small tract of country in the district of Bust

[5] The word پیل an elephant, is used in most copies of the text, but to make sense of the passage I have been obliged to make it a plural The context shows there must have been more than one elephant Some other authors have سر پیل which certainly agrees better with خرمیل and might be translated the *chief*, *head*, or *leader* of the elephants, alluding to some famous war-elephant he may have had.

[6] On the Ḳur'ān's authority only. It is rather strange that in his account

slain unjustly, we have given his heir, or next of kin, power [to avenge him]; but let him not exceed bounds in putting the slayer to death, because he likewise will be assisted and avenged[7]."

When the envoys returned, both armies were marshalled in ranks and made ready for the conflict. Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn called unto him two Pahlawāns [champions] of his own, who were the leaders of the army, and famous warriors of the kingdom of Ghūr, and both of them were named Kharmīl. One was Kharmīl-i-Sām, Husain, father of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Husain-i-Kharmīl; and the other Kharmīl-i-Sām, Banjī, and both of them were famed in their day for their valour and prowess. He said unto them:—"Bahrām Shāh has sent a message, saying, 'I bring elephants [against thee],' and I have sent a reply, 'If thou bringest elephants, I bring the Kharmīl.' This day it behoveth that each one of you champions should overthrow and bring an elephant to the ground." They both kissed the ground and retired [to their posts]; and, at a place which they call Kotah-bāz[8], the two armies came to an encounter. When the battle commenced, both these champions dismounted, fastened up the skirts of their coats of mail[9], and entered the fight. When the elephants of Bahrām Shāh made a charge[1], each of those champions attacked an elephant, and got beneath the armour of the animals, and, with their poniards, ripped open the bellies of the elephants. Kharmīl-i-Sām, Banjī, remained under his elephant, and it fell upon him, and he and the elephant perished together. Kharmīl-i-Sām, Husain, brought his

of Bahrām Shāh's reign, pages 109—111, our author does not even mention Sūrī's name, although he refers to 'Alā ud-Dīn, Husain, the brother, and the capture of Ghaznīn.

[7] Ḳur'ān S. 17, 35.

[8] One copy has Kūnah[or Gūnah]-wāz, and two copies have Kotah-bāz-bāb. This last appears incorrect, and bāb seems merely bāz repeated in error by the copyist. Katah-wāz cannot be meant, although *w* and *b* are interchangeable. Katah-wāz is much too far to the east. One copy has Goshah-i-nāb. A place of this name, or Sih Goshah-i-nāb, has been mentioned at page 149, but this again is too far to the west. See also page 358.

[9] The word used signifies to fasten up or back. "*Throwing off their coats of mail*" would scarcely have been likely at a time like this, and the text contains the word "skirts" moreover. See Elliot, INDIA, vol. ii. page 287.

[1] Both the British Museum copies have, "when the elephants of Bahrām Shāh *charged the elephants*, each of the champions," &c.

elephant to the ground, and got away in safety, and mounted [his horse] again.

When the battle was duly ordered, Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, after he had arrayed himself in all his panoply, commanded that a surcoat of crimson-coloured satin should be brought to him, and he put it on over all his armour His kinsfolk and his intimates inquired:—"What device is this of the king's, that he covers his armour with a crimson surcoat?" He answered:—"For this reason, that, in case my body should be wounded by arrow, lance, or sword, the redness of my blood, by means of the crimson surcoat, will not show upon my armour, so that the hearts of my followers may not become dejected" The mercy of the Almighty be upon him!

The troops of Ghūr have a method, in the practise of fighting on foot, of making a certain article of one fold of raw bullock-hide, over both sides of which they lay cotton, and over all draw figured coarse cotton cloth[2], after the form of a screen [or breast-work], and the name of that article of defence is *kārwah*. When the foot-soldiers of Ghūr place this [screen] upon their shoulders, they are completely covered from head to foot by it, and, when they close their ranks, they appear like unto a wall, and no missile or arms can take any effect on it, on account of the quantity of cotton with which it is stuffed[3].

When the engagement was fairly begun, Daulat Shāh, son of Bahrām Shāh, with a body of cavalry and an

[2] Called karbās.

[3] Our author has described this instrument of defence tolerably well, but not exactly The word kāṛwah is contained in Pus'hto, and this means of protection was used by some of the Afghāns in former times, before fire-arms came into use. The kāṛwah was made from a raw bullock, cow, or buffalo hide stuffed with straw or hay [cotton would be too expensive], and *rolled along before* troops on foot, when advancing, to defend them from the arrows of their opponents. In the battles between the Yūsufzī and Dilazāk tribes of Afghāns, in the fifteenth century, of which before long I hope to be able to give an account, the Utmān Khel, one of the lesser and of the many still independent Afghān tribes [who never paid allegiance to Durrānīs or Bārakzīs] who accompanied the Yūsufzīs when the latter first appeared east of the Khaibar Pass, on one occasion formed the advance of the allied forces, and used these stuffed hides above described They are said to have been very expert in their construction, but I do not think this mode of fighting will be sufficient to prove that the Ghūrīs were "Patáns," or Paṭáns Ghūrīs Compare Elliot, INDIA, vol ii pages 287-8 See my Afghān Dictionary, second edition, p 1151 London 1867

elephant[4], made a charge. Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn directed that the foot-soldiers should open their rank of kāṛwahs, in order to allow Daulat Shāh to enter with his whole division. They opened their ranks accordingly. When Daulat Shāh, with his body of horse and the elephant, entered, the infantry closed the breach in their ranks again, and completely surrounded that Prince on all sides; and he, with the whole of that body of horse, were martyred, and the elephant was brought to the ground, and also killed.

When the troops of Bahrām Shāh witnessed that disaster and slaughter, they fell into disorder and gave way. Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn followed in pursuit, from stage to stage, as far as a place which they call Josh-i-Āb-i-Garm [the jet of hot-water], near to Tigīn-ābād, where Sulṭān Bahrām Shāh faced about, and a second time prepared to renew the engagement, and the whole of the forces then assembled under him again gave battle, but were defeated and put to the rout, and only stopped at the gate of Ghaznīn. Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn followed in fierce pursuit, so that Bahrām Shāh, for the third time, assembled the troops of Ghaznīn, the men of the city, and a large levy of footmen, and gave battle for the third time; but he was unable to overcome [the enemy], and was again defeated. 'Alā-ud-Dīn took the city of Ghaznīn by storm, and, during seven nights and days, fired the place, and burnt it with obstinacy and wantonness[5].

The chronicler states that, during these seven days, the air, from the blackness of the smoke, continued as black as night; and those nights, from the flames raging in the burning city, were lighted up as light as day. During these seven days, likewise, rapine, plunder, and massacre were carried on with the utmost pertinacity and vindictiveness. All the men that were found were killed, and the women and children were made captive. 'Alā-ud-Dīn

[4] One elephant only is mentioned, and it is not stated that Daulat Shāh was *mounted* on it It appears to have been intended to break the rank of kāṛwas with it

[5] Our author himself says that Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, was the *first* of the brothers who came into contact with Bahrām Shāh, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, the last, but he has so arranged his work that his account of Sūrī comes *last* The reader will perhaps find it less perplexing if he should read the account of Sūrī, at Section XIX, first, then that of Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, at page 341, and this notice of 'Alā-ud-Dīn last

commanded that the whole of the [remains of the] Maḥmūdī Sulṭāns should be exhumed from their graves and burnt, except those of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the Ghāzī, Sulṭān Mas'ūd, and Sulṭān Ibrāhīm[6], and, during the whole of these seven days, 'Alā-ud-Dīn gave himself up to wine and carousal within the palaces of the Sulṭāns of Ghaznīn. During this time he gave directions so that the tomb of Sulṭān Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, and the mausoleum of the Malik-ul-Jibāl [Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad], were sought out, and coffins prepared; and caused preparations to be made for putting his whole army into mourning[7]. When the eighth night came round, and the city had become entirely desolated and consumed, and its inhabitants massacred, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, on that night, improvised[8] several strophes eulogistic of himself, and gave them to the minstrels, with directions to sing them accompanied by their changs and chighānahs[9] before him; and the lines, which are appropriate, are as follows:—

"The world knoweth that I of the universe am king[1]
The lamp of the family of the 'Abbāsīs am I
'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Husain, am I,
Whose house's sovereignty be ever enduring!
When on the bright bay steed of my dominion I sit,
One, to me, will be both the heavens and the earth
Death sports around the point of my spear
Hope follows [as goad] the dust of my troops[2]
I should roam the world through, like unto Sikandar
I should in every city another sovereign place
I was determined on this, that of the vagabonds of Ghaznīn
I would set a river of blood running like unto the Nil
But they are maudlin old dotards and infants,
And my blooming fortune maketh intercession for them
For their own sakes I have granted them their lives,
That the granting of their lives may of mine be the bond[3]"

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[6] Other writers state that the bones of the whole of the Maḥmūdī sovereigns were exhumed and burnt, with the sole exception of those of Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

[7] The greater number of copies of the original leave out the words عزا—mourning—entirely, whilst the Bodleian MS, the R. A. S. MS., and one of the Paris copies have غذا—food! The other Paris copy has غزو—fighting, making war, &c!!

[8] He was gifted with a poetical genius.

[9] The first is a kind of guitar, or harp, and the latter a kind of violin.

[1] 'Alā ud-Dīn had evidently an exalted opinion of himself, or had imbibed more strong drink than was good for him.

[2] Several other works which give this poem leave out these two lines.

[3] As far as can be judged from all the exaggeration contained in these

He then commanded, saying, "I have spared the remainder of the people of Ghaznīn," and he arose from the assembly, and went to the hot-bath; and, on the eighth day of these proceedings, he got up at day-dawn, and, accompanied by the whole of the troops of Ghūr, and the Maliks [chiefs], came to the mausoleum of his brothers. He then donned mourning garments, together with his whole army, and, for [another] seven nights and days, he remained at the mausoleum observing funeral ceremonies.

During this period the whole Kur'ān was read through several times, and alms were there distributed; and the coffins of his brothers were placed on biers[4], and he ['Alā-ud-Dīn] marched from Ghaznīn towards the districts of Dāwar and Bust. On reaching the city of Bust, he entirely destroyed the palaces and other edifices[5] of the Mahmūdī dynasty, the like of which were not to be found in the regions of the world[6], and the whole territory, which appertained to the Mahmūdī sovereigns, he directed should be ravaged and desolated[7].

He returned to Ghūr, and, by his command, the corpses[8] of his brothers were deposited by the side of their ancestors He had ordered that several Sayyids of Ghaznīn should be seized, according to the law of retaliation, in the place of Sayyid Majd-ud-Dīn, Mūsawī, who was Sulṭān Sūrī's Wazīr, and who, along with Sultān Sūrī, they had hung up from one of the arches[9] [of the bridge?] of Ghaznīn,

boastful effusions of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, he seems to have imagined that his own life might be lengthened in proportion to the lives he spared, *after* he had caused almost the whole of the inhabitants of Ghaznīn to be massacred!

[4] The word مهد has other meanings besides "*cradle*" Elliot: INDIA, vol ii. p 289

[5] Such as mosques, colleges, fortifications, &c

[6] Some ruins of those edifices still remain An intelligent man, a native of Kandahār, and an Afghān, says these ruins are of immense size and height, particularly one arch, which was standing some few years since, said to have been one of the great mosque There was also a stone bridge across the river Hīrmand, near this arch, called the Pul-i-'Āshiķān—the Lovers' Bridge—remains of which may still be seen

[7] The whole of the district of Zamīn-i-Dāwar, I presume The territory of the Maḥmūdī sovereigns, even at that time, was of great extent, and Ghūr formed only a very small portion of it

[8] The word used by our author signifies tombs, sepulchres, and the like, which, of course, would scarcely be interred The coffins and their contents were interred

[9] The word used here is Ṭāķ, signifying an arch, among other meanings,

and they were brought before the Sulṭān. Bags were filled with the earth[1] of Ghaznīn, and placed upon their backs, and [they were] brought along with him to Fīrūz-koh, the capital; and, on reaching that city, the Sayyids were put to death, and their blood was mixed with the earth which had been brought from Ghaznīn, and from it several towers[2] were erected on the hills of Fīrūz-koh, which towers, moreover, were still remaining up to this present time. The Almighty pardon him!

After he had wreaked such vengeance as this, and returned to the capital again, 'Alā-ud-Dīn desired to devote himself to pleasure and revelry; and he gathered around him minstrels and boon companions, betook himself to conviviality and carousal, and improvised lines which he directed the minstrels to sing, and accompany on their harps and violins[3]. These are the lines:—

"I am [he] in whose justice the world hath exultation,
And I am [he] through whose munificence the treasury sustaineth injustice
The finger of his hand, to his teeth, the enemy placeth[4],
When, to the string of the bow, I the thimble apply[5]

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and it is also a proper name, *but no word signifying a bridge is used in any copy of the text collated*, but some other writers say it was the Tāḳ Bridge—the bridge leading to Ṭāḳ, in Zābulistān, probably. Another writer, however, says, Sūrī and his Wazīr were hung at the head of "the Bridge of Two Arches"—سر پل دو طاق—and this is probably correct. In his account of Sūrī, farther on, our author says it was the Bridge of One Arch. See the first of the Ghaznīn dynasty, Section XIX.

1 Khāk signifies earth, not "*dirt*." The context shows what this earth was intended for, but *dirt* would scarcely have answered for making mortar.

2 Another author states that it was the *remainder of the people* of Ghaznīn—not Sayyids only—that 'Alā-ud-Dīn removed, and that they were laden with sacks of earth from that city, and on their arrival at Fīrūz-koh they were slaughtered, and a building was raised from the earth which was mixed with their blood. The word used by our author signifies a tower, bastion, &c. The probability is that they were small towers, such as are raised for landmarks, and that the earth brought from Ghaznīn, mixed with the blood of the Sayyids, and amalgamated with the mortar, was used for these buildings.

3 Here again the idiom of the different copies of the original varies so much that it would lead one to imagine that the work of our author must, originally, have been written in a different language. One set of copies has مطربان را فرمود تا در چنگ و چغانه بردند و بنواختند whilst another set of copies has و مطربان را فرمود تا در عمل مزامیر آوردند و بساختند و بگفتند and throughout the work the two sets agree word for word almost. The latter set is the least trustworthy.

4 In token of astonishment.

5 A sort of thimble used by archers to protect the left thumb from the bow-string.

When my bay steed leap'd a square within the ranks,
The adversary no longer knew ball from square[6]
When, out of hatred towards me, Bahrām Shāh[7] bent the bow,
I pluck'd, with my lance, the quiver from his waist.
The support of my foe, although they were all Rāes [and] Rānahs,
I reduced, with my mace, to atoms, both Rāe's and Rānah's head[8]
To draw forth vengeance by the sword, I have indeed taught
The sovereigns of the time, and the kings of the age
Ah, ravishing Minstrel! since I am released from war,
Sing that strain indeed, and that melody enkindle
When fortune hath been grasp'd, it is not right to renounce
The singers' melody, nor the fire-worshippers' pure wine."

Trustworthy persons have related after this wise, that, when Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn ascended the throne of Fīrūz-koh, he ordered his nephews, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām[9], and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, sons of Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad Sām, to be imprisoned, and they were confined in the fortress of Wajīristān[1], and an allowance was fixed for their support

He ['Alā-ud-Dīn] also began to show a contumacious spirit towards Sultān Sanjar, and manifested open hostility

[6] These two lines evidently refer to the game of Chaugān, from which the lately introduced game of Pola is derived The text of these lines varies considerably in different copies of the original, but I have rendered the translation as close as possible, still the meaning is not clear Probably horse and rider bore everything before them, and spread terror among the foe, and struck Bahrām Shāh with amazement

[7] From this line, if correctly quoted, it was Bahrām Shāh who encountered 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, but other authors, as already noticed in note [2], page 347, distinctly state that he was dead before the second expedition against Ghaznīn, but whether Bahrām or Khusrau Shāh—the measure would not be lost if "Khusrau" were substituted for Bahrām—it would appear that Rājpūt and other Hindū princes and chiefs were in the Ghaznawīd army on this occasion See account of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, the second of the Ghaznīn dynasty In his account of Bahrām Shāh's reign, pages 109 to 111, our author says that he returned to Ghaznīn after 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, withdrew, and died there Those authors who contend that Bahrām Shāh had died a short time before 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, appeared before Ghaznīn, state that it was his son, Khusrau Shāh, who left it on his approach, and who returned to it after the departure of the Ghūrīāns, and finally relinquished it on the advance of the Ghuzz Turks, in 548 or 549 H, after the defeat of Sultān Sanjar, and his falling a captive into their hands in that year, two years only before the death of 'Alā-ud-Dīn

[8] The word خورد is used in all but one copy of the text, which has حریس signifying "a ball," and may even be the most applicable meaning after all

[9] Sām [Bahā-ud-Dīn] was the name of the father only

[1] The fortress of Nāe probably, which stronghold was used as a state prison by the Ghaznawīd Sultāns.

towards him[1]. What the Sulṭāns of Ghūr had stipulated for, and which used to reach the Sanjarī Court every year, such as arms and armour, rarities, and offerings, 'Alā-ud-Dīn withheld; and matters reached such a pass, that Sulṭān Sanjar assembled a numerousarmy, and determined to march into the territory of Ghūr

Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn collected the forces of Ghūr, and advanced to meet the Sultān as far as the limits of the town of Nāb, between Fīrūz-koh and Hirāt, in the valley of the Harīw-ar-Rūd. There is water there, and a delightful and extensive plain[2], which they call Sih-goshah-i-Nāb;

[1] This seems to confirm the statement of Faṣiḥ-ī [note [4], page 336], that Ḥusain ['Izz-ud-Dīn], son of Sām, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain's father, had also been made captive by Sulṭān Sanjar, some years before, and made tributary Under the reign of Sanjar also, our author states, page 149, "The Maliks of Ghūr and Sulṭāns of the Jibāl were all subject to Sulṭān Sanjar It is probable that, as Sulṭān Sanjar had dethroned Sulṭān Arsalān, and had set up Bahrām Shāh on the throne of Ghaznīn, he [Sanjar] received, as lord-paramount over Ghaznīn also, the tribute formerly paid by the chiefs of Ghūr to the Sulṭāns of the Maḥmūdī dynasty When Bahrām executed Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, 'Alā-ud-Dīn's brother, he sent his head to his uncle, Sulṭān Sanjar See also Fanākatī's statement, para. 10 to note [2], page 348

[2] Two copies have, "There there is a delightful *river* and an extensive plain," but of course the Harīw or Harī-rūd, as the river of Hirāt is named, was there, and the extra river appears redundant

Faṣiḥ-ī states that the battle took place before Aobah, near Hirāt [Aobah is Pus'hto for "water"], and in this Jahān-Ārā agrees, but the Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī says it took place at Marān-zād, but both places are in the Hirāt district, and not far from each other

In the year 544 H [Fasiḥ-ī says as early as 542 H], 'Alī, Jatrī, [called Chatrī by our author] who held the fief of Hirāt, during Sulṭān Sanjar's absence, had become disaffected towards the Sulṭān, in what way is not mentioned, for but little is said about him in history [See note [8], page 237] He concerted with 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, "Malik of Ghūr," in this hostility, and Sanjar marched against them They were defeated and overthrown in 545 H —some say in 544 H , and Faṣīḥ-ī 547 H —and 'Alī, Jatrī, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, Ghūrī, and the Malik-zādah, Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad [son of Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, of Bāmīān, elder brother of 'Alā ud-Dīn], were taken prisoners, the last by the hand of the Sipah-sālār, Baranḳash Orders were given to put 'Alī, Jatrī, to death at once, and 'Alā-ud Dīn was thrown into prison, but Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, having obtained 50,000 dīnārs from Bāmīān, the sum demanded for his ransom, that sum was paid to Baranḳash, and he was set free. After some time, Sulṭān Sanjar took compassion on 'Alā-ud-Dīn, set him at liberty, and made him one of his boon companions

Fanākatī *here* relates the story respecting ['Alā-ud-Dīn] Ḥusain, which Faṣiḥ ī, and some others relate of his father, Ḥusain, already recorded in note [4], page 336, but, although Faṣiḥ ī relates matters *entirely different* here respecting 'Alā ud-Dīn, Husain, and gives such circumstantial details, I still cannot but consider Rashīd ud-Dīn's account correct notwithstanding, who,

and at that place an engagement took place between the two armies. Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, a day before the battle was fought, had directed so that the ground in rear of the forces of Ghūr had been entirely laid under water, and he had caused it to be proclaimed that the ground in the rear had become quite flooded, and that whoever should attempt to fly to the rear would get into the mud, and stick there.

When the battle was arranged, and the two armies came in contact, a body of about 6000 Ghuzz, Turk, and Khalj horse, which was stationed on the right of the army of Ghūr, deserted, and went over to Sultān Sanjar, and submitted to him, and the troops of Ghūr were defeated and overthrown. The whole of the Amīrs and warriors, and

however, styles both of them Ḥusain, without giving their titles. The anecdote is much the same in both authors

Faṣiḥ-ī says, "When Husain ['Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, of our author], son of Sām, was taken prisoner, the Sultān commanded that he should be put to death, but, at the intercession of Shaikh Aḥmad [the Imām-i-Rabbānī of Rashīd-ud-Dīn], Ghazzālī, he was spared, and set at liberty This was in the year 545 H For two years he used to light the fires of the cooks of the Sulṭān's army [our author would scorn to relate this, as it did not tend to the glorification of his patrons], until one day, the Amīr [commander] of the troops of Khurāsān, 'Imād-ud-Daulah, Kīmāj, chanced to meet with him" Fanākatī says, for two years ['Alā-ud-Dīn] Husain wandered about the bāzārs of Sanjar's camp [or capital] as a mendicant, when one day as Ḳīmāj was passing the shop of a cook he noticed Ḥusain, who was attending the fire and watching the cook's pot.

Ḳīmāj took compassion on Ḥusain and made known his case to the Sulṭān, who directed that he should be brought to his presence When admitted, he kissed the ground before the Sulṭān, who said to him —"I understand thou hast neither wealth nor effects left unto thee. Hast thou no sense of cleanliness left thee either?" [Rashīd-ud-Dīn says, "Hast thou not the means and power of keeping one head and face clean?"] Ḥusain replied —"In the days when this head was mine own head I had the good fortune to be attended by a thousand servants, but, now that it belongs to thee, thou keepest it thus wretched and abject" The Sulṭān was touched, he pardoned him, treated him with honour, and sent him back to his native country attended by a large retinue; and to the end of his days Ḥusain paid obedience to that monarch.

'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, was restored to the sovereignty of Ghūr in 547 H, just before Sulṭān Sanjar moved against the Ghuzz He was defeated and made captive in the first month of 548 H, and, when released in 551 H, no power was left to him 'Alā-ud-Dīn *died a month before Sanjar's release* Several authors mention Sanjar's having bestowed a casket of gems, one night at a convivial meeting, upon 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, but treasure, flocks, and herds are not referred to. See page 238, and note [4].

distinguished men of the Ghūriān army, got entangled in that swampy ground and morass. Some of them obtained martyrdom, and some were made captive, and Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn himself was taken prisoner

Sultān Sanjar commanded that he should be put in confinement, and they brought gyves of iron to place on his legs. He urged that it was requisite they should make a representation [from him] to the Sultān, saying.—"Do unto me as I intended to have done unto thee, for I obtained gyves of gold, in order that, thereby, reverence for thy sovereignty might be so much the more preserved" When this request was made known, those identical gyves were called for, and, when they were obtained, those very same gyves were placed upon 'Alā-ud-Dīn's legs, and they mounted him upon a camel, and Sulṭān Sanjar returned [to his own territory]

As the report of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's wittiness of temperament, and quickness of intellect, was much talked about at that period, and had become famous, and Sulṭān Sanjar had heard a great deal about it, either the next day, or a few days after, he sent for him, treated him with honour, and set him at liberty [from his gyves] A salver of precious gems had been placed near the *masnad* of the imperial throne, and that was bestowed upon 'Alā-ud-Dīn, who arose and made his obeisance, and spoke these lines, befitting the circumstance The following is the quatrain:—

"In the rank of battle the Shāh took me, but did not kill,
Notwithstanding, of a verity, I was full worthy of being slain
A casket of precious gems he bestow'd upon me
In such wise his mercy [was], and his bounty such[4] "

Sultān Sanjar made him one of his associates and boon companions, and there was no pleasure-party without the presence of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, until one day, during a banquet, the sight of 'Alā-ud-Dīn fell upon the sole of Sulṭān Sanjar's foot, who, seated on his throne, had extended one of his legs, upon the sole of the foot of which there was a large mole He arose, kissed the mole, and improvised the following lines.—

[4] Some other authors quote these lines differently, particularly the two last.

"Verily the dust at the gate of thy palace is [my] diadem[5],
And [this], the collar of thy service, is my adornment.
In the same manner as I kiss the mole on the sole of thy foot,
Even so good fortune [likewise] salutes my head"

This anecdote has been already related in the account of Sultān Sanjar's reign The latter gave him back again the throne of Ghūr[6], and he commanded that stores, treasure, all his herds of horses and camels and cattle, and flocks of sheep, his own personal property, should be made over to 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and Sultān Sanjar said:—"'Alā-ud-Dīn, thou art in the condition of a brother to me Return, and take all these things—cattle and treasure—along with thee, and remove them to the country of Ghūr. If the divine decree should in such wise will, that this host of Ghuzz should be overcome, and we should obtain the victory, when these things shall be demanded of thee, send them back to me, but otherwise, if it should turn out that my dominion shall have come to an end, and the thread of the empire's regularity shall have been severed, it is far better that these things should remain with thee than that they should fall into the hands of the Ghuzz[7]"

During this period of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn's absence[8] from the capital of the kingdom of Ghūr, a number of the Amīrs, Maliks, and the great men and judges of the Jibāl [mountain tracts] and of the territory of Ghūr, had agreed together to bring Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain[9], son of Muḥammad, of Mādīn, who was the brother's son of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and place him upon the throne of Fīrūz-koh A body of disobedient persons of the territory of Kashī[1], who excel all the rest of the people of Ghūr in arrogance and obstinacy, had committed great violence, and by their turbulence and clamour, under pretence of grants, gifts,

[5] The first line here is slightly different in some few copies, and varies a little from what was given at page 150, and reads, "Verily the dust of *thy steed's hoof* is my diadem," but the rest agrees with the former version Other authors quote the line as given in the text above

[6] The Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī says "both Ghūr and Ghaznīn"

[7] Another author says that Sulṭān Sanjar bestowed a standard and kettle drums upon 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and restored him to the rulership of Ghūr

[8] Captivity did not sound well in Minhāj-i-Sarāj's ears apparently

[9] Some have Ḥasan

[1] This word is written "Kasī" in several copies

alms, and robes of distinction, had appropriated the royal treasure and property

When Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn came towards Ghūr from Khurāsān with all that treasure, cattle, and wealth [conferred upon him by Sultān Sanjar], he first proceeded in the direction of the territory of Kashī, destroyed the whole of their Kūshks [fortified villages], which exceeded a thousand Ḳaṣrs in number, and every one of which, in strength and height, was such, that the decision of conjecture and conception could not admit a plan of it

After having taken vengeance upon the rebels of the Kashī territory and other mountain tracts, he ['Alā-ud-Dīn] returned to the capital Fīrūz-koh, and, before his reaching it, they had killed Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn-i-Muḥammad, as will, subsequently, be recorded When Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn arrived at Fīrūz-koh, and [again] seated himself on the throne of his ancestors, he turned his attention to the making of fresh conquests He brought under his sway the districts of Bāmīān and Ṭukhāristān[2], and seized the districts of Dāwar, Jarūm, and Bust also, and, of Khurāsān, took the fortress of Tūlak, which is situated in the mountains in the vicinity of Hirāt, after a period of six years[3]

There was a poet within the fortress of Tūlak, whom they called by the name of 'Umr-i-Sarāj, and, when hostilities were about to come to an end, and the fortress of Tūlak was about to be gained possession of by terms of accommodation, he composed some verses, two lines of which, which were deserving [of insertion], are here brought in —

"Seated on horseback, galloping up-hill and down,
Thy object is Tūlak lo! there is Tūlak"

In their language, galloping up-hill and down-dale is called "Wurlak-Fūlak[4]" "The mercy of God be upon them!"

[2] See the Tukhāristān dynasty farther on

[3] According to this statement, 'Alā-ud-Dīn must have been investing this place during the whole of his reign, for he only ruled six years.

[4] These words vary in most of the copies of the text, but the best copies have as above written Some have "Ūrlak-Fūlak," "Warlak-Tūlak," and "Wurkal-Tūkal" The words are unintelligible, and are certainly not Pushto

From that place 'Alā-ud-Dīn turned his face to the conquest of Gharjistān; and took to wife the lady Ḥūr Malikah, who was the daughter of the Shār, Shāh [by name], son of Ibrāhīm, Shār, son of Ardshīr, one of the Maliks of Gharjistān[5], and the valley of the Murghāb river and [its] fortresses came into his possession. The fortress of Sabekjī[6] [or Sabegjī], however, held out, and carried on hostilities [against him] for six years[7], and of this time, for a period of three years, he sat down continually before it, until it was given up to him

Towards the end of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn's life, Mulāhidah emissaries came to him from Alamūt[8], and he treated them with great reverence, and in every place in Ghūr they sought, secretly, to make proselytes The Mulāḥidah [heretic] of Alamūt had set his ambition on subjecting the people of Ghūr [to his heresy], and making them submissive. This fact became defilement which adhered to the train of the 'Alā-ī robe of sovereignty. Of his life, however, but a short period remained, and he died, and they buried him by the side of his ancestors and his brethren[9] The Almighty forgive him!

[5] See note [6], page 341

[6] The name of this place is doubtful The majority of copies have as written above سبکجی but other copies have سبکجی — سکی — ستکجی — سکجی — ستکجی and سکجی Of Ghūr we have no knowledge whatever, and the Politicals, who were stationed in Afghānistān previous to the outbreak in 1841, although they did gain a little knowledge of the eastern parts of Afghānistān, appear almost to have neglected the western parts

[7] See note [3], preceding page

[8] Alamūt, from اله and اموت — the eagle's [not vulture's] nest—the name of the stronghold of Hasan-i Ṣabbāh, the Shaykh ul-Jibāl, or the Old Man of the Mountain, or Chief of the Assassins, as the chief of this sect used to be called The person here referred to, however, is MUHAMMAD, son of BUZURG-UMID, the third of the Alamūtīahs, who died in 557 H In Elliot, INDIA, vol ii. pages 289-90, he is turned into "the Mulâhi-datu-l-maut"! See page 365, and note [3]

'Alā-ud Dīn, Husain, died at Hirāt in 551 H, the same year in which Sulṭān Sanjar escaped from the Ghuzz, and Itsiz, Khwārazm Shāh, died, according to Faṣiḥ-ī, Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh, Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, Haft-Iḳlīm, Mir'āt-i-Jahān Numā, and several others, but, according to Jahān Ārā and Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, in 556 H, but this is incorrect Jannābī says in 566 H! Our author, although brought up in the residence of his niece, and the glorifier of all things Ghūriān, appears neither to have known the year of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's death nor the extent of his reign. He reigned six years.

[9] How many sons he had our author did not appear to consider necessary

XV. MALIK NĀṢIR-UD-DĪN, AL-ḤUSAIN, SON OF MUḤAMMAD, MĀDĪNĪ

When Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, was made captive in the engagement with Sulṭān Sanjar, the [affairs of the] territories of Ghūr and the Jibāl [mountain tracts] became weak and disordered The refractory and disobedient of Ghūr began to show contumacy, and each tribe fortified itself in the hills and defiles in which it dwelt, and commenced carrying on strife and hostility one against the other

A party of the great Amīrs who still remained [for a great number had been slain or made captive in the battle against Sultān Sanjar] brought Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Muhammad, Mādīnī, from Mādīn, and placed him on the throne of Fīrūz-koh[1] The treasures of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and the treasures of his son, Sulṭān Saif-ud-Dīn, he took into his own possession, and the whole of the precious things, treasures, and valuable property, and other effects stored up, he expended upon those Amīrs, and great men, and on mean persons, and seized upon the dominions of Ghūr His strength lay in the support of the rebels of the Kashī country

This Malik, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, had a great passion for women and virgins, and he had taken a number of the handmaids and slave girls of the *haram* of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn under his own control, and used to have recourse to them. When Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, having been dismissed with great honour and respect from the presence of Sulṭān Sanjar, set out towards the dominions of Ghur, and reached the hill country of Hirāt, and the news of the advent of his exalted banners was brought to Fīrūz-koh, terror, and fright, and the fear of retribution, threw all hearts into dread

A party, who were loyally devoted to the 'Alā-ī dynasty, secretly instigated and incited those slave girls of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's *haram*, who had been taken into Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn's *haram*, so that they sought an opportunity; and, at

to state here, but we shall find that he had two at least, both of whom succeeded to the sovereignty

[1] He is not mentioned as a ruler by other authors, who pass at once from 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, to his son, but there is no doubt about Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, having seized the sovereignty and held it during the former's captivity.

a time when Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn was lying asleep on his couch, they placed the pillow of the couch over his face, and, with all their force, held down the four corners of the pillow until they suffocated him, and he died.

XVI SULṬĀN[1] SAIF-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF SULṬĀN 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN, AL-ḤUSAIN

When Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn departed from this world, his son, Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, with the concurrence of the whole of the Maliks, Amīrs, and chief men of Ghūr, ascended the throne of Fīrūz-koh

He was a youthful and good-looking sovereign, and was beneficent in disposition, just, the cherisher of his subjects, and patronizer of his servants, bountiful, munificent, open-hearted, and liberal, humble, conciliating, pious, orthodox, and steadfast in the faith of Islām When he ascended the throne, he, at the outset, repudiated acts of tyranny and injustice, and for all the injustice, oppression, and violence which his father had committed, he commanded that restitution should be made, and he carried out his purpose according to the institutes of justice, and the ways of rectitude

Those emissaries who had come from the Mulāhidah [heretic] of Alamūt [towards the close of his father's reign], and who, secretly, had exhorted every person to the vanities of heresy and schism, he directed should be brought to task, and the whole of them, by his orders, were put to the sword In every place wherein the odour of their impure usages was perceived, throughout the territory of Ghūr, slaughter of all heretics was commanded. The whole of them were sent to Hell, and the area of the country of Ghūr, which was a mine of religion and orthodoxy, was purified from the infernal impurity of Ḳarāmitah[2] depravity by the sword By this orthodox war upon infidels, love for him became rooted in the hearts of the people of Ghūr and of the territory of the Jibāl, and the

[1] Styled Malik by several authors.

[2] Our author makes no difference between Mulāḥidahs and Ḳarāmiṭahs, but they are different sects. See Sale, ḲU'RĀN, Preliminary Discourse, pages 130-31

hole of them bound the girdle of his service round their ɔins, and placed the collar of obedience to him about the eck of sincerity

One of the proofs of his equity, and of the goodness of is rule, was this, that he gave orders for the release from he fortress of Wajiristān of both his uncle's sons, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, the ons of Sām, and he cherished and caressed them, and illowed them perfect liberty of action

During his reign people, both comers and goers, enjoyed plenty, repose, and security beyond compute, but that youthful monarch of excellent disposition had but a short ife, and his reign only extended to the space of one year and little more The mercy of God be upon him!

The cause of his loss of life was this —One day, seated n his pavilion, he was discharging arrows at a butt, and he Amīrs of Ghūr had been directed to be present, and vere in attendance. The Sipāh-sālār [commander of the roops], War-mesh, son of Shīs, who was the brother of Abū-l-'Abbās, son of Shīs, and the brother of Sulīmān, son of Shīs, was also in attendance on him It was the custom with the Amīrs of Ghūr, and the Maliks of the Jibāl, at hat period, that upon whomsoever they would confer honour, him they should present with a golden gauntlet studded with jewels, after the same manner as, in these days, they bestow a girdle, and on the hand[s] of this commander, War-mesh, son of Shīs, were two gem-studded gauntlets[4], which Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, Mādīnī, had honoured him with, and both those gauntlets were from the treasury of Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn's own *haram*. When he perceived those two gauntlets belonging to his own *haram* upon the hand of War-mesh, the honour of manhood, and the dignity of sovereignty, began to flame up within his heart, and the fire of wrath burst forth, and he said —"Run, War-mesh, and bring back my arrow from he butt" When War-mesh turned his face towards the

[4] The word used is دستواله a glove or gauntlet, a bracelet *may* have been what our author intended, as it is difficult, I should imagine, to wear *two* gauntlets on *one* hand, but he says "on the hand," not the *hands* The word or bracelet, however, is دستینه Other writers say, a bracelet, which Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, had taken from one of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's wives, and presented to War-mesh It is the father's *haram* at page 364

butt, in order to carry out this command, and his back was turned towards the Sultān, he, Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn, fitted a broad steel-headed arrow[5] to his bow, and drew the bow-string to his ear, and discharged the arrow with such force into the back of War-mesh, that the feathers of the arrow passed out through his breast, and he fell down dead on the spot[6].

As the empire of the Sanjarī dynasty had come to an end, the Amīrs of the tribe of Ghuzz had acquired power, and had taken possession of the different parts of the territory of Khurāsān, and their violence and depredations had extended in all directions, and the disquietude and affliction consequent upon these depredations used to reach the frontier districts of the kingdom of Ghūr, and the borders of the hill tracts of Gharjistān.

When Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn brought the dominions of his father under his jurisdiction, he assembled his forces, and set out for the purpose of restraining the aggressions of the Ghuzz, and reached the confines of Gharjistān, and the district of Mādīn[7]. From thence he advanced to Rūd-bār[8] of Marw, and passed beyond Dajzak, which is a large city [town ?], and came to a battle with the Ghuzz.

The Sipāh-sālār, Abū-l-'Abbās, son of Shīs, who was the champion of Ghūr, of the family of the Shīsānīs, and who nourished revenge in his heart on account of War-mesh, son of Shīs [his own brother], and waited his opportunity, on the day of the encounter with the Ghuzz, came behind the back of the Sultān, Saif-ud-Dīn, and thrust his spear into his side, and hurled him from his horse, and exclaimed [at the same time], "Men are not killed with their faces to the butt, as thou didst kill my brother, otherwise they [themselves] get killed at such a place as this[9]."

[5] The arrow-head called *bel-ak*, formed in the shape of a shovel, hence its name—a little shovel It is also called the "huntsman's arrow-head," and a double-pointed arrow-head also

[6] The "meek, conciliating, and pious" youth did not hesitate to shoot an enemy in the *back*!

[7] Some copies of the text have Fārus, which is sometimes written Ķādus, instead of Mādīn See page 374, and note 6

[8] Rūd-bār also means "a river in a valley," but here refers to a place so called.

[9] Some writers mention that he was "killed in battle with the Ghuzz of Balkh," and that it happened in 558 H, but he is said to have reigned some-

When the Sulṭān fell, the troops of Ghūr were defeated and routed, and they likewise left the [wounded] Sultān on the field. A Ghuzz [soldier] came upon him, and, as yet, the Sulṭān was still alive. The Ghuzz, when he noticed the princely vest and girdle, was desirous of despoiling him of them. The fastening of the Sultān's girdle would not come open quickly, on which the Ghuzz applied his knife to the fastening, and divided it The point of the knife entered the stomach of Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn with force, and from that wound he obtained martyrdom

XVII SULTĀN[1]-UL-A'ZAM, GHIYĀS-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD DĪN, ABŪ-L-FATH, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF BAHĀ UD DĪN, SĀM, ḲASĪM-I-AMĪR-UL-MŪMINĪN[2]

Trustworthy persons have stated, after the following manner, that Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and his brother, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, were both born of one mother, and that Ghiyās-ud-Dīn was the elder of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn by three years and a little more Their mother was the daughter of Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Kīdānī, both of the lineage of Banjī, son of Naharān, and also of the seed of the Shansabānīs The Malikah, their mother, used to call Ghiyās-ud-Dīn [by the name of] Ḥabashī, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Zangī[3], but, originally, the august name of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn was Muhammad, and the name of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was

thing less than two years, and, in this case, if his father died in 551 H, there are three or four years unaccounted for, and, if the former date is correct, 'Alā must have died in 556 H, or his son must have reigned about *seven* years, but, as our author says that Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, who succeeded him, died in 599 H, after a reign of forty three years, Saif-ud-Dīn, 'Alā's son, must have been killed in 556 H Some other authors, however, say Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn only reigned forty one years, which would make 558 H as the year of Saif ud-Dīn's death correct The Mir'āt-i-Jahān Numā says that his father died in 551 H, and Saif-ud-Dīn reigned one year and a half, and by some accounts seven years, and that he was killed in a battle with the Ghuzz of Balkh In all probability he was killed in 558 H

[1] Styled "Malik" by many authors, like the whole dynasty,

[2] The legendary etymology of this assumed title has already been given at page 315, but its real meaning was, probably, co-sharer, or the like, from قسم a share, portion, &c See also page 316, and note [9]

[3] Why their mother called them by these "pet" names does not appear We must suppose that they were both very dark indeed, as both words signify Abyssinian, Ethiop, negro, &c

also Muḥammad. In the dialect of Ghūr they call Muḥammad, Aḥmad[4].

When Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, died within the limits of Kīdān, and Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, ascended the throne of Fīrūz-koh, he commanded that his two nephews, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, should be imprisoned in the fortress of Wajīristān[5], and fixed but a small allowance for the supply of their wants[6] When Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn departed from this world, Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn directed that they should be released from that fortress, and he allowed them entire liberty of action Ghiyās-ud-Dīn took up his residence at the Court of Fīrūz-koh in amity with Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, his brother, proceeded to Bāmīān to the presence of his paternal uncle, Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd

Ghiyās-ud-Dīn accompanied Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn, serving along with the army, on the expedition against the Ghuzz tribe, but he had, however, but a small following through want of means and scantiness of resources, but every one, among the old servants of his father and of his mother, used clandestinely to afford him some little help

Ghiyās-ud-Dīn continued always in the service of Sulṭān Saif-ud-Dīn up to the time when the heavenly decree arrived, and Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn was removed from the throne of life imperial to the bier of premature death[7], and the army of Ghūr, discomfited, came out of the district of Rūd-bār and the borders of Dajzak towards Gharjistān by way of Asīr Darah and La-wīr [or Lū-īr ?], and passed beyond Āfshīn, which was the capital of the Shārs of Gharjistān, and, when they reached the town of Wadā-wajzd[8], the Sipāh-sālār, Abū-l-'Abbās, son of Shīs, who

[4] See note [4], page 313

[5] A few authors have stated that the two brothers were placed in charge of Ghaznīn [not a province of Ghūr] by their uncle, 'Alā ud Dīn, Husain, but such is not correct, and our author's statements here and at pages 357 and 366 are quite correct, and are confirmed by many authors of undoubted authority See also Thomas THE PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI, page 10

[6] See paragraph 14, note [2], page 347

[7] For shooting the greatest of his chiefs in the back, in a cowardly manner, in a fit of jealousy

[8] The text here in all the copies is more or less exceedingly defective, and it would be almost impossible to make anything of this passage without collating the number of copies I have seen As it is there is some doubt about two or three of the proper names Some copies have Abar [ ] and Asir

had unhorsed Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn with his spear, there presented himself in the presence of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn; and such of the most powerful and illustrious personages, and the Amīrs and Maliks of the troops of Ghūr and Gharjistān as were present, he assembled and brought together, and they all gave their allegiance to the sovereignty and dominion of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and they raised him to the throne, and congratulated him on his accession to the supreme power. Command was given to erect a castle there [where this occurred], and up to this time, wherein the calamity of the infidel Mughals arose, that town and castle was inhabited. From thence they conducted him to the city of Fīrūz-koh, and, when they reached the city, they placed Ghiyās-ud-Dīn on the throne.

Previously to this, his title was Shams-ud-Dīn, and his brother's, Shihāb-ud-Dīn, but, after he had been on the throne some time, his own title was changed to Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and, after the successes in Khurāsān, his brother Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn's title became Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn[9].

When his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn[1], became cognizant of his brother Ghiyās-ud-Dīn's situation, he proceeded to the presence of his uncle, Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, and asked his permission, and came to Fīrūz-koh, and he was invested with the office of Sar-i-Jāndār [or chief armour-bearer], and he used to be always in attendance on his brother, Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn. The territory of Istīah[2] and Kajūrān were entrusted to his charge.

[اسر] for Asīr [اسير], and Wazzāward [وزاورد] for Wadāwazd [داوزد]. Some copies may be read any way, and have no diacritical points. The name of the capital of Gharjistān, which is also called Gharchistān, is also written in various ways, and, in some copies, is unintelligible, but the above reading is confirmed by Yāfa-ī, who gives a detailed account of the Shārs, but Faṣiḥ-ī calls the town Afshīnah. Ibn Ḥūḳal says, the two [chief] towns of Gharjistān are شنن not بشين and سورمين. The first is evidently an error of the copyist for افشين and so confirms Yāfa-ī's statement.

[9] Several years after his brother's accession. Modern writers of Indian history generally, and European writers, English in particular, put the cart before the horse in this respect, but the latest version of his name, in this way, occurs in THE STUDENT'S MANUAL OF INDIAN HISTORY, where he appears as "*Shahab ood Deen, Mahmood Ghoory*"! Shihāb *has* a meaning, but "Shahab" none: moreover his name was not Maḥmūd.

[1] The writer does not mean that he was *then* Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, but subsequently.

[2] Written by some other authors, Istiyā. It is the name of a small district and range of hills between Ghaznīn and Hirāt.

When the [Sulṭān's] pavilion was brought out of the city of Fīrūz-koh, and conveyed towards Ghūr[3], the contumacious of Ghūr began to manifest opposition. The Sipāh-sālār, Abū-l-'Abbās, son of Shīṣ, who had raised him to the throne, possessed great authority and influence, and the refractory of Ghūr used to shelter themselves under his protection. Both the brothers continued to nourish revenge in their hearts against him [Abū-l-'Abbās], on account of his having killed their cousin, Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn, and they both concerted a design [against him]. It was determined between them, that one of their own immediate Turkish followers should carry it out [in the following manner]:—When Abū-l-'Abbās should enter the audience-hall, and should stand up in the assembly to make his obeisance, and Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn should raise his hand to his cap[4], the Turk should strike off Abū-l-'Abbās' head, and such was done.

After Abū-l-'Abbās had been put to death, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn acquired strength, and the grandeur of the realm increased. The uncle of the brothers, Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, of Bāmīān, being the eldest of the seven Sultān brothers[5], and there being neither one of them remaining [but himself], he became ambitious of acquiring the territory of Ghūr and the throne of Fīrūz-koh. Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḳimāj [a noble] of the Sanjarī dynasty, who was Malik [ruler] of Balkh, he sought aid from, and despatched envoys to Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-dūz[6], of Hirāt, and asked assistance from him also. Subsequently, the

[3] From the manner in which our author here expresses himself [and the sentence is the same in all the copies collated], Ghūr must have been the name of a town as well as of the whole country. From many of his expressions, however, in other places, Fīrūz-koh would seem to refer to one district or territory, Ghūr to another, and the Jibāl to a third.

[4] The word here used signifies not a cap exactly, but a head-dress made from the fur or skin of an animal, of cloth or other texture, or of cloth of gold, and the like, made into a head-dress, a tiara, diadem, &c., but not a turban. Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, the elder brother, engaged Abū-l-'Abbās in conversation, whilst the other brother gave the sign for his assassination. Abū-l-'Abbās appears to have suspected treachery, for he had half drawn his dagger from its sheath when he was cut down. This is a specimen of the noble qualities of those amiable and pious sovereigns of our author, and is quite in keeping with their treachery, or at least with Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's towards Khusrau Malik. See note [6], pages 112-13.

[5] They were not *all* styled "Sulṭān," even by his own account.

[6] I-yal-dūz of others.

troops of Bāmīān and the forces of Balkh and of Hirāt advanced from different directions towards Fīrūz-koh

Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, of Bāmīān, being the uncle of the Sultāns, and there being a great number of the Amīrs of Ghūr in his service, and he claiming the territory of Ghūr by right of heritage, set out at first, and Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḳimāj, the Amīr [ruler] of Balkh, began to follow after him, at the distance of some leagues, by the route of Upper Gharjistān, while Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-dūz, marched to Fīrūz-koh with his army from Hirāt, it being the nearest route by way of the Harīw-ar-Rūd [7], or valley of the Harī river

Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn came out of Fīrūz-koh, and proceeded to a place which is called Rāgh-i-Zarīr [8] [the Zarīr plain] and the forces of Ghūr there assembled around them Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-dūz, of Hirāt, used the utmost expedition, being ambitious of this, that perhaps the capture of Fīrūz-koh and the destruction of the Ghūrīān army might be achieved by him

When he arrived near to the position of the Ghūrīān forces, and both armies confronted each other, and preparations were being made for coming to action, so that only about the distance of half-a-league intervened between them, and the ranks of either army could be seen by the other, two Ghūrīān warriors from the midst of the army formed a compact, and came to the front of the [marshalled] ranks, and presented themselves before the Sultān, dismounted from their horses, and, bowing their faces to the ground, said, "We two your servants will disperse the army of Hirāt," so by command they mounted, and, rousing both their horses, they drew their swords, and, like the fierce blast, and the flying cloud, they approached towards the ranks of the Turks of Hirāt, crying out, "Where is Malik Yal-dūz? We seek Malik Yal-dūz!"

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-dūz, was standing beneath his canopy, and his troops all pointed towards him, so that those Ghūrīān warriors knew which was Yal-dūz, and both

[7] This clause of the sentence is only contained in the best copies of the text

[8] In some copies "Rāgh i-Zar," which is much the same, *zar* signifying golden or yellow, and Zarīr the name of a grass yielding a yellow dye One old copy has Weiz, wh [illegible] signifies pure

of them like hungry lions and rampant elephants fell upon Yal-dūz, and brought him from his horse to the ground by the wounds inflicted by their swords When the troops of Hirāt beheld this heroism, boldness, and intrepidity, they gave way and took to flight As Almighty God had brought those two Sultāns, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, beneath the shadow of His kindness, He made such a victory and triumph as this a miracle of theirs[9]

The next day a body of horse[1], lightly equipped and ruthless, was nominated to proceed against the force of Ḳimāj of Balkh They fell upon his army unawares, put it to flight, took Ḳimāj, and slew him, and brought his head to the presence of the Sultāns together with his standard Then the head of Kimāj was placed in a bag, and entrusted to a horseman's charge, and they sent him to meet their uncle, Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd The latter had arrived near at hand, and, when they [the Sultāns] had despatched the head of Ḳimāj, they put their forces in motion to follow, and pushed on towards their uncle, Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn

When that horseman brought the head of Ḳimāj to the presence of Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn he determined upon returning, and made his troops mount, and, by the time they had become ready prepared to begin their retreat, the two Sultāns had come up [with their forces] and had occupied all the parts around On reaching the place where their uncle was, Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn at once dismounted from their horses, and proceeded to receive him, and paid him great attention and consideration, and said, "It is necessary that your lordship should return," and they conducted him to their camp and seated

[9] This "miracle" is not mentioned by other authors, with the exception of a very few who copy from our author The Rauẓat us-Ṣafā says that the brothers despatched two bodies of troops to oppose the advance of two of the confederates, the ruler of Hirāt, whose name is not given, and Ḳimāj of Balkh, and that the Ghūrīān forces slew both of them, and returned triumphant to the presence of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, who despatched the head *of the son* of Ḳimāj of Balkh to his uncle, who repented of his expedition, and sought to retire Troops had been despatched, however, to surround him, and the brothers followed, and, when they found Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, their uncle, had been intercepted, they went to him Then follows much copied almost word for word from our author

[1] Three copies of the text have "several thousand horse," &c

him on a throne, and both those sovereigns[2] stood up before him with their hands stuck in their girdles [in token of servitude] From this Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn became filled with shame and compunction, and, overcome with humiliation, he spoke to them some words of rebuke, arose, and said, "You mock me!" They mollified him by many apologies and excuses, and accompanied him one stage, and sent him on his return back to Bāmīān, and the territory of Ghūr was left vacant to Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn

After that event he proceeded into Garmsīr and Zamīn-i-Dāwar, and that tract was liberated[3], and, as Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-dūz, of Hirāt, had been slain, and the army of Hirāt had returned thither discomfited, Badr-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril, who was one of [Sultān] Sanjar's slaves[4], took Hirāt into his own jurisdiction, and held possession of it for a considerable time, until the inhabitants of Hirāt despatched petitions to Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn inviting him [thither], and that success[5] was also achieved

[2] Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was not then a sovereign prince, and did not become so nominally until after the taking of Ghaznīn from the Ghuzz

[3] He obtained possession of Bādghīs at the same period, and is said to have entered into a connexion with the chiefs of Gharjistān, and established his sway also over that tract of country From whose possession Garmsīr and Zamīn-i-Dāwar were "liberated" our author does not state Faṣiḥ-ī, however, mentions that in the same year in which he succeeded his cousin, 558 H, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn fought an engagement with the Ghuzz, vanquished them, and imposed tribute on them The Ghuzz were doubtless in possession of the districts mentioned above

[4] See note [5], page 379

[5] This "success" could have been but *a very temporary one*, for, by our author's own account, Tughril was in possession of Hirāt up to the year when Sulṭān Shāh, Khwārazmī, was defeated by the Ghūrīs, which event took place in 588 H In another place, our author, referring to this "taking" of Hirāt, says it happened in 571 H, yet seventeen years after Tughril still, by his own account, held Hirāt See page 249, and note [6], page 379

During the Khilāfat of the 'Abbāsī Khalīfah, Mihdī, the Ghuzz entered Māwar-un-Nahr from the north, and became converts to Islām, but Mukanna'-i Mītī [the "great Mokanna" of Moore's poem of "Lalla Rookh"], the false prophet, reduced them under his sway When the 'Abbāsīs set about putting down Muḳanna', the Ghuzz deserted him, and retired to the more southern parts of Māwar-un-Nahr They were constantly engaged in hostilities with the Ḳārlughīah Turk-māns, who were generally victorious over them The Ghuzz were in the habit of paying tribute to the sovereign of the period, and, when Sulṭān Sanjar ascended the throne of the Saljūḳs, 40,000 Ghuzz families entered the territory of Khutlān and Chaghānīān, and paid a tribute of 24,000 sheep to the royal kitchen In 545 H, according to Alfī, when Amīr Ḳimāj [the Ḳimāj mentioned above, and in note [4], page 336, also probably] was Wālī of

After some years Fāras and the territory of Kālīyūn [or Kāl-yūn], and Fīwār and Baghshor[6], came into his posses-

Balkh, the Ghuzz became disaffected about the collection of the tribute. Ḳimāj was at enmity with Amīr Zangī, son of Khalīfah, Shaibānī, the Wālī of Ṭukhāristān [this was a short time before Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, Ghūrī, became ruler of Tukhāristān and Bāmīān], who, seizing the opportunity of Ḳimāj's absence at the court of Sulṭān Sanjar, and fearing lest the Ghuzz, who had lately been worsted by the Ḳārlughs, and had abandoned Māwar-un-Nahr, and contemplated migration into Khurāsān, might be induced to join his enemy, Amīr Ḳimāj, he invited them to take up their quarters in Ṭukhāristān, wherein he assigned them lands. In a dispute about the revenue, brought about by Ḳimāj out of enmity to Zangī, the Ghuzz slew him and one of his sons, and, at last, Sulṭān Sanjar moved against them, and he fell captive into their hands. Sanjar returned from captivity in 551 H., having effected his escape by the aid of Aḥmad, son of Ḳimāj, governor of Tirmid [see page 155, and note [6], and note [8], page 156], and died in 552 H. In 553 H. the Ghuzz poured forth from Balkh [the province of?], and moved towards Sarakhs. Mu'ayyid-i-'Ā-īnah-dār, the slave of Maḥmūd, Sanjar's nephew, and, afterwards, ruler of Nishāpūr [see note [7], page 180], and other parts of Upper Khurāsān, made a night attack upon them, and overthrew them with great slaughter. He encountered them again, two months after, in sight of Marw, whither they had moved, when the Ghuzz were victorious, and they carried on great depredations in Khurāsān. Other events followed, which are too long to be related here; but, subsequently, Mu'ayyid became independent, and acquired power over greater part of Khurāsān. The Ghuzz were in possession, however, of Marw, Sarakhs, Balkh, and some other tracts; and some parts were under the sway of the Khwārazmīs. Hirāt was held by a chief named Malik Aetkīn, who, in 559 H., marched into Ghūr with a considerable army; but, the Ghūrīs being prepared to receive him, Aetkīn was slain in the battle which ensued. This in all probability is the Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, of our author. He was succeeded at Hirāt by one of his own officers, styled Babar-ud-Dīn in Alfī, and he must be our author's Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril. This chief, not considering himself safe from the power of Amīr Mu'ayyid, and having some previous acquaintance with the Ghuzz chiefs, called upon them to help him, intending to give up Hirāt to them. On the appearance of the Ghuzz, however, the people of Hirāt rose against Babar-ud-Dīn, and put him to death in the same year. [See note [2], page 239.] Mu'ayyid was himself put to death in 569 H. Saif-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad of Ghūr, was slain when engaging the Ghuzz of Balkh in 558 H., and in the same year his successor, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, defeated them with great slaughter, and imposed tribute on [some portion?] of them, and in 571 H. his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, encountered a tribe of them, as will be mentioned under his reign. Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, gained possession of Hirāt [temporarily?] in 571 H. These events appear to be identical with what our author relates above. See also second paragraph to note at page 349, page 367, and note [5], page 379.

[6] With respect to these proper names there is great discrepancy in the different copies of the text. The majority of the best and oldest copies are as above; but in place of Fāras, some have Fādas and Ḳādas, and one Ḳādush, which place is mentioned, in several places, written in the same manner. In place of Baghshor, contained in one set of copies, Saif-rūd is contained in the other set. I have before alluded to this curious fact that the twelve copies collated appear, in several places, to be two distinct sets of the original. In

sion; and, when these parts came under his jurisdiction, he took to wife the daughter of his uncle, the Malikah, Tāj-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Gohar Malik [Malikah ?] the daughter of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain. The whole of Gharjistān, and Ṭāl-kān [7], and Juzarwān [8], devolved upon him, and Tigīn-ābād, out of the district of Jarūm [9], Ghiyās-ud-Dīn made over to his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, after he had returned from Sijistān [1]. He [now] began to despatch [bodies of] horse towards Ghaznīn, and the district of Zābul, and parts adjacent thereunto, and, at that period, the territory of Kābul, Zābul, and Ghaznīn were in the hands of the tribes of the Ghuzz, who had wrested them out of the possession of Khusrau Shāh [2]. The reign of Khusrau Shāh had terminated, and his son, Khusrau Malik, had made Lohor his capital.

The Amīrs of the Ghuzz [tribe] who were in Ghaznīn, not being able to oppose the forces of Ghūr [in the field] threw up intrenchments, and, from the excessive firmness of the Ghuzz, the Ghūriān army very nearly sustained an overthrow. Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn retired, and despatched a body of Ghūriāns to the aid of Ṣultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn [3]. Suddenly a body of Ghuzz warriors attacked [the army of Ghūr], and captured the royal standard of the Ghūriāns, and carried it away within their own intrenchments. The Ghūriān forces in the right and left wings imagined that

the list of places and territories acquired at the end of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn's reign farther on, the name of Baghshor is not mentioned. It is probable that Fīwār *and* Baghshor are correct, and that one has been omitted by different copyists.

[7] A different place to Ṭāe kān.

[8] This is the place referred to fifth paragraph of note [2], pages 257-8.

[9] In a few copies "and the district of Jarūm *and* Tigīn-ābād," &c.

[1] See page 184.

[2] This remark confirms the statements of those authors who state that Khusrau Shāh returned to his sacked and devastated capital after 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, had abandoned it, and also tends to show that it must have been the same monarch, and not his father, who fled from Ghaznīn when 'Alā ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, appeared before it. See para. 10 to note [2], p. 347, and note [3], p. 350.

[3] The whole of this sentence, and the first word of the next, are neither contained in either of the Paris copies, nor in the Bodleian MS., the I. O. L. MS., 1952, or the R. A. S. MS., and, certainly, the passage is somewhat obscure. It would appear that Ghiyāṣ ud-Dīn retired to obtain reinforcements, and also that he subsequently *returned* [as mentioned a few sentences after], which latter statement is contained in those very copies which omit the former. The Sultān, however, could not have retired to any very great distance, otherwise he would not have been in time to take part in the closing scene of the battle.

the royal standard had accompanied their own centre into the intrenchments of the enemy, and they advanced to the attack in all directions, broke through the intrenchments of the Ghuzz, and carried them, and put the Ghuzz to the rout. The news reached Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, who returned, and the troops of Ghūr commenced slaughtering the Ghuzz, and laid the greater number of that race on the earth, and Ghaznīn was left in the possession of the Ghūrīs. This victory was gained in the year 569 H.[4]

When Ghaznīn was conquered, Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn placed his brother, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, upon the throne of the Mahmūdīs[5], and returned himself to Fīrūz-koh.

After two years, he [Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn] summoned his troops [again], and the armies of Ghūr and Ghaznīn were got ready, and he advanced to the gates of the city of Hirāt. The people of that place had been manifesting signs of duty and desire [to place themselves under his rule]. When Bahā-ud-Dīn, Tughril, became aware of this [latter] fact, he evacuated the city of Hirāt, and retired to the Khwārazm-Shāhīs[6], and, in the year 671 H.[7], the city of Hirāt was taken possession of. Two years subsequent to this, Fūshanj was taken, and, after these successes, the

[4] This is the second date given by our author throughout the whole of this Section. At page 112 he says the Ghuzz held possession of Ghaznīn twelve years, and here says Ghiyās-ud-Dīn took it from them in 569 H., by which account they must have got possession of it in 557 H. Khusrau Shāh died in 555 H., so, if the above dates are correct, they could not have wrested Ghaznīn out of his hands. I think our author is pretty correct as to the period the Ghuzz held Ghaznīn, and they appear to have obtained possession of it in 557 H., or 558 H., probably after the death of Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain's son, and defeat of the Ghūrīāns by the Ghuzz.

[5] From which time only he is entitled to be styled Sultān. Faṣiḥ-ī says that as early as 566 H. the Maliks of Ghūr had acquired power in the Ghaznīn territory and in part of Hind, and the Khwārazm Shāhīs in 'Irāḳ and Khurāsān, but agrees with our author as to the date of the acquirement of the city of Ghaznīn, but some other authors state that it was taken in 568 H. It was in 569 H. that Malik Mu-ayyid-i-Ā'īnah-dār, in concert with Sultān Shāh, fought an engagement with Sultān 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Takish. See note [7], page 180, and note [7], page 245.

[6] Faṣiḥ-ī does not mention the acquirement of Hirāt among the events of 571 H., but states that in that year Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Wālī of Ghaznīn, encountered the Sankurān, a sept of the Ghuzz tribe, and slew many of them. Some other authors, who say that Ghaznīn was taken in 568 H., state that Hirāt was acquired two years after—in 570 H. The particulars of Tughril's death will be found at page 379.

[7] See note [5], page 379.

Malik of Nīmroz and Sijistān despatched envoys, and he enrolled himself among the vassals of that Sulṭān.

Subsequently to these events, the Ghuzz Maliks who were in Kirmān[8] paid submission to him; and different parts of the territory of Khurāsān, which were dependent upon Hirāt and Balkh, such as Ṭāl-kān, Andkhūd, Maimand[9] Fāryāb, Panj-dih, Marw-ar-Rūd, Dajzak, Kīlaf[1], the whole of those towns came into the possession of the Ghiyāṣī officers, and the Khutbah and the coin became adorned by the august name of Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn

After some time, Sultān Shāh, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, son of I-yal-Arsalān, Khwārazm Shāh, was ousted by his brother, Takish, Khwārazm Shāh, and presented himself at the Court of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn[2] After a time he became seditious, as has been previously recorded, and departed for Khitā, and from thence brought aid, and took Marw, and began to ravage the frontier districts of the territories of Ghūr, and commenced harrying and plundering them, until, in the year 588 H, Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn commanded, so that Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn from Ghaznīn, Malik Shams-ud-Dīn[3] of Bāmīān, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Ḥarab, from Sijistān, with their forces, assembled at Rūdbār of Marw, and they came and confronted the forces of Sultān Shāh, who, with his troops, marched out of Marw, and proceeded up [the river], and, in opposing the Sultān, used to make irregular and sudden attacks, and to continually harass the foragers of the Sultān's army For a period of six months

[8] Malik 'Imād ud Dīn, Dīnār, the Ghuzz chief, driven out of the territory of Sarakhs by Sultān Shāh, Khwārazmī [see note [8], page 246], retired towards Kirmān in 581 H, and, taking advantage of the distracted state of that kingdom, succeeded in establishing himself therein in Rajab, 583 H, and reigned over it for a period of eight years, and his son succeeded him The subjection of the Ghuzz rulers of Kirmān to Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn is not confirmed by other authors

[9] Called also Maihand by some other writers "Meemuna" and "Meimuna" are mere Anglicised forms according to the rule of writing Oriental names *contrary* to the mode of the inhabitants of places, and also contrary to the way in which they are *spelt*

[1] This name is somewhat doubtful Some have Kashīf, but the majority of copies have كلف the كرسف probably of Ibn-i-Ḥūḳal

[2] See page 239 and note [2]

[3] The same that was taken prisoner in the battle with Sulṭān Sanjar, along with 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, and 'Alī, Jatrī, and ransomed for 50,000 dīnārs. See note [3], p 358

this harassing warfare went on; and the two armies continued in proximity to each other until Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn commanded that a ferry over the river Murgh-āb should be sought for, and he crossed it [with his own forces], and the other troops crossed over after him, and Sultān Shāh was defeated and put to the rout.

This success was gained in the year 588 H.[4], and Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril, the Sanjarī, in that encounter, fell into the hands of the Bāmīān troops, and they brought his head to the presence of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn[5]. On that day, likewise, Malik Shams-ud-Dīn of Bāmīān, son of Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, who was the Sultāns' uncle, obtained [the honour of] a canopy of state, and they gave him the title of Sultān.

In this same year likewise, previous to the time that the forces of Ghūr, Ghaznīn, and Bāmīān were about to assemble at Rūdbār of Marw, for the purpose of restraining Sultān Shāh, commands had been issued for the martyrdom of the gentle and beneficent Sultān, Khusrau Malik[6]. The mercy of the Almighty be upon him!

Every year fresh successes were taking place in different directions of the territories of Ghūr[7], until, in the year

[4] This was the year in which, according to most writers, and also our author himself, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn of Ghaznīn defeated the Rāe of Dihlī.

[5] Our author, in another place, page 377, says Ghaznīn was taken in 569 H. [others say, in 568 H.], and that in 571 H. Hirāt was taken, and Bahā-ud-Dīn, Tughril, evacuated the city on the approach of the Ghūrīs, and joined the Khwārazmīs. The Ghūrīs could not have held Hirāt very long, for this affair with Sulṭān Shāh, in which Ṭughril was taken, took place, by our author's own account, in 588 H., *seventeen years* after that evacuation of Hirāt by Ṭughril, and he is even then styled "Ṭughril of Hirāt" by our author, and so he styles him in his account of Ṭughril and his death, at page 249. From this it is obvious that the Ghūrīs could only have held Hirāt for a very short time after 569 H., and Ṭughril must have regained possession of it soon after, and only finally left it, on the advance of the Ghūrīs against Sulṭān Shāh, in this year, 588 H., or, more correctly, in 587 H. See note [3], page 374.

[6] One of these pious brothers and model Sulṭans of our author, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, having deceitfully inveigled this amiable monaron into his power, broke his promises, and sent him and his family away into Ghūr to his other worthy brother who immured him in a fortress. At the time in question, finding Khusrau Malik an obstacle in their way, they had him put to death, and also his son, Bahrām Shāh. Here our author says it took place in 588 H., and 587 H., in his account of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, but, in his account of Khusrau Malik, he says it happened in 598 H.! See pages 114 and 115, and note [6] to page 112, para. 10.

[7] *Sic* in all the copies.

596 H, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn[8]-i-Takish, Khwārazm Shāh, died. Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn moved into Khurāsān with the armies of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, and advanced to the gate of Nīshāpūr While the forces occupied a position in the vicinity of Nīshāpūr, and hostilities commenced, trustworthy persons have, among the miracles of the victorious Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, related on this wise, that one day he mounted, in order to reconnoitre a place from which to attack the city, and rode round the edge of the ditch, and reached a spot from whence, in his august opinion, he determined to make the attack, as being the point where the capture of that city was likely to be effected[9] He made a sign with his whip, saying —"It is necessary that the battering-rams should be planted from this tower to that tower, in order to make a breach, and enable a general assault to be made, so that the capture of this city may be effected, and this victory achieved" At the very time that he made this indication [with his whip] towards those towers, the very portion of the walls of the city which he had pointed out, and the [two] towers, with everything near them, gave way, and the whole fell down, and became destroyed in such wise that not one brick remained upon another, and Nīshāpūr was taken Malik 'Alī Shāh[1], son of Sultān 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Takish, Khwārazm

[8] At page 255, in our author's account of his succession, he says, "'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Takish, brought his father's dominions under his own jurisdiction in 595 H"

[9] If we choose to be guided by what English and some other European writers of Histories of India say, on the authority of translations of Firishtah's work, from which their inspirations are drawn, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn was either a mere imbecile or a puppet, for he is said by several of them to have "*retained nothing of the empire but the name*," whilst others, including Elphinstone, of whom I expected something better, rush into the almost opposite extreme and say, that "he appears to have *resumed his activity* before his death, and to have been present in person *in all the campaigns in Khorásán* except the last," but they forget, or, more likely, are unable to, mention, when *all* these campaigns took place, and against whom The fact is that none of these statements are correct Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn reigned in glory to the end of his days, and his brother, Mu'izz-ud Dīn, held the sovereignty of Ghaznīn subject to him, and undertook the conquest of Upper India by his commands His *last* campaign, according to Yāfa-i, was in 597-8 H, only a few months before his death See the specimens of translations under his brother's reign, Section XIX, and note [7], page 255, and note [2], next page

[1] He is styled "Sultān 'Alī Shāh," and "a very great and illustrious prince," at page 252, and also "Malik" in some places.

Shāh, together with the Khwārazmī Maliks who were there, and chiefs, and other persons of distinction, such as Sur-tāsh and Gaz-lak Khān, and a considerable body of others, fell into their hands[2].

To Malik Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Abū 'Alī, Shansabī, who was the uncle's son[3] of both the [Ghūrīān] Sulṭāns, and the son-in-law of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, they gave the government and throne[4] of Nīshāpūr, and returned [to their own dominions] that same year The next year [597 H] they advanced to Marw-i-Shāh-i-Jahān, and took it, and Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Khar-nak, they installed at Marw, and conferred the government of Sarakhs upon their uncle's son, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī, who was the son of Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, Bāmīānī Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn acquired jurisdiction over the whole of that territory, and Khurāsān became clear[5]

Malik[6] 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, used great endeavours that they [the Sultāns] might perhaps

[2] Yāfa-ī gives the following account of this "miracle" which our author makes so much of "In the month of Rajab, 597 H, the Ghūrīs with an immense army, and ninety great elephants, each of which was like a mountain in size, advanced against Shād-yākh [of Nīshāpūr] where was, at that time, 'Alī Shāh, Sulṭān Muḥammad's brother, who had very recently arrived there on his return from 'Irāḳ, and several men of distinction in the service of his other brothers The Ghūrīān Sulṭāns [the two brothers], in order to reconnoitre the place, were making a circuit around it, and came to a stand opposite the city [Nīshāpūr] A vast crowd of people, from within Shād-yākh, in order to gaze upon the Ghūrīān army, flocked to one of the towers facing it. Suddenly the tower gave way, from the crowd within it [the fortifications at the time were not in good repair], and fell down This the Ghūrīs took as a good omen, and, during the same day [through this accident], took possession of the place" Another author states that the place was at once assaulted, captured, and plundered, and the date given is Rajab, 597 H, not 596 H, as our author states Nīshāpūr was retaken from the Ghūrīs five months after See page 393, note [8]

[3] This is incorrect See page 346, and note [8] and note [2], page 391

[4] Malik Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn was merely left in charge as governor The "throne of Nīshāpūr," is one of our author's absurdities

[5] After getting possession of Nīshāpūr Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ ud-Dīn returned to Hirāt, and his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, marched into Kuhistān for the purpose of destroying the strongholds of the Mulāḥidah heretics of that part, and, after several [minor] encounters with them, an accommodation was brought about, and Junābād was occupied, and the Ḳāẓī of Tūlak [the same who was previously left as governor of Tabarhindah See the reign of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Section XIX] was left there in charge.

[6] Sulṭān, by his own account, and a much greater one than either of the Ghūrīs in many respects, and the ruler of a far greater extent of territory

consent to accept his services [as their vassal], and relinquish Khurāsān to him again, but it was not given up to him. Trustworthy persons[7] have related after this manner, that, when Takish, Khwārazm Shāh [the father], died, Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh [the son], sent envoys to the presence of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, the purport of their embassy being to the effect, that, between the Sultāns of Ghūr and his father, a compact of friendship and unanimity was firmly established. He, their servant, desired that, according to that same compact, he might be [accounted] in the series of their other servants. If his exalted opinion thought well of it, the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, should take his [servant's] mother to wife, and consider him, his very humble servant, as a son, that from the Ghiyāsiah Court he, his [Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn's] servant, might receive an honorary robe, and a patent of investiture for Khurāsān and Khwārazm[8], and his servant would set free all the territory of 'Irāk and Māwar-un-Nahr from the hands of enemies.

When they [the envoys] had discharged the purport of their mission, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn did not become agreeable to the proposed union, and hostility arose. As the Almighty God had ordained that the whole of the dominions of Īrān should fall under the sway of Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh[9], he, upon several occasions, towards the close of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn's life, retired discomfited before the forces of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, and, at last, those Sultāns died before him.

Upon several occasions rich dresses of honour from the Court of the Khilāfat, from the Lord of the Faithful, Al-

Here again our author brings forward his absurd statement as to this mighty monarch's seeking to become the vassal and servant of the Ghūrīs, which is not worthy of the least credit whatever.

[7] Who, as usual, are nameless.

[8] Very probable, seeing that his ancestors ruled over it for more than a century previously, and over all Khurāsān and greater part of 'Irāk, by our author's own accounts, for many years. See the reign of Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, farther on, where a treaty with the Khwārazmīs is mentioned.

[9] Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, recovered most of his Khurāsān possessions, which the Ghūrīs had overrun the previous year, in 598 H. See previous note, and our author's own account of Sulṭān Takish's conquests at pages 241-2, and note [6], page 393, and his account of the Khwārazmī Sulṭāns generally.

Mustaẓī B'illah[1], and from the Lord of the Faithful, Un-Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Ullah, reached the Court of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn. On the first occasion, Ibn-ur-Rabbī' came, and the Ḳāẓī, Majd-ud-Dīn, [styled] the Model, went along with him to the Court of the Khilāfat, and, on the second occasion, Ibn-ul-Khatīb came, and the father of this their servant, Maulānā Sarāj-ud-Dīn, son of Minhāj-i-Sarāj, he [the Sultān] nominated to proceed along with him to the Court of the Khilāfat[2]. On the arrival of the honorary dress from the Court of Un-Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Ullah, the imperial *naubat*[3] five times a day was assumed by the Sultān

His dominions became wide and extended, and from the east [eastern extremity] of Hindūstān, from the frontier of Chīn and Mā-Chīn, as far as 'Irāk, and from the river Jīhūn and Khurāsān to the sea-shore of Hurmuz, the Khutbah was adorned by his auspicious name. He reigned for a period of forty-three years

His bounty and benefactions, bestowed upon the meritorious, the learned, the recluse, and the devout, reached to the extremes of the empire of Islām, from the east to the west, to 'Arab and to 'Ajam, to Turkistān and to Hind, and the names of all those meriting his bounty and charity were recorded in his civil courts and record offices His life extended to a period of sixty-three years, and the removal of this great monarch from this transitory sphere to the eternal habitation took place at the city of Hirāt, on Wednesday, the 27th of the sacred month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal[4], 599 H His mausoleum was raised by the side of the Jāmi' Masjid of Hirāt The mercy of the Almighty be upon him!

The Most High God had adorned the incomparable nature of the victorious Sultān, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muham-

[1] The Khalīfah's proper name and title is Al-Mustaẓī Bi-Nūr Ullah He died 575 H

[2] The Khalīfah was stimulating the Ghūrīān Sulṭāns to hostility against Sulṭān Mūḥammad's father, Sulṭān Takish, and afterwards did the same with respect to himself See page 243, and note [1]

[3] Kettledrums and other instruments sounded, at stated periods, before the gate of sovereigns and great men

[4] Some copies have the 7th, but the 27th of the month is confirmed by other authors His tomb was on the north side of the Jāmi' Masjid which he had himself founded Some authors state that 597 H was the year of his decease, and others again, 598 H

mad-i-Sām, with divers virtues and endowments, both outward and inward, and his Court was graced with learned doctors of religion and law ecclesiastical, accomplished scholars, illustrious philosophers, and the celebrated in eloquence, and his magnificent Court had become the asylum of the world, and the retreat of the worthy and laudable persons of the earth. Chiefs of the [holders of] religious tenets of every sect were there gathered together, incomparable poets were there present, and masters in the art of poetry and prose were entertained in the service of his sublime Court.

At the outset of the career of those sovereigns [Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn], both the brothers followed the tenets of the Kirāmī sect[5], in imitation of their ancestors and [the people of] their dominions, but Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, the younger brother, when he ascended the Ghaznīn throne, the people of that city and territory being followers of the tenets of the Great Imām, Abū Hanīfah of Kūfā, in conformity with them, adopted the doctrines of Abū Hanīfah. Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, however, saw, whilst in a dream, that he was used to be in the same masjid along with the illustrious Kāzī, Wahīd-ud-Dīn, Marwazī, who followed the religious doctrines of the Traditionists[6], and who was one of the leaders of the Shāf'i sect. Unexpectedly, Imām Shāf'ī himself enters, and proceeds to the Mihrāb[7], and begins to repeat the prayers, and Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and Kāzī Wahīd-ud-Dīn, both of them follow Imām Shāf'ī in so doing.

On awakening from his dream, the Sultān commanded, so that, at break of day, Kāzī Wahīd-ud-Dīn was requested to deliver a discourse. When he occupied the seat of the pulpit, he remarked, during the discourse[8], saying,

[5] The Kirāmīs, also called Mujassamīān—Corporealists—the followers of Muhammad, son of Kirām, are one of the subdivisions of the Sifātī sect who follow the tenets of Muhammad, son of Idrīs, Ush-Shāf'ī. Ghiyās ud-Dīn being of that sect, the offices of Imām and Khatīb of the great masjid of Hirāt, and other minor offices, were conferred on its ecclesiastics.

[6] The four orthodox sects of Muhammadans are Traditionists.

[7] The chief place in a masjid where the priest prays with his face turned towards Makkah.

[8] The different copies of the text express this clause of the sentence in three different ways, and use three different verbs although their meanings are similar.

"Sovereign of Islām! this your servant hath during the past night dreamt a dream," and he related the very same dream that the Sulṭān had himself dreamt, for he had had one like it; whereupon, when the Ḳāẓī descended from the chair, and went up to make his obeisance to the Sultān, the latter seized the blessed hand of Ḳāẓī, Wahīd-ud-Dīn, and adopted the tenets of Imām Shāf'i.[9]

When the withdrawal of the Sultān to the sect of the Traditionists became divulged, a load came upon the hearts of the 'Ulamā of the sect of Muhammad-i-Kirām [the Kirāmīs]. Of this body, the great ecclesiastics were numerous, but, at that time, the most eloquent among them all was Imām, Ṣadr-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, Haiṣam, the Nīshāpūrī, who was resident at, and the head of the college of the city of Āfshīn of Gharjistān. He composed a strophe on the Sultān, and in it censured his withdrawal from the sect, and, when that strophe came to the Sultān's knowledge, his sacred mind became much irritated with him, and Imām Ṣadr-ud-Dīn found it impossible to continue to dwell within the dominions of Ghūr. The strophe is this:—

[This polemical squib is of some length, and varies more or less in almost every copy, is of no particular interest, and need scarcely be translated.]

Imām Ṣadr-ud-Dīn, on this account, removed out of the territory of Ghūr, and proceeded to Nīshāpūr, and there he remained for the space of a year, after which he despatched [another] strophe to the presence of the Sultān, so that he was sent for to come back again, and a robe of honour was despatched, and he returned to the Court from Nīshāpūr again. Strophe:—

[These lines have also been left out for the reasons previously given. As may be imagined, they are as full of fulsome adulation as the first were of aspersion.]

Trustworthy persons have thus related, that Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, in his early youth, was greatly addicted to conviviality, and fond of the sports of the field, and from

[9] The Āṣār-ul-Bilād states that Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn used to copy Ḳur'āns with his own hand, and sell them, and give the money they were sold for in alms to the poor. The celebrated Imām, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of 'Umr of Rāz, wrote and dedicated to him a work entitled Laṭā'if-i-Ghiyāṣī. See under the reign of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Section XIX.

the capital city, Fīrūz-koh, which was the seat of government, as far as the Zamīn [district] and town of Dāwar, which was the winter capital, not a human being dared to pursue the chase Between these two cities [towns] is a distance of forty leagues, and he [the Sultān] had commanded that a pillar should be erected at each league of distance ; and in Zamīn-i-Dāwar he had laid out a garden, and he had given it the name of Garden of Iram[1], and certainly, for pleasantness and freshness, no such garden had ever been seen in the whole world, nor did any monarch possess the like of it The length of this garden was more than sufficient for two courses of a horse, and the whole of its glades were adorned with pine and juniper-trees, and various sorts of shrubs and odoriferous herbs ; and the Sultān had commanded, so that, adjoining the wall of that garden, a plain had been cleared corresponding in length and breadth with the garden itself

Once every year he used to give directions, so that for a distance of fifty or sixty leagues or more, a *nargah*[2] [semi-circle] of huntsmen would be drawn out, and it would require the space of a whole month for the two extremities of this semicircle of huntsmen to close up More than ten thousand wild beasts and animals of the chase, of all species and descriptions, used to be driven into that plain, and, on the days of chase[3], the Sulṭān was in the habit of coming out on the pavilion of the garden, and holding a convivial entertainment ; and his slaves, his Maliks, and the servants of the Court, one by one, with the royal permission, would mount on horseback and enter the plain, and chase and kill the game in the Sultān's august sight.

Upon one occasion he was desirous of entering the plain and enjoying the sport, upon which Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mubārak Shāh[4], got upon his feet, and repeated a quatrain The Sulṭān retracted his intention, and devoted himself

[1] The famous garden of Shadād, son of 'Ād, described by the eastern poets as a perfect model of the promised Muḥammadan Paradise

[2] One set of copies of the original use the word نرگه and the other جرگه They are both of much the same signification.

[3] If such can be called "the chase"

[4] The same who composed the History of the Shansabānīs in verse, referred to by our author at page 300 Other writers state that he was one of the most learned of his time in the science of astrology.

to enjoyment. The following is the quatrain in question:—

"To follow the wine, the beloved, and enjoyment,
Will be better than that thou shouldst pursue the chase
When the gazelle of paradise is within thy net,
Of what use that thou shouldst follow the mountain goat?"

Trustworthy persons have related that, when Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn forswore wine, and devoted himself to rectitude and goodness, at the period that Sultān Shāh, Khwārazm Shāh[5], brought the forces of Khitā against Khurāsān, and made Marw his capital, the latter began to harry the border-tracts of the territory of Ghūr, and brought his troops to the Dahānah-i-Sher—the Lion's Jaws—[Pass] of Sarakhs, and despatched an emissary to the presence of the Sultān, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and preferred certain requests of his own to him. The Sultān commanded that an entertainment should be prepared to do honour to the envoy, and a gay party was brought together Wine was circulated among the Maliks and Amīrs of Ghūr, and the envoy was treated with great honour, and he was plied with wine, in order that, when in a state of inebriety, the disposition of Sulṭān Shāh might be discovered from his emissary

For the Sulṭān's own drinking, sweet pomegranate juice was poured into a flask, and, when it came to the Sulṭān's turn to pledge, they would fill his goblet with that pomegranate juice, and would present it to him When the envoy of Sulṭān Shāh became excited from the effects of the wine, he rose to his knees, and requested a minstrel to sing the following quatrain, which he accordingly did:—

"Of that lion whose abode is within the Lion's Jaws,[6]
The lions of the universe are in great affright.
Thou shouldst, O lion, from 'The Jaws' show thy teeth,
Since these are [as though] in 'The Lion's Jaws' from terror"

When the envoy called for this verse, and the minstrel sang it, Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn's colour changed, and the

[5] See page 246 and note [8]

[6] The point of these lines depends upon the play on the word Dahānah It signifies the jaws, the mouth of a pass, yawning, and the like

Maliks of Ghūr became much agitated Khwājah Ṣafī-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, one of the most distinguished of the Wazīrs of his Court, and who was a miracle of wit and address, and endowed with a forcible poetic genius, and composed excellent poetry, arose to his feet, and, looking on the ground, in reply to the envoy, called on the minstrel for this verse :—

"On that day when we shall raise the standard of hostility,
And shall take in hand the enemy of the territory of the world,
Should any lion from 'The Jaws' [dare] show his teeth,
We, with our mace, will crush his teeth within 'The Jaws.'"

Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn was greatly pleased at this, and bestowed a liberal present upon the Khwājah, and honoured him with honorary dresses of great value, and the whole of the Maliks commended him The Almighty have mercy upon the whole of them! and may He keep the Sultān of Islām, the sovereign of the seven climes, the great king of kings, the lord over all the rulers of Turk, 'Arab, and 'Ajam, the defender of the world and of the faith, the glory of Islām and of the Faithful, the aider of kings and emperors, the protector of the dominions of the Almighty, the pastor of the servants of God, the aided by Heaven, the victorious over the greatest of all species, the place of safety to the orthodox, the heir of the dominions of Sulīmān, ABŪ-L-MUZAFFAR-I-MAHMŪD, son of the Sultān [I-yal-timish], the Ḳasīm [the co-sharer] of the Lord of the Faithful, in sovereignty and dominion for years unending, permanent and lasting, for the sake of His Prophet Muhammad, on whom be peace abundantly abundant[7]

[7] I have generally abstained from giving our author's fulsome and unctuous prayers for his patron, the puppet and recluse, who nominally ruled at Dihlī, but this was such a curious specimen that I could not leave it out It shows that our author did not stick at any exaggeration—and the above contains many—and is a convincing proof that he "rarely indulges in high-flown eulogy, but relates his facts in a plain straightforward manner," &c We must not imagine that all the epithets bestowed upon these rulers by their parasites were the titles they assumed

Titles and Names of the Sulṭān[8]:—

US-SULṬĀN-UL-A'ZAM[9],

GHIYAS-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN,

ABŪ-L-FATḤ, MUHAMMAD, SON OF SĀM

KASĪM-I-AMĪR-UL MŪMINĪN

Offspring

Sultān-ul-A'zam, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd
Malikah-ul-Mu'azẓamah, Jalāl-ud-Dunyā wa-ud-Dīn

Length of his reign —Forty-three[1] years
Summer capital:—The City of Fīrūz-koh of Ghūr
Winter capital.—The district of Dāwar

Kāzīs of his Court

Ḳāẓī-ul-Ḳuzāt [Chief Ḳāzī], Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Harawī
Ḳāzī Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Ḥarmawādī[2]

Wazīrs of the Kingdom

Shams-ul-Mulk, 'Abd-ul-Jabbār, Kīdānī
Fakhr-ul-Mulk, Sharaf-ud-Dīn[3], Wadārī[4]

[8] From the way in which his titles and names are here written in the very old copy of the text, within a circular area, it is evident that this was the inscription on his coins

[9] A few copies have "Mu'aẓẓam," but it is incorrect

[1] Forty-one in a few copies

[2] Also written Ḥarmabādī in one or two copies probably Jarmabādī or Jarmawādī may be more correct

[3] Sharaf-ul-Ashrāf

[4] In one copy Faidāī

'Ain-ul-Mulk, Sūrānī [or Sūriānī].
Ẓahir-ul-Mulk, 'Abd-ullah, Sanjarī
Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Dīw-Shārī [or Dīw-Shāhī]
Majd-ul-Mulk, Khwājah Ṣafī-ud-Dīn

Standards

On the right, Black, on the left, Red

Motto on his august Signet

"For me God alone is sufficient"

His Sulṭāns and Maliks

Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, his brother, ruler over Ghaznīn
Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of Mas'ūd, Bāmiānī.
Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad Sām, Bāmiānī
Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Ḥarab, Sijistānī
Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Alb-i-Ghāzī, son of Ḳazil Arsalān
Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Timrānī
Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī, son of Mas'ūd, Bāmiānī.
Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf, Timrānī
Malik Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Durr-i-Ghūr [the Pearl of Ghūr][5]
Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, son of Sūrī, Mādīnī
Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, Kīdānī.
Malik Shāh, Wakhshī [of Wakhsh of Badakhshān]
Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Timrānī
Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn of Mukrān
Malik Mu-ayyid-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, Timrānī

Victories and Conquests[6]

The territory of Hirāt, [defeat of] Ḳimāj, Dāwar, Fāras[7] Kāliyūn, Fīwār, Saif-rūd, Gharjistān, Ṭāl-kān, Juzarwān,

[5] See page 346, and next page

[6] The list of these victories and conquests is only contained in three copies of the original Even if a place was evacuated before the arrival of the Ghūrīs, it is styled a "conquest" on their reaching it What the "conquest" of Nīmroz and Sijistān was may be seen from what our author himself says at page 378 The Malik of Sijistān merely acknowledged his suzerainty

[7] Also written Bāras See page 375 and note [6]

Jarūm, Tigīn-ābād, Kābul, 'Ighrāk[8], victory over Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril, of Hirāt, Ghaznīn, Fūshanj, Sijistān, Nīmroz, Maimand [or Maihand], Fāryāb, Panj-dih, Marw-ar-Rūd, victory over Sulṭān Shāh, Lohor[9] and Maro Malkah [?][1] Nīshāpūr, and Nisā.

XVIII MALIK-UL-ḤĀJĪ, 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF MALIK SHUJĀ'-UD-DĪN, ABĪ-'ALĪ, SON OF ['IZZ-UD-DĪN], AL-ḤUSAIN, SON OF AL-ḤASAN, SHANSABĪ

Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, was the son of Malik Shujā'-ud-Dīn, Abī-'Alī[2], and he was the uncle's son of both the Sulṭāns, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and was older than either of the brothers. He had performed the pilgrimage, as well as fought against infidels, and, in addressing him, they [the Sultāns] used to style him Khudāwand [my Lord] The daughter of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, who was named Māh Malik [Malikah], and styled by the title of Jalāl-ud-Dunyā wa-ud-Dīn, whose mother was the daughter of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jahān-soz, was married to Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn[3]

That daughter was a highly dignified princess, and knew the sacred Ḳur'ān by heart, and she had also committed to memory the Akhbār-i-Shihābī [the Shihābī traditions[4]],

[8] In some copies مراق but it is evidently the tract from whence Saif-ud-Dīn, who joined Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Khwārazm Shāh, at Ghaznīn [see note [9], page 287,] against the Mughals, took his name

[9] Lohor will, of course, be repeated as one of Mu'izz-ud Dīn's victories, as Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn never passed the Indus

[1] This name is doubtful, and is not very plain in either copy of the text It might be, Mar and Malkah No such place is mentioned in the account of his reign, and some of the places here recorded as conquests were derived by marriage, or their rulers, as in the cases of Sijistān and Nīmroz, merely acknowledged his suzerainty

[2] See page 346, para. second This Malik-ul-Hājī, or the Pilgrim Malik, was, by our author's own account, the son of Abū-'Alī, *son* of Shujā'-ud-Dīn, Abī-'Alī, and therefore he was not the uncle's son of the two Sulṭān brothers, but *the son of their uncle's son*—a second cousin

To save perplexity to the reader, I must mention that this personage is the same as was mentioned at page 346 by the name of Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Pearl of Ghūr See also page 393, and note [9]

[3] She was first betrothed to Sanjar Shāh, son of Ṭughān Shāh, son of Mu-ayyid i Ā'īnah dār, Malik of Nīshāpūr, and, after his, Sanjar Shāh's, captivity, betrothed to Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad See page 182

[4] At page 301, our author states that this princess was the depositary of the traditions of *martyrdom* [شهادت], but, it is evident, from what he says here,

and her handwriting was as pearls befitting a king Once every year she was in the habit of performing a prayer of two genuflexions, during which she would repeat the whole Ḳur'ān from beginning to end The cause of her passing from the world a maid was this, that, before he was joined in wedlock to her, Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, possessed a Turkish hand-maid, who was the mother of his son [Rukn-ud-Dīn], but he had contracted marriage with her, and was not capable of consummating his marriage with this princess In beauty, purity, and self-restraint, she had no equal in the whole world.

The mother of the writer of these pages was the foster-sister and school-companion of this princess, and this devotee [himself] was brought up in the princess's own hall of favour and her *haram* of chastity, up to the period of his entering upon the bounds of adolescence, in the service of her royal dwelling, and her private apartments The maternal uncles[5] of this devotee, and his maternal ancestors, were all attached to the service of that princess's Court, and to the Court of her father, and this poor individual [himself] received many proofs of that lady's favour and bounty. God reward her! At last her martyrdom and death took place in the territory of 'Irak during the calamities which arose on the irruption of the infidels [the Mughals] The mercy of the Almighty be upon her!

During the lifetime of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn held in fief, belonging to Ghūr, the district of Bust, and Wajīah [or Wejah] of the territory of Garmsīr [of Ghūr], and Ūrgān [or Urkān] of Ghaznīn[6] In the battle

and from what other writers state, that the book in question was the work entitled "Akhbār-i-Shihāl ī" [شهابی], the Shihābī Traditions, so called from the author's name, or the person to whom he dedicated his work

[5] A few copies have اخوان—brothers, instead of اخوال—maternal uncles

[6] The text is hopelessly defective here, and of the whole of the twelve copies collated no two agree, except the I O L copy and the Ro As Soc. copy, but they agree *in leaving out* several words The two oldest copies agree as above given, with the exception that one has Wurmashān [ورمشان] or Durmashān [درمشان] which last word also occurs in the defective passage in the two first-named copies Wajīah [وجيه], which here, in several copies, seems written وجه and وجيه was referred to at page 340 Some copies have درکان and ورکان and even روارکان in place of Ūrgān [ورکان] of Ghaznīn, whilst the third best copy of the text *omits* these two words وورکان and ورمشان altogether It is tiresome not to be able to fix this passage of the text for certain

which the Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, fought against Pithorā Rāe of Ajmīr[7], and in which the Sultān was defeated, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, accompanied the Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī, and, during that expedition, did good service When the Sulṭāns of Ghūr proceeded into Khurāsān, and Nīshāpūr was taken, 'Alā ud-Dīn was installed in the territory of Nīshāpūr, and, for a considerable period[8], he remained at the city of Nīshāpūr, and acted towards its people with justice and beneficence

When Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, arrived from Khwārazm before the gate of Nīshāpūr, 'Alā-ud-Dīn defended the place for some time. At last he entered into a convention, and surrendered the city to Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and returned again into Ghūr

When Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn was removed to the Almighty's mercy, the Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, conferred the throne of Fīrūz-koh, and the territories of Ghūr, Gharjistān, and Zamīn-i-Dāwar, upon him, and, in the Khuṭbah, his title became Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad. Previous to this they used to style him Malik Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn[9], the Pearl of Ghūr.

[7] The I O L copy, and also the Ro As Soc MS, and one of the others, have—"In the battle which Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ *and* Mu'izz ud-Dīn fought," &c See under Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Section XIX

[8] Nīshāpūr [Shād yākh] was taken in Rajab 597 H Five months afterwards—in Zī-Ḳa'dah—Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, appeared before it. Malik Ziyā-ud-Dīn had been left there, in command, at the head of a large force, and the walls [which like the walls of Jericho, had fallen when Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn performed the miracle of pointing his riding whip at them, as related by our author at page 380] had been put into thorough repair The Ghūrīs came out to fight, but, finding what the Sulṭān's army was, "they retired," says Yāfa-ī, "like so many mice into their holes" The walls were pounded to dust and the ditch filled, when Malik Ziyā ud-Dīn sent out the chiefs of the 'Ulamā to solicit quarter for himself and troops The Sulṭān acceded to his request, and he and his troops were treated with honour, and sent back to Ghūr So the Ghūrīs only held Nīshāpūr about *five months* It must have been on this occasion that Ẓiyā ud-Dīn stipulated never again to draw his sword against the Sulṭan, referred to at page 418 After retaking Nīshāpūr, the Sulṭān advanced to Marw and Sarakhs, which latter place was held by his own nephew, Hindū Khān [see page 252], on the part of the Ghūrīs He fled to Ghūr on the approach of his uncle, but, the officer he left in charge not presenting himself, Sulṭān Muḥammad left a force to invest it, and set out, *viâ* Marw, for Khwārazm to prepare for an advance upon Hirāt

[9] Our author has a peculiar way of his own for distracting his readers very often After giving an account of Malik Ziyā-ud-Dīn, under the heading of his grandfather, Shujā'-ud-Dīn, at page 345-6, and calling him there by the title of Ziyā-ud-Dīn, he is here introduced again under a totally different

He held possession of Fīrūz-koh and the territories of Ghūr and Gharjistān for a period of four years; and in the year 601 H., when the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, proceeded towards Khwārazm, and took [with him] the armies of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, the Pearl of Ghūr, conducted sundry of the troops of Ghūr into Mulḥidistān[1] and Ḳuhistān, and advanced to the gate of the city of Ḳā-īn, and [from thence] pushed on to Junābād of Ḳuhistān[2], and captured the castle of Ḳākh of Junābād; and, after having performed numerous feats of arms and holy warfare, he returned into Ghūr again.

When the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, attained martyrdom, Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, son of [Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn] Muhammad, son of Sām, advanced out of Bust, which was one of his fiefs, into Zamīn-i-Dāwar, and the Maliks and Amīrs of Ghūr joined Sultān Mahmūd, and he set out towards the capital city, Fīrūz-koh.

Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn came from Fīrūz-koh into Gharjistān, and, when he reached the head of the bridge over the Murgh-āb river, the Sipah-sālār, Ḥasan-i-Abd-ul-Malik, came up after him, and caused him to turn back, and, by command of Mahmūd, he was confined in the castle of Ashiyār of Gharjistān[3].

name, and it is only now, after three or four pages, that he tells us that 'Alā-ud-Dīn is the same person as figured before, in another place, under the title of Ziyā-ud-Dīn. The fact is, that his correct title, *up to this time*, was Ziyā-ud-Dīn, and, when Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn conferred the throne of Fīrūz-koh and other tracts upon him, his title was then changed to 'Alā ud Dīn. Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn held him in great estimation, and he appears to have deserved it, and this fact, taken in connexion with Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd's real character, noticed farther on, will account for the Sulṭān's making him sovereign over Ghūr in preference to Maḥmūd, and also for Maḥmūd's enmity towards him, and the murder of his son, Maḥmūd-i-Īrān Shāh.

[1] Not the name of a territory. It is derived from mulḥid—heretic, &c. The Ḳuhistān of Khurāsān was full of these schismatics. All the copies of the text have the conjunction *and* between Mulḥidistān and Kuhistān, but it reads redundant, and "the heretical country of Ḳuhistān" appears to be the more correct rendering.

[2] Junābād, also called Gūnābād, is situated between Tabas and Ḥirāt. Ḳākh itself means a castle, a lofty building, and the like, but here refers to a small town of that name, a dependency of Junābād,—the "Goonabad" of Frazer and the maps.

[3] Our author takes a most round-about way of relating ordinary events, and seems desirous of making a mystery of them. Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, unable to resist the combination against him, retired from Fīrūz-koh, was pursued, and imprisoned.

When Sultān Maḥmūd was assassinated, and the sovereignty of Ghūr fell to Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz-i-Ḥusain[4], he caused Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, to be released from the fortress of Ashiyār, brought him to Fīrūz-koh, and treated him with honour and respect, until he slew the Sipah-sālār, 'Umr-i-Shalmatī, for murdering his son, Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd-i-Īrān Shāh. The cause of it was this, that, when Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, in the reign of Sultān [Ghiyās-ud-Dīn], Mahmūd, son of Muhammad-i-Sām[5], was seized [as just previously related], his son, Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd-i-Īrān Shāh, retired to Ghaznīn He was a prince of sufficient greatness, and endowed with perfect wisdom, knowledge, and understanding and famed for his lofty-mindedness and activity From Ghaznīn he proceeded into Garmsīr, and from thence came into Ghūr, and the Kashī people, who were the [most] refractory of Ghūr, to the number of about 50,000 men[6], joined him Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, son of Muhammad-i-Sām, with about 500 horse, of the main portion of his army, and some 2000 or 3000 foot, came forth from Fīrūz-koh, and a fight took place between them, and defeat befell the Ghūrīans[7], and Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd-i-Īrān Shāh, discomfited, retired to Ghaznīn, and again came into Garmsīr He was seized by the Khudāwand-zādah[8], Saif-ud-Dīn, Timrānī, and he brought him to the presence of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, who directed that he should be imprisoned in the residence of the Amīr-i-Ḥājib, 'Umr-i-Shalmatī

On the day that Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, was assassinated, the Turkish slaves of Mahmūd raised a tumult, and despatched one, who was named Amīr Mangbaras-i-Zard[9], to put Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd-i-

[4] Another son of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, Jahān soz He was named Utsuz after the third monarch of the Khwārazmī dynasty See page 238

[5] That is to say, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyās ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām

[6] Five thousand more likely Our author grossly exaggerates the numbers here See page 399

[7] From this it is evident that the Kashīs were Ghūrīans

[8] The son of a lord or great man.

[9] There is some discrepancy with regard to this person's name Some copies of the text have مکورش—.مکورس—مکورش and the second word, Zard, signifying pale, sallow, and the like, is written in some copies Zūd, swift, quick, and in one

Irān Shāh, to death. The writer of these words, Sarāj-i-Minhāj, states on this wise:—I was in my eighteenth year in the year 607 H.[1], and was present at the entrance [gateway] of the Sultān's palace, in the capital city of Fīrūz-koh, standing looking on, as is the custom among youths, when this Amīr Mangbaras-i-Zard came riding up with a wallet, with blood dropping from it, hanging from his arm. The head of Malik Rukn ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd-i-Irān Shāh—may he rest in peace!—he had placed in that wallet, and he entered into the Sultān's palace[2] with it.

I now return to my relation again.—In the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz-i-Ḥusain, when Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, obtained an opportunity, he seized Amīr 'Umr-i-Shalmatī, saying, "Thou hast used thy endeavours in bringing about the murder of my son," and at night he slew him. Early the next morning, when [Sultān] 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, became aware of it, and the Amīrs of Ghūr demanded redress, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, issued commands for Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, to be imprisoned the second time in the fortress of Balarwān of Gharjistān. The remaining account of him, respecting what befell him when he ascended the throne of Fīrūz-koh the second time, will be related at the end of this Section.

XIX. SULṬĀN GHIYĀS-UD-DĪN, MAHMŪD, SON OF GHIYĀṢ-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF BAHĀ-UD-DĪN, SĀM, SHANSABĪ.

Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, son of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, was a sovereign of good qualities, and conviviality, pleasure, and jollity were dominant in his disposition[3].

When Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, his father, died[4], Maḥmūd was desirous that his uncle, the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, should assign to him the

Zāl, which means old, decrepit, &c. One copy has Mangūras-i Zūd suwār, which would signify Mangūras, the swift or quick horseman.

[1] Our author, being in his eighteenth year in 607 H., would have been in his sixty ninth year when he composed this work.

[2] The palace or residence of the Sulṭāns.

[3] See note [5], para. 3, page 400, and page 405.

[4] The I. O. L. MS., 52, is minus a leaf here.

throne of his father. But that expectation was not fulfilled, and the throne of Fīrūz-koh was conferred upon Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad[5], the Pearl of Ghūr, to whom the daughter of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, was betrothed[6], and the territory of Bust, Isfīzār[7], and Farāh, were given to Sultān Maḥmūd[8].

In the year in which [his uncle] the Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī led an army into Khwārazm, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, marched the troops of Bust, Farāh, and Isfīzār, into Khurāsān, and proceeded to the gate of Marw-i-Shāh-i-Jahān, and in that expedition he manifested many marks of skill and activity[9]. When the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, was assassinated, Mahmūd determined to proceed from Bust to Fīrūz-koh, and, when he reached Zamīn-i-Dāwar, the Khalj[1] Amīrs of Garmsīr, with a numerous following, joined him. The Amīrs and Maliks of Ghūr all came forth to receive him, and, in the year 602 H[2], he reached Fīrūz-koh, and the throne of Ghūr came into his possession, and he brought the territories of his father under his jurisdiction[3].

Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, retired from Fīrūz-koh into Gharjistān, and therein he was taken prisoner,[4] and

[5] Styled Ziyā-ud Dīn before he was raised to the throne of Fīrūz-koh.

[6] She was either the full or half sister of Maḥmūd.

[7] In some copies written Isfīrār—the present Sabzwār.

[8] Not styled Sulṭān until he gained the throne after the death of his uncle. His title had been Malik hitherto.

[9] The compact which our author states to have existed *previously* between Maḥmūd and Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, at page 400, *may* have been entered into at this period. See also note [8], page 400. The object he had in marching to Marw-i Shāh i-Jahān does not appear, neither in the account of his uncle's reign is it referred to.

[1] The Khalj tribe, I beg to remark, are neither Afghāns nor Paṭāns, although some persons have made such an absurd assertion. I shall have more to say about them as I proceed.

[2] In this same year Fakhr ud Dīn, Mubārak Shāh, the author of the history of the Ghūrīs in verse, referred to at page 300, died.

[3] When information reached Maḥmūd of the assassination of his uncle, Sulṭan Mu'izz-ud Dīn, he, in the first place, sent intimation to his brother-in-law, 'Alā ud Dīn, Muḥammad [the Pearl of Ghūr], son of Abī Alī, and called upon him to acknowledge his authority. Mahmūd also communicated the tidings to 'Izz ud-Dīn, Husain, son of Khar-mīl, Walī of Harāt. Both of them, however, declined to acknowledge his authority, on which Mahmūd advanced to Fīrūz koh with a large army. On this the generality of the Ghūrīān Amīrs deserted the cause of 'Alā ud Dīn, Muḥammad, and went over to Maḥmud, and he gained possession of Fīrūz koh, and threw 'Alā-ud Dīn, Muhammad into confinement. See also note [5], page 400.

was confined in the castle of Ashiyār, as has been previously recorded, and when the whole of the various parts of the dominions of Ghūr, and Gharjistān, Tāl-kān, and Guzarwān[4], and the district of Fāras[5], and Garmsīr, came under the sway and jurisdiction of his Slaves, such as Sulṭān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, and Sultān Kutb-ud-Dīn Ī-bak, and other Turk[6] Maliks and Amīrs, who were Slaves of Sultān Mu'izz-ud Dīn, each of them despatched a person of rank to the presence of his Court, and solicited from Sultān Maḥmūd letters of manumission, and the investitures of the territories of Ghaznīn and of Hindūstān respectively[7].

He despatched a deed of investiture of the territory of Ghaznīn and a canopy of state to Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz[8], and, when Sultān Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, advanced to Ghaznīn, he despatched Nizām-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, to Firūz-koh, in the year 605 H., and Sultān Mahmūd directed that a scarlet canopy of state and a deed of investiture of the government of the dominion of Hindūstān should be sent to him.

Throughout the whole of the territories of Ghūr, Ghaznīn, and Hindūstān, the Khutbah was read for Sultān Mahmūd, and the coin was stamped with his name[1], and as he was

[4] Also with j, as at page 376, and in the same way as Sijistān for Sigistān, the one being the Arab mode of writing the word, and the latter the local.

[5] This name also is written Bāras, and in some few copies Kādus. See page 342.

[6] All these Slaves were of Turkish parentage. Mahmūd having succeeded to the sovereignty of the dominions of his late uncle, the latter's slaves became his slaves also, according to Muhammadan law, by succession. It is not to be supposed that either Yal-dūz [I-yal-duz] or I-bak were then styled Sulṭāns, or that our author means it to be so understood. They were styled so ultimately. See note [9], page 406, and page 502.

[7] Just above he says, "Yal-duz, I-bak, *and other* Turk Maliks and Amīrs," but *all* could not have demanded the investitures of Ghaznīn and Hindūstān. Yal-dūz [I-yal-dūz] and I-bak sent agents to Sultan Maḥmūd expressing their *loyalty, submission, and obedience* to him, and in the whole of the empire the Khuṭbah was read for *him* and the money stamped with his name and titles.

[8] Two copies of the text add here, "*in order that he might assume jurisdiction over the Ghaznīn territories.*"

[9] See the reign of Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, I-bak, beginning of next Section. There our author contradicts this statement entirely, and says Kuṭb-ud-Dīn received the investiture in 602 H., and that he went to Lohor to receive it.

[1] These events occurred, as our author here states, in 605 H., but Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, appears to have received the investiture of Ghaznīn some time previous to this, and it is somewhat strange that he should have continued to coin money in the name of the late ruler, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, after what our author

the heir of the kingdom of his father and his uncle, all the Maliks and Sulṭāns paid reverence to his dignity, and showed the obedience of vassals unto him[2].

When one year of his sovereignty had passed, Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd-i-Īrān Shāh, son of Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn[3], Muhammad, advanced from Ghaznīn towards Fīrūz-koh, as has been previously recorded[4], and Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, marched from Fīrūz-koh, and put him to the rout, and about 5000 Ghūrīs [in that affair] bit the dust.

After a period of two years and a half, Sultān[5] 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, son of ['Alā-ud-Dīn] Ḥusain, who was his [Maḥmūd's] father's uncle's son, proceeded from the country of Bāmīān into Khwārazm, and sought assistance from Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, to enable him to seize the dominions of Ghūr. The Malik-ul-Jibāl, Ulugh Khān-i-Abī-Muḥammad[6], and Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, the Ḥājib, who were two of the greatest of the Turkish Maliks of the Khwārazm Shāhs, with the troops of Marw and Balkh, Sarakhs and Rūdbār, were nominated to give him assistance, and he ['Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz] proceeded by way of Ṭāl-kān towards Ghūr.

Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, brought out his forces from Fīrūz-koh, and on the limits of Maimand and Fār-yāb[7],

here states, and even after Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the former's successor, had given Tāj-ud-Dīn his freedom with the investiture of Ghaznīn, much more up to the year 610 H., when even Maḥmūd had been killed in 607 H. But see page 497, and 500—505, and Thomas' Coins of the PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI, page 30.

[2] He was heir certainly in name at least, but the two favourite slaves of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn already possessed the greater portion of their master's dominions, from which Maḥmūd would have, in all probability, been unable to oust them. Mu'izz-ud-Dīn had, on more than one occasion, expressed a desire that these slaves, especially I-yal-dūz, should succeed to his dominions. See page 500.

[3] Styled Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, the Pearl of Ghūr, before he came to the throne from which Maḥmūd deposed him. See page 393, and note [9], and page 408.

[4] Page 395.

[5] Our author styles him "Sulṭān," as well as many others, *before* their attaining sovereignty.

[6] Referred to in the account of the Khwārazm Shāhīs. He subsequently became the father-in-law of Rukn-ud-Dīn, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh. See page 235.

[7] Also called Fār-āb, Fār-āw, Bār-āb, and Bār-yāb. This battle and victory of Maḥmūd is not mentioned by other authors. See also pages 400 and 414.

at a place which they call [by the name of] Sālūrah[8], a battle took place between the two armies. The Almighty bestowed the victory upon Sultān Maḥmūd, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, and the Khwārazm Shāhī Maliks, and the troops of Khurāsān were overthrown[9].

When four years of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd's reign had expired, Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh[1], son of Sultān Takish, Khwārazm Shāh, sought refuge from his brother's [Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh] presence with Sulṭān Mahmūd. On the Khwārazmī Sultān[2] becoming aware of this, he despatched distinguished personages [as envoys] to Fīrūz-koh. During the life-time of the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, a firm compact existed between Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd[3], son of [Ghiyās-ud-Dīn], Muhammad-i-Sām, and

[8] A few copies have Aslūrah.

[9] See note [3], below.

[1] His title was Tāj-ud-Dīn, *not* 'Alā-ud-Dīn. See the account of him, page 252-3. He had been a prisoner in Ghūr some few years previously, and was known to the Ghūrīān Princes.

[2] The I. O. L. MS. No. 1952, and R. A. Soc. MS. both have—"when Sultān Takish became aware of it." Takish had been dead many years. The printed text, of course, is the same.

[3] By this statement our author entirely contradicts that made at pages 256 and 382, and the present statement is certainly one more likely to be correct. It tends to confirm what Yāfa-ī and some other works say, and which I shall presently refer to.

Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, after the death of his father, expected that his uncle, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, would have placed him, the son, on his late father's throne of Fīrūz-koh and the kingdom of Ghūr, instead of which, knowing Maḥmūd's love of wine and other sensual pleasures, he bestowed it upon the son-in-law of the late Sulṭān, Malik Ziyā-ud-Dīn, the Pearl of Ghūr, and gave the western districts of the empire to Maḥmūd as his appanage, as stated by our author at page 472. On this account Maḥmūd entertained no very good feeling towards his uncle, and he *may have* entered into communication *secretly* with the Sulṭān of Khwārazm, who was naturally hostile to Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and such an understanding as our author mentions may have been entered into at the time Maḥmūd went on the expedition to Marw, mentioned at page 397, when Mu'izz-ud-Dīn invaded Khwārazm.

I rather expect, however, that our author, who rarely indulges in dates, has confused the events of this period, as Mahmūd, previous to the assassination of his uncle, was not in a position to enter into "a firm compact" with Sulṭān Muḥammad, unless secretly. Yāfa-ī says [and Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh agrees] that when Mahmūd seized the throne of Ghūr, shortly after his uncle's death, "he gave himself up to drinking and riotous pleasures, as was the habit of the Amīrs of Ghūr, and attended to singing and jollity, whilst he neglected the affairs of the kingdom, and could not endure the fatigues of war. His [illegible] uncle, perceiving his weakness of character, began to

Muḥammad-i-Takish[4], Khwārazm Shāh, that friendship and concord should exist between them, and that the

[4] Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Takish Before he succeeded his father, his title was Kutb-ud-Dīn. See note [1], page 253.

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grow disaffected, and 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Khar-mīl, the Wālī of Hirāt, who was the greatest prop of the Ghūrīān empire, took precedence of all the other chiefs in tendering allegiance to the Sultān of Khwārazm, and despatched agents repeatedly soliciting that the Sultān would annex Hirāt Although that monarch had other important matters to attend to, still, fearing lest a portion of the Ghūrīān dominions, such as Balkh and districts around, might offer allegiance to the ruler of Karā-Khitā, and that that city might fall into his hands, he determined to move towards Balkh "

"The Wālī of that part, styled 'Imād-ud-Dīn, the chief of the Nāmīān [Bāmīān] Amīrs [called by our author, at page 260, 'Imād-ud-Dīn, 'Umr, Fīwārī], at first was most warm in his professions of loyalty and fidelity, and Balkh was made over to the Sultān, who continued the government, as heretofore, in the Wālī's hands, but, being afterwards detected in acts of treachery, and an intercepted letter having been placed in his hands, he threw himself at the Sultān's feet His life was spared, but he was sent away to Khwārazm, after being allowed to take what treasure and other valuables he desired with him His son [name not given] was also removed from the charge of the fortress of Tirmid, and that important post was made over to the guardianship of Sultān 'Uṣmān of Samrkand "

The Tārīkh-i-Alfī differs considerably on these matters It is stated therein, that, on the death of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn becoming known to Sultān Muḥammad, he assembled a large army for the purpose of attacking Balkh, then held by the officers and troops of Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of the late Sultān Bahā ud Dīn, Sām, of Bāmīān and Tukhāristān, and invested that stronghold At this crisis, Malik 'Alā-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, had led an army against Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal dūz, ruler of Ghaznīn On this account Sultān Ghiyāṣ ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, who had intended to march his forces against Hirāt, to reduce 'Izz ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Khar mīl, to obedience, paused in order to see what the upshot of the other two affairs would be

Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh [Sultān Muḥammad's brother, who subsequently took refuge with Maḥmūd], who commanded the forces investing Balkh, being unable to take it, Sultān Muḥammad proceeded thither in person, and summoned the governor to submit All was of no avail, and the Sultān determined to proceed without further loss of time to Hirāt, when news reached him that Malik 'Alā-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, and his brother, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, had been defeated by Tāj-ud Dīn, I-yal-dūz, taken prisoners, and thrown into confinement This happened, according to Faṣiḥ-ī, in 605 H On this, 'Imād-ud-Dīn ['Umr], Governor of Balkh, hopeless of succour, surrendered the place He was treated with honour and kindness, and continued in charge of Balkh, as before. After this, Sultān Muḥammad advanced to Bākhurz, got possession of that place, then proceeded to Tirmid, and obtained possession of that stronghold likewise, and then he returned to Khwārazm

This latter statement is incorrect The Sultān proceeded to Hirāt *before* returning to Khwārazm, as will be presently stated

The Ghūrīān Amīrs and Chiefs, who were in accord with Amīr Maḥmūd, were preparing forces, says Yāfa-ī, to attack Sultān Muḥammad's forces then

enemy of one should be the enemy of the other; and, on this occasion, Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, sent

before Balkh; but the Sulṭān's troops made a swoop upon them, like a falcon on a covey of partridges, and routed and dispersed them before they had had time to complete their preparations This must have been the affair called a victory of Maḥmūd's by our author The territory of Balkh was now entrusted to the charge of Badr-ud Dīn, Jā'lish [?], with a strong force to support him; and, after having disposed of the affairs of Balkh, the Sulṭān proceeded by way of Juzarwān [or Guzarwān] to Hirāt, which he entered in the middle of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 605 H, to the great joy of its people [Yāfa-ī is, as well as other writers, somewhat confused as to the dates here, and says this took place in 607 H, and so it is stated in note [2], page 257–258, taken from that work, but it is evidently an error for 605 H, as it was only in the third month of 607 H — some say in 606 H —that the Sulṭān first defeated the forces of Ḳarā-Khiṭā under Bānīko of Ṭarāz, and a month *after* Maḥmūd Ghūrī's *death*, *if* he died in Ṣafar 607 H, as our author and some others say, and not in 609 H]

Rulers and chieftains from the adjacent parts now hastened to tender submission and allegiance to the Sulṭān, and to present themselves, and among these was the Malik of Sijistān [Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh ?], who was received with great honour. 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Khar-mīl, was continued in the government of Hirāt and its dependencies, as previously related, and the Sulṭān, having disposed of these matters, despatched several ecclesiastics of the Kirāmī sect [Yāfa ī says in 606 H] with proposals to Amīr Maḥmūd, ruler of Fīrūz-koh and Ghūr Maḥmūd accepted those proposals, which were, that he should acknowledge the suzerainty of Sulṭān Muḥammad. He despatched valuable presents to the Sulṭān from the hoards accumulated by his ancestors and his uncle, and, among other rarities, a *white elephant* [A white elephant is said to have been captured in the battle in which Jai Chandra, Rājah of Ḳinnauj, was defeated by Mu'izz-ud-Dīn See page 470] Amīr Maḥmūd was named Nāyab or Deputy of the Sulṭān, for whom he read the Khuṭbah, and stamped the coin with his name. This must be the treaty our author refers to, but he has confused the events This acknowledgment of the superiority of the Sulṭān is evidently what Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, took umbrage at, as mentioned in Alfī, in note [7], page 433, when he set at liberty Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, of Bāmīān, who, in 605 H, along with his brother, was taken prisoner in a battle against him [I-yal-dūz], and sent him back to recover the throne of Bāmīān, which probably was early in 606 H

Sulṭān Muhammad, leaving 'Izz-ud Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Khar-mīl, as Wālī of Hirāt, returned to Khwārazm, and subsequently entered on the campaign against Gūr Khān of Ḳārā-Khiṭā. 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Khar-mīl, hearing the report of the Sulṭān having been killed or taken captive in the second engagement with Gūr Khān's troops [see page 258, and last para. of note [2]], began to pave the way to make his peace with his former sovereign, and he again read the Khuṭbah for the ruler of Ghūr, and substituted his name on the coin This must refer to Maḥmūd, as his young son, three months after his father's death, was taken away to Khwārazm, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, had been set up by the Khwārazmī Sulṭān as ruler of Ghūr, and, such being the case, Maḥmūd could not have been assassinated in Ṣafar, 607 H., for this reason, that these events took place in the latter part of that year, or even in 608 H; but if Ṣafar, 607 H, is correct, then Maḥmūd was *dead one month before the first* battle between the Sulṭān and Bāniko of Ṭarāz

'Izz-ud Dīn, Husain, son of Khar mīl, finding almost immediately after that

Maḥmūd a copy of that treaty, with a request, saying, "As 'Alī Shāh is the enemy of my dominion, it is necessary that he should be seized." In compliance with the terms of that compact, Sulṭān Maḥmūd seized 'Alī Shāh, and imprisoned him in the Ḳaṣr, which they call the Baz[5] Kūshk-i-Sulṭān, at Fīrūz-koh.

That Ḳaṣr[6] is an edifice the like of which is not to be found in any country or in any capital—a Ḳaṣr in height and area, and with buttresses, balconies, and turrets, and of

the Sulṭān was safe, to get himself out of this scrape, sent a requisition to the Khwārazmī nobles located in Eastern Khurāsān for aid against the Ghūrīs, who, on account of 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain's perfidy, were marching against him This evidently is the matter referred to by our author at page 503, where he says I-yal-dūz aided Maḥmūd against 'Izz-ud Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Khar-mīl, but distorts the facts to suit his own purposes and inclinations, about the Sulṭān of Khwārazm "flying before the forces of Ghūr and Ghaznīn," and what Alfī refers to, namely, that Amīr Ismā'īl, Maḥmūd's general, sent against 'Izz-ud-Dīn, was defeated and taken prisoner, and the remnant of his army returned to Fīrūz-koh See note [2], page 504.

With the aid of the Khwārazmī nobles of Khurāsān the Ghūrīs were overthrown, and this affair broke their power entirely, and their party dispersed; and 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, was also seized and put to death, as related at page 258, last para , note [2]

The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar states that Sulṭān Muhammad demanded that Maḥmūd, Ghūrī, should seize the former's brother, Tāj-ud Dīn, 'Alī Shāh, and send him back in conformity with the terms of treaty previously existing "between himself and the *late* Sulṭān, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn" [see note [8], page 481], but says nothing about a previous treaty between him and Maḥmūd This event, our author says, happened in the fourth year of Maḥmūd's reign, which, by his own account, would be towards the close of 606 H The treaty thus referred to is doubtless the treaty mentioned by Fasīḥ ī and others, which took place between Sulṭān Muḥammad and Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, after the latter's disastrous campaign against Khwārazm

I have burthened the text with this lengthy note in order to show what discrepancy exists with regard to the events in the history of the Ghūrīs about this time, and to show the impossibility of the correctness of the dates given by several authors. Yāfa-ī and Faṣīḥ-ī and several others [see note [4], page 407] also say that Maḥmūd was assassinated in 609 H , and the Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā confirms it. It is also certain, from our author's statements, as well as from the statements of others, that Maḥmūd was assassinated in the same year as Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh was; and that event, even our author says, happened in 609 H See also page 253.

It is moreover proved beyond a doubt, that, soon after the decease of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, the Ghūrīān rulers became mere vassals of the Khwārazmī sovereigns, who, at last, annexed the whole of their extensive territory as far as the Indus, or even to the Jihlam

[5] The word *baz* [بز], which is doubtless correct, signifies a mound, the spur of a mountain or hill, high ground Some of the more modern copies have abaz [ابز], and some leave out the word altogether

[6] The signification of Kūshk and Kaṣr has been given in note [2], at page 331

such configuration as no geometrician hath made manifest. Over that Ḳaṣr are placed five pinnacles inlaid with gold, each of them three ells and a little over in height, and in breadth two ells, and also two gold *humāe*[7], each of about the size of a large camel. Those golden pinnacles and those *humās*, the Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, after the capture of Ajmīr[8], had sent in token of service, and as valuable presents, to [his brother] Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, with many other articles of rarity, such as a ring of gold, with a chain of gold attached, the dimension of which was five ells by five ells, and two great *kos* [kettle-drums] of gold, which were carried on carriages Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn directed that the ring and chain, and those *kharbūzah*[9] [kettle-drums], should be suspended before the portico of the Jāmi' Masjid at Fīrūz-koh, and, when the Jāmi' Masjid was destroyed by a flood, the ring, chain, and those *kharbūzah* [kettle-drums], the Sultān sent to the city of Hirāt, so that after the Jāmi' Masjid of that city had been destroyed by fire, they rebuilt it by means of those gifts[1]

Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, son of [Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn], Muhammad-i-Sām, was a sovereign very great, beneficent,

7 A fabulous bird peculiar to the East It is considered to be a bird of happy omen, and that every head it overshadows will, in time, wear a crown See also G P R James's ATTILA, chap vi

8 The word used is شرفات signifying small turrets in the wall, and also sometimes used for battlements, cornices, pinnacles, &c The last is the most probable meaning here, or possibly small open domes, such as we see in some old Hindū buildings

9 The text here again is very defective in all but the three oldest copies Some of the more modern copies have "one *kos*," and state that the ring was "five ells *by five ells*," and instead of Kharbūzah have jazīrah, which signifies *an island* The same word occurs in Firishtah—the original text I mean—who says two were presented to Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn by the ruler of Ajmīr, which Dow, very correctly, translates "*two melons of gold*," without apparently knowing what they were, but BRIGGS, by way of improving on Dow, turns them into "*two tents of gold tissue*"!! See his translation, vol 1, p 194-5 The word خربوزه or خربزه which signifies a musk melon, suggests the shape of these drums

1 I do not find any notice of this fire in other works, not even in Faṣiḥ-ī which generally contains minute particulars of every event occurring at Hirāt, as the author was a native of that city Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā merely mentions that Mahmūd finished the Masjid of Hirāt which had been left unfinished at his father's death, and this statement is confirmed by the Khulāsat-ul-Akhbār and some other histories I do not find any account of a flood Amīr 'Alī Sher, the celebrated Wazīr of Sulṭān Ḥusain, Bahādur Khān, subsequently rebuilt this masjid in 905 H., just a year before his death

umane, munificent, and just. When he ascended the hrone he opened the door of the treasury of his father. 'hat treasury remained untouched as before, and Sulṭān Iu'izz-ud-Dīn had not appropriated any portion of it, nd they have related, that of pure gold there were four undred camel loads, which are eight hundred chests—but od knows best—and rich garments, vessels, pearls, and ewels in proportion, together with other valuable property f every description, the whole of which he disposed of.

During his reign gold, apparel, perfumed leather[2], and ther things, through his munificence and his presents, ecame very cheap. He also purchased a number of 'urkish slaves, and greatly valued them all, and raised hem to competence and wealth; and his presents, gifts, nd donations were constantly reaching people, until one ay, during the second year of his sovereignty, the son of is aunt, the sister's son of the Sultāns [Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Iuḥammad, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad], Malik Tāj-d-Dīn, died[3], and no heir survived him, and his effects nd treasures, consisting of ready money, gold and silver essels, a vast quantity of wealth, were brought to the resence of Sulṭān Mahmūd. He commanded that a anquet and festal entertainment should be arranged eneath [the walls] of the Kūshk, which is situated in the iddle of [the city of] Fīrūz-koh[4].

He spread the carpet of pleasure, and directed that stivity and gaiety should be the order of the day; and, rom the time of meridian prayer to the period of evening rayer, the whole of that money, consisting of *darhams* nd *dīnārs*, contained in leathern bags and in scrips, was oured out of the windows of the Ḳaṣr. As it was a

[2] Perfumed leather [ادیم] must have been extremely valuable in those days.

[3] Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī, son of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, overeign of Bāmīān and Ṭukhāristān. He was taken prisoner in battle with body of Khwārazmī troops in the vicinity of Marw-ar Rūd, at a time when eace existed between the Sulṭān of Khwārazm and Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, of haznīn, and sent to Khwārazm with other chiefs taken at the same time, and eir heads were struck off. See page 425, and page 481, note[8].

[4] The text varies here again. The oldest copies are plainly written as above; ut, according to some, the sentence may be read "in the Ḳaṣr of Nar Kūshk hich is [situated] in the midst of [the city of] Fīrūz-koh," and, according to thers, merely "in the Ḳaṣr which is [situated] in" &c. It is quite a different lace to the Ḳaṣr of Baz Kūshk. The Europeanized *kiosk* is derived from this atter word.

public banquet and a largess to both high and low, great and small, every description of the different classes of the people of the city of Fīrūz-koh were arriving in crowds at the foot of the Kūshk, and kept themselves under the Sulṭān's observation To each class of persons he was giving a liberal share of dishes, long-necked flasks, lamps, ewers, cups, platters, bowls, goblets, and other vessels of different descriptions, all of gold and of silver, and, among other presents, above a thousand slaves of his own, both male and female, which he repurchased again from their [new] owners The whole city, from those largesses, became [so to speak] filled with gold.

Sulṭān Mahmūd was a overeign of very great good qualities, and his alms, donations, and honorary robes, to a large amount, were received by all classes of the people , but, as the decree of fate had [now] come, the motives of its advent began to appear Having, at the request of Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, seized the latter's brother, 'Alī Shāh, and imprisoned him, 'Alī Shāh's servants, followers, and dependents, consisting of 'Irākīs, Khurāsānīs, Khwārazmīs, and Turks, in great numbers, together with his mother, his son, and his women, along with him, the whole of them agreed together with one accord, and several times, by means of each of the most notable among them, sent messages, secretly, to Sultān Mahmūd, saying · "The reliance we have in the Sulṭān is, that as we have all come and sought refuge with his Highness, in the service of our master, 'Alī Shāh, and have thrown ourselves under the shadow of the Sultān's power and protection, it behoveth he should not deliver us up into the hands of the enemy, for to seize and make captive of those who have sought one's protection will not turn out fortunate, otherwise we will make sacrifice of ourselves, and let it not be that the Sultān should be in dread of his life from us."

As the decree of destiny had gone forth, this communication, which they continued to represent to the Sultān, was without any effect whatever, and a party of 'Alī Shāh's dependents used, at night, to ascend to the summit of the hill, called Koh-i-Āzād, which was facing the Ḳaṣr, and the sleeping apartment of Sultān Maḥmūd, and there they sat concealed, and examined the Ḳaṣr and noticed the Sultān's sleeping apartment, and marked the way to the

place. All this they had done, until on the night of Tuesday, the 7th of the month of Ṣafar, in the year 607 H.[5], four individuals of the party referred to climbed up on the roof of the Sulṭān's Ḳaṣr, and assassinated him, and got away again by the same road as they had got up. They then crossed the river of Fīrūz-koh[6], which flows in front of the Ḳaṣr, and also climbed to the top of that high hill [the Koh-i-Āzād], and cried out with a loud voice: "O foes of our Malik! we have killed the Sulṭān: arise, and search for your Malik[7]!" When the day broke, the whole city became agitated, and they buried the Sulṭān in the Ḳaṣr itself, and subsequently the body was removed to Hirāt, and finally interred in the Gāzār-gāh[8] [catacombs] of Hirāt

The eldest son of the Sulṭān, namely Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, was raised to the throne

[5] There is considerable discrepancy among authors respecting the year of Maḥmūd's assassination Yāfa-ī, Jāmi' ut-Tawārīkh, Faṣiḥ-ī, Alfī, Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh, Guzīdah, Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā [which says "after reigning nearly eight years"], and some others say it happened in 609 H, while Jahān-Ārā, Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh, and a few others agree with our author's statement here as to the year 607 H The former says it took place on the 7th of Ṣafar, whilst the latter, Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, and some others say, on the 3rd of Ṣafar Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, on the other hand, affirms that it happened in 606 H, Khulāṣat-ul-Akhbār, 607 H, and the Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī, that it happened on the 3rd Ṣafar, 597, but this must mean the year of the Riḥlat [death of Muḥammad], not the Hijrah [Flight], between which two eras a period of about eleven years intervenes, and 597 of the former is about equal to 608 of the latter There is no doubt but that Maḥmūd was assassinated *in the same year* in which Fīrūz-koh was taken by the Khwārazmīs, and Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh, put to death, and this last event our author himself states, at page 253, took place in 609 H The words سبع and تسع without the diacritical points, may be easily mistaken by a copyist See note [6], page 410

[6] A feeder of the Harī Rūd probably, if not the main stream, which rises in Ghūr

[7] It is not certain who killed Maḥmūd; and authors are at variance on this point. Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafa agrees with our author, but merely copies his statements. Ḥabīb-us-Siyar of course agrees with Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā Yāfa-ī, Faṣiḥ-ī, Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī, and a few others, state that he was found dead on the roof of his palace, and that his slayer was not known, and Jahān-Ārā, and Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, agree with our author Another writer says 'Alī Shāh slew him with his own hand

[8] Sometimes written Gāzār-gāh as above, and also Gāzar-gāh It signifies the place of caves or hollows, a grave yard, catacombs There is one at Shīrāz in which the Poet Sa'dī was buried, and the one near Hirāt in which the venerated Khwājah 'Abd-ullah, Anṣārī, was buried The meaning of *gāzar* is certainly a bleacher or washer, and *gāh* a place, but the above term does not refer to any "bleaching ground," as a modern writer terms it, except that it is the bleaching ground for dead men's bones

XX SULṬĀN BAHĀ-UD-DĪN, SĀM, SON OF GHIYĀS-UD-DĪN, MAHMŪD, SON OF GHIYĀS-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF BAHĀ-UD-DĪN, SĀM, SHANSABĪ

Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, son of Sultān Mahmūd [at this time] was about fourteen years of age, and his brother, Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, about ten Their mother was the daughter of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, of Timrān ; and in the *ḥaram* likewise were two daughters by this Malikah.

When Sultān Mahmūd was martyred, the next morning, all the Amīrs of Ghūr and the Turk Amīrs assembled together, and raised Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, to the throne of Fīrūz-koh, and the Malikah-i-Mu'izziah[9], who was the mother of Bahā-ud-Dīn, and the other children of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, incited the Turkish slaves[1] to slay the competitors for the sovereignty[2] Of that party one was Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd-i-Irān Shāh, the son of Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Abī-'Alī, and they martyred him, as has been previously recorded[3] Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn, Timrānī, was imprisoned, as was Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, Mādīnī, likewise, who was the son of the uncle of the Sultāns [Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn], and the Ghūrī and Turk Amīrs, in concert, stood around the throne with girded loins

The followers of 'Alī Shāh, after five days, when they found the city had become tranquil, and that 'Alī Shāh still remained in durance, contrived to get up another tumult. They placed a number of men in chests, and pretended that they were going to bring treasure[4] into the city from without, such was the plan they chose to enable them to enter the city and create another disturbance, but, unexpectedly, one among them who had conceived the idea of this wicked action came and gave information about

[9] Her title, not her name

[1] In some of the more modern copies this is reversed and they have "the Turkish slaves incited her," &c

[2] Several Princes of the family who were supposed likely to cause trouble, and interfere with this arrangement, were put to death by his supporters

[3] See pages 394, and 396 At page 399 this is differently related

[4] Other writers say, "cases of merchandize," and that forty-five persons were made to come out of these chests, and were, at once, put to the sword.

it. The chests were seized at the gate of the city, and about eighty men came out of the chests, of whom three were of those who had killed Sulṭān Maḥmūd[4] All three were made a public example of and put to death, two others were cast headlong from the hill [of Āzād] and seventy-five were thrown at the feet of the elephants and killed, amid the clamours and reprobation of the crowd.

Subsequent to this, Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Abi-'Alī, Jahān Pahlawān, from Fīwār and Kāl-yūn presented himself [at the court], and, when three months of the sovereignty of Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, had passed away, Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz [son of 'Alā-ud-Dīn], Ḥūsain [Jahān-soz], who was in attendance on Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, solicited aid from that monarch to enable him to possess himself of the dominions of Ghūr Malik Khān [governor] of Hirāt, who at the commencement of the reign of the Khwārazmī Sultān bore the title of Amīr-i-Ḥājib, and who was an 'Ajamī Turk[6] of great intrepidity, and the slayer of Muhammad-i-Khar-nak[7], was nominated to proceed from Khurāsān to render assistance to 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, son of ['Alā-ud-Dīn], Ḥusain

Malik Khān, with the forces of Khurāsān, set out accordingly to assist Sulṭān[8] 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz-i-Ḥusain, in possessing himself of Fīrūz-koh When they arrived in the vicinity of Fīrūz-koh, the Maliks and Amīrs of Ghūr took counsel together, and came to the conclusion[9] that it was advisable to release Malik 'Alī Shāh from confine-

[4] If it was so well known that 'Alī Shāh's followers had done the deed, it seems strange that they should have been allowed even to approach the gate, and that they should have come near the place and thus thrust their heads into danger.

[6] That is a Turk born in 'Ajam. This personage is mentioned in a number of places He is the chief who joined Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Khwārazmī, in after years, with 50,000 men, was present in the battle of Barwān, and was the unfortunate cause of Saif-ud Dīn, Ighrāk's desertion Our author styles him Malik Khān, Amīn-i-Ḥājib, at page 287, but more correctly, Amīr-i-Ḥājib, at pages 415, 416, and the last Section on the invasion of the Mughals His correct name appears to be Malik Khān, entitled Amīn-ul-Mulk, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib. See notes to pages 287 291 The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh styles him "Amīn Malik of Hirāt"

[7] See note [9], page 287, and note [6], page 471

[8] Subsequently perhaps styled Sulṭān, after he had been set up as a vassal of the Khwārazmīs, but Malik is more correct

[9] Some copies are much more curt with the following passage

ment, and treat him with great honour and reverence, so that, on his account, some of the Khurāsānī forces might evince an inclination towards that Prince, and, as he was also the adversary of his brother [Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh], he might, in concert with this sovereignty, oppose in battle the forces of Khurāsān Malik 'Alī Shāh they accordingly set at liberty, and they appointed Amīrs to the [defence of] different sides around the city [1]

Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of 'Alī, son of 'Abī-'Alī, and Amīr 'Usmān-i-Khar-fash[2], and other Amīrs, with troops, were appointed to occupy the summit of the Koh-i-Maidān, and Amīr 'Usmān-i-Maraghanī, who was the Sar-i-Jāndār [the Chief Armour-Bearer], with a body of forces, was named to occupy the upper part of the Koh-i-Āzād[3] Other Amīrs, such as Muhammad-i-'Abd-ullah, and Ghūrī, Shalmatī, and 'Umr, Shalmatī[4], were nominated to the Zār-Margh gate[5], and on a Thursday, during the whole day, round about the city and on the hills constant fighting went on On a Friday, in the middle of the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, in the year 607 H[6], the city [of

[1] After strengthening the defences as well as they were able

[2] This is evidently a nickname or byname [like Khar-mīl, Khar-nak, &c] of no very complimentary nature—Ass like "Fash" has, however, other significations, which see Two good copies have حرنش and حرفش respectively, but no doubt حرفش is intended

[3] This was the hill the followers of 'Alī Shāh used to climb to reconnoitre the palace of Sultān Mahmūd

[4] Some copies have "Salmanī" and "Sulīman," but the above is correct

[5] Some few copies of the text, the best Paris copy included, name it the Tarā'īn gate It is possible a gate might subsequently have been so named in remembrance of the victory over Pithorā Rāe, but the other best and oldest copies are as above

[6] Sultān Muhammad, Kawārazm Shāh, having delivered Hirāt from 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of Khar mīl, did not interfere in any way with Sultān Mahmūd, Ghūrī, who had previously acknowledged his suzerainty, as already stated in note [3], para 10, page 402 While, however, Sultān Muhammad was engaged in a campaign beyond the Jīhūn, his brother, Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh, having become dissatisfied with his brother, the Sultān, left his dominions and sought the Court of Mahmūd, who received him honourably and with distinction, and supplied all his requirements After some time had passed 'Alī Shāh [and some of his adherents probably], managed to effect an entrance, secretly, into the Sarāe-i-Haram [private apartments] in the middle of the day, where he found Mahmūd asleep on the throne, and slew him, and no one knew who had done the deed It however became noised abroad, that Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh, had conspired against him in order to obtain the throne of Ghūr for himself

Fīrūz-koh] was taken [by the Khwārazmī forces], and the dominion of the family of [Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn] Muḥammad, son of Bahā-ud Dīn, Sām, passed away.

I have already pointed out [note *, page 407] what discrepancy exists between authors as to the year of Maḥmūd's assassination, and that, in all probability, 609 H. is the correct date, and not 607 H. Our author himself says, in his account of Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh [page 253], that he was put to death in 609 H. and every copy of the text available agrees, and Yāfa-ī, and Faṣīḥ-ī, and Jāmi' ut-Tawārīkh confirm it, and, from the various accounts of these events, it is beyond a doubt, that both Maḥmūd and Tāj ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh, were put to death in the same year, probably within a few months of each other, and before 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, ascended the throne, subject to the Khwārazmīs.

Our author here says it happened in the *fourth* year of Maḥmūd's reign, and, as he ascended the throne about the middle of 602 H., this would make it before the middle of the year 606 H., and, in this case, the date given by most authors for the battle between Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and Bānīko of Ṭarāz, namely Rabī'-ul-Awwal 607 H., cannot be correct, as it is certain that the Sulṭān entered Hirāt, after 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of Khar-mīl, had been put to death, in Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 607 H., *three months after* the date of Maḥmūd's assassination given by our author and several others. See note [7], pages 260-261.

Faṣīḥ-ī distinctly states, that, after Maḥmūd had been killed in 609 H., as no one remained of the descendants of the Sulṭāns of Ghūr worthy of the wand of sovereignty, the chief personages of Fīrūz-koh concerted together [our author's own statement above tends to confirm this, although probably he did not like to acknowledge that the Ghūrīān Amīrs had set up a Khwārazmī as ruler], and raised Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh, to the throne. They then despatched an emissary to the presence of Sulṭān Muḥammad, to represent to him the facts of the case, and to solicit him to confirm 'Alī Shāh in the sovereignty. The Sulṭān [seemingly] acceded to their request, and despatched Muḥammad-i-Bashīr [one of his chamberlains] with a robe of honour for 'Alī Shāh. After Muḥammad-i-Bashīr arrived and began to congratulate 'Alī Shāh with the usual ceremonies, 'Alī Shāh proceeded towards an inner apartment and commenced arraying himself in the robe, when Muḥammad-i-Bashīr drew his sword, and with one blow struck off his head, and congratulation was turned into condolement.

After this event no other could be found capable of the sovereignty, and Fīrūz koh and Ghūr, and parts adjacent, were left in the possession of the Khwārazmī Sulṭān.

Habīb-us-Siyar says that Khwārazm Shāh, unable to secure his brother's person, advanced upon Ghūr with a numerous army. The Ghūrīan nobles released 'Alī Shāh to create a diversion, but it was of no avail, and Fīrūz-koh was taken in 607 H. Rauẓat-us-Safā states, that, after two or three days fighting in the hills and around the city, it was taken, as our author mentions, in the middle of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 607 H., and in this Jahān Ārā, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, and others agree, the latter giving the 15th of that month as the exact date, which was just three months and seven days after the death of Maḥmūd, if he died in that year.

The statement of Yāfa-ī is different from those of other authors, who probably copied from our author's work, but as the former work gives far more details

The Amirs, who had been despatched to occupy the hill-tops around, all escaped in safety, and 'Alī Shāh, and Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Abī-'Alī[7] of Kāl-yūn, went out by the gate of the Reg Pul of Bust[8], and each and every one of them betook himself to some part or other Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn betook himself to Kāl-yūn, and 'Alī Shāh set out towards Ghaznīn Sultān A'lā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, was placed on the throne, and Malik Khān of Hirāt returned thither

Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, with his brother [Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad], his sisters, and his mother, together with the treasure then ready at hand, and their aunt the Malikah-i-Jalālī, the daughter of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, who was betrothed to Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, and the whole, with the bier of Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, were conducted towards Khurāsān The bier of Sulṭān Mahmūd was deposited in the Gāzār-gāh [catacombs] of Hirāt The dependents, the married and the younger ladies of the family, and their property were removed to Khwārazm , and, up to the time of the troubles caused by the irruption of the infidels of Chīn, they continued in Khwārazm, and were treated with esteem and honour

Chroniclers have related in this wise, that, when the Mughal troubles arose, the mother of Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, had those two Princes [Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, and Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad] drowned in the Jīḥūn of Khwārazm[9]—the Almighty have mercy upon them and forgive them!

Two daughters of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, up to the date of the composition of this History [are still living]—one is at Bukhārā, and the other is at Balkh,

respecting the Khwārazmīs than any other writer with whom I am acquainted, its statement, taken in consideration of what our author mentions, appears worthy of credit. Jahān-Ārā, another good authority, states that it was 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, with an army sent along with him by Khwārazm Shāh, who invested Fīrūz-koh, and took the city in the year and date above-mentioned, when Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, and his brother were sent away to Khwārazm and met the fate mentioned by our author, at the time of the irruption of the Mughals

7 Styled Jahān Pahlawān at page 409

8 The "sand" or "gravel gate" leading to Bust The text is very defective here, in nearly every copy

9 See page 280

married to the Malik-zādah of Balkh, the son of Al-mās, the Ḥājib.

XXI SULṬĀN 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN, UTSUZ, SON OF SULṬĀN 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN, AL-ḤUSAIN, JAHĀN-SOZ

Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz[1], was the son of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, Jahān-soz, and was left by his father [at his death] very young in years, and he had grown up in the service of the two Sulṭāns, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, but served the greater portion of his service at the court of Ghaznīn with Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn

The chronicler relates after this manner, that, upon one occasion, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was attacked by the cholic, to such degree that people had given up all hope of his recovery The Amīrs of Ghūr agreed together, in secret, on this matter, that, if the Sulṭān should unfortunately die, they would raise Sulṭān[2] 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, to the throne of Ghaznīn Almighty God sent the draught of health from that dispensary, whence "*indeed, when I am sick HE healeth me*[3]," to Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and he recovered

Certain informers[4] made the Sulṭān acquainted with this circumstance, and this compact, and he commanded that it was necessary that 'Alā-ud-Dīn should be removed from the court of Ghaznīn lest, through the wrath of humanity, odium might chance to touch him. 'Alā-ud-Dīn proceeded to the court of Bāmiān to his uncle's sons, and [at that time] the throne of Bāmiān had passed to Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām[5], son of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, son of Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd. After he [Utsuz] had pro-

[1] Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, and some others likewise agree with our author, and say that 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, was set up by Khwārazm Shāh after the dethronement of Bahā ud-Dīn, Sām, and that 'Alī Shāh fled to Ghaznīn after the capture of Fīrūz-koh The reason why this Khwārazmī, or rather Turkish name, was given to 'Alā-ud-Dīn is mentioned at page 238 He was, no doubt, set aside by Abū-l-'Abbās i-Shīṣ who slew Utsuz's brother, Saif-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, for killing his brother, War-mesh, otherwise he was the next heir to the throne after his brother Sulṭān Saif-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad.

[2] Not Sulṭān at that time, for he had not then come to the throne

[3] Ḳur'ān. chap. 26, verse 80

[4] It appears that all rulers had these news-givers or informers in their employ.

[5] See page 428 for the account of him

ceeded thither, they treated him with reverence, and th district of Nāe[6] of Bāmīān was assigned to his charge

After some time his [Utsuz's] daughter was given [i marriage] to his [Sulṭān, Bahā-ud-Dīn's] eldest son, Mali 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad[7], as will subsequently be, pleas God, recorded in the Section on the Maliks of Bāmīān.

The course of the days allotted to the extent of th dominion of the Sultāns, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud Dīn, having run their course, and Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn Sām, having likewise died[8], Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsu proceeded from the court of Bāmīān to the presence o Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh[9], to solicit assistanc to enable him to obtain possession of the dominion o Ghūr and the throne of Fīrūz-koh He was treated wit great honour there, and received the most princely usage and the Amīrs of Khurāsān, such as Ulugh Khān-i-'Abī Muhammad[1], Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Utsuz [the Ḥājib] and the Majd-ul-Mulk, Wazīr of Marw, with the whole o the troops of Upper Khurāsān were directed to afford assistance to Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, in possessing him self of the territories of Ghūr[2].

Sultān Mahmūd advanced out of Fīrūz-koh to mee them and overthrow their forces, as has been previously recorded[3], and they [the Khwārazmī nobles] retired, and again resumed their duties in the service of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh.

[6] This place is often mentioned in Baihaḳī

[7] See account of him, No III. of Section XIX

[8] Bahā-ud-Dīn of Bāmīān must be meant Maḥmūd's son, Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, only reigned three months, but he did not die until cast into the Jīḥūr between ten and eleven years after these events, and after the slaves of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn had succeeded to the whole of his dominions See page 409

[9] The reader will not fail to observe that this mighty sovereign to whom the latter Ghūrīs appealed when they wanted help, and whose suzerainty the nephew of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn acknowledged, is the same that our author would make us believe sent such abject petitions to Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn and his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, mentioned at page 381 2

[1] Styled Malik-ul-Jibāl at page 399

[2] Scarcely probable, even by our author's own account, if the "firm compact" mentioned at page 400 is correct, but, as mentioned in note [8], page 400, the "treaty" must, really, mean Maḥmūd's acknowledgment of Sulṭān Muḥammad's supremacy, which took place *after* the affair here alluded to The defeat of the Khwārazmī troops is not mentioned by the various authors I have quoted, but quite the contrary

[3] At page 400

Matters continued in this wise until after the assassination of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, when Malik Khān of Hirāt, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib, and [Malik] 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, from Bust, and the forces of Khurāsān, advanced towards Fīrūz-koh[4], and they placed 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, on the throne of Ghūr, and Malik Khān of Hirāt again retired

The Maliks and Amīrs of Ghūr submitted to Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, but hostility showed itself between him and the Turk Amīrs of Ghaznīn, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, and Mu'ayyid-ul-Mulk, Muhammad-i-'Abd-ullah, Sīstānī[5], who was the Wazīr of Ghaznīn, and in pomp like a sovereign, encountered Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, in the limits of Kīdān and the Margh-i-Nūlah, in battle, and the army of Ghaznīn was defeated and overthrown

Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, was a just monarch, learned, and a patron of learned men, and the Kitāb-i-Mas'ūdī, on ecclesiastical jurisprudence, he knew by heart In the promotion of 'Ulamā [theologians], and the bringing up of the families of men of learning, he used to do his utmost, and every one among the sons of 'Ulamā, whom he continued to find diligent and persevering, he was accustomed to honour with his benevolent regard

When he ascended the throne he set at liberty Malik[6] 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, from the fortress of Ashiyār of Gharjistān, but, on account of his killing 'Umr-i-Shalmatī, the Sultān again shut him up within the walls of the fortress of Balarwān

Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, reigned[7] for a period of four years, until Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Husain, the Amīr-i-Shikār [Chief-Huntsman], brought an army from Ghaznīn against him[8], and a battle took place between them in the

[4] Compare the account at page 409, and on the preceding page In a few copies of the text the words "and [Malik] 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz,' are left out

[5] Styled Sanjarī in the list of Mu'izz-ud Dīn's ministers and nobles at page 205

[6] Sultān 'Alā ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the last of the dynasty See page 417

[7] Subject to Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh

[8] Any one reading this would imagine that this Nasīr ud Dīn Husain, was some independent chief who had made war upon 'Alā ud Dīn, Utsuz He was sent by Tāj ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, against 'Alā ud Dīn, who, being a vassal of the Khwārazmīs, was naturally inimical to I-yal dūz, the trusted Slave of the late Sultān Mu'izz ud-Dīn, and on whose side most if not all, of the

centre of Ghūr, within the limits of Jarmās The right wing of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz's, army was commanded by Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of 'Alī, son of Abī-'Alī[9], who attacked the left wing of Malik Nasīr-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain's, troops, and overthrew and routed [that portion of] the Ghaznīn forces, and pursued the fugitives [off the field] Malik Nasīr-ud Dīn, Ḥusain, [with his centre] charged the centre of the Sultān's army, and wounded him with his spear, and a Turk among the troops of Ghaznīn smote the Sultān on the head with his mace in such wise that both his august eyes exuded from their sockets[1], and he fell down from his horse Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, remained on horseback over the head of the Sultān, when Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, returned from the pursuit of the routed left wing of the Ghaznīn army, and charged Malik Nasīr-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, and again recovered the [wounded] Sultān, and conveyed him towards the district of Sangah, and on the way the Sultān was received into the Almighty's mercy[2] They buried him by the side of his kindred, the Maliks of the family of the Shansabānīs

Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, reigned for a period of four years and a little over, and, after his death, his sons became dispersed One of them, Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, went into Gharjistān to the castle of Sivā-Khānah[3], and

Turkish Amīrs were ranged, whilst the Ghūrī Amīrs were on the opposite side

[9] This chief is again mentioned by our author in his account of the Mughal invasion of these parts Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn was directed by Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, under whose rule the Ghūrīān empire west of the Indus had fallen, to put all the fortresses of Ghūr into a state of efficiency for defence against the Mughals. Malik Ḳuṭb ud-Dīn, at last, succeeded in reaching Hindūstān after a narrow escape of falling into the hands of those infidels

[1] The idiom here, as in many other places, differs considerably, for example one set of copies has هر دو چشم—بیرون افتاد and the other set هر دو چشم—ارحای برهاست

[2] This event happened, near Ghaznīn, in 611 H 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, ruled over Ghūr for about four years, and most authors state that he was the last of the race of Shansabānī who held sovereign power, and, with him, the dynasty terminated This must have happened very shortly before the death of I-yal dūz, who was put to death in the tenth month of this year, according to some, and in 612 H according to others, but it is very probable that I-yal-dūz did set up the favourite and trusted kinsman of his late master See page 418

[3] Several of the more modern copies of the text have Satā-Khānah for Siyā Khānah This fortress is again referred to in the last Section containing the account of the Mughal invasion

there he remained for some time, another, Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, went to the fortress of Bindār [or Pindār], in Upper Gharjistān, and long continued there. The youngest son, Jamshed by name, during the troubles of the infidel Mughals, entered into the district of Hariw-ai-Rūd, and, in the Darah of Khisht-Āb[4], he was martyred [by Mughals]. Those two elder sons of the Sultān, through the calumny of Malik Khān of Hirāt, received martyrdom at the hands of the slaves of Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh. They strove greatly, and strained every nerve, but, as it was not the Divine will, neither one of them attained unto sovereignty.

XXII. SULTĀN 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF SHUJĀ'-UD-DĪN, I-ABŪ 'ALĪ[5], THE LAST OF THE SULTĀNS OF GHŪR[6]

Previous to this, in several places 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, has been made mention of, that, at the outset of his career, he used to be styled Malik Ziyā-ud-Dīn, the Pearl of Ghūr, and when, after Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of [Bahā-ud-Dīn] Sām, he ascended the throne of Fīruz-koh, his title became Malik [Sultān] 'Alā-ud-Dīn.[7]

Since Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain[8], at this time martyred Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, Fīrūz-koh, and the dominion of Ghūr came under the control of the Amīrs and troops of Ghaznīn, and of Ghūr. They, in concert, set up Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrād[9], over Fīrūz-koh, and they repaired the fort of Fīrūz-koh, and, in the midst of the city, and on the hill of

[4] Khisht and Khusht, in Pushto, signify damp, wet, humid, dank, soaked, &c., and āb is Persian for water. The Pushto equivalent for water is ao-bah.

[5] Our author makes the same blunder here as at page 391. Shujā'-ud-Dīn, Abū 'Alī, was 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad's *grandfather*. See page 346.

[6] This should be, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, [illegible]. See page 391.

[7] See note [8], page 393.

[8] Previously mentioned as Amīr-i-Shikār, or Chief Huntsman. The idiom here varies considerably.

[9] One copy of the text has "Sih-Zarrād," and another Sī Zād. He was set up as temporary ruler perhaps. He is, no doubt, the same person who is referred to by our author in his account of the Mughal invasion, and who, at that time, held the fortress of Sangah of Ghūr for Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh, and his son Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn.

the fortress of Baz Kūshk, they placed a barrier of iron, and raised a rampart, and commenced hostilities[1]. They brought Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, out of the castle of Ashiyār [of Gharjistān] and carried him away to Ghaznīn These events happened in the year 610 or 611 H[2]

When Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, reached Ghaznīn, Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, treated him with great honour and reverence, and commanded so that they took the canopy of State of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn from the head of that monarch's mausoleum, and they raised it over the head of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and he [Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz] gave him the title of Sultān, and sent him to the capital, Fīrūz-koh

He returned to Ghūr again , and, when he had ruled for a period of one year and a little more, and the Khutbah was read, and the money was coined in his name[3], and his title of Sultān was made universally [public] in the Khutbah, Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, sent him the treaty which the Sultān had, at Nīshāpūr, taken from him, to the effect that he ['Alā-ud-Dīn[4], Muhammad] should never, at any time soever, draw sword against him [Sultān Muhammad] Accordingly, in the year 612 H, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, delivered up the city of Fīrūz-koh to the trusty officers of Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm

[1] The text here is very defective in most copies, and varies considerably both in words and idiom Whom hostilities were carried on with does not appear

[2] Sultān Maḥmūd was killed, according to our author and some other writers [see note [a], page 407 and 410], in the second month of the year 607 H , and 'Alā-ud Dīn, Utsuz, was killed after a reign, by our author's account, of four years and a little over, which, supposing the "little over" to have been one month only, would bring us to the *third* month of the year 611 H , and, according to several authors, on the 3rd of the *tenth* month of that same year, Tāj-ud-Dīn, I yal dūz, was himself put to death at Budā'ūn by Ī bak's son in law, Shams-ud Dīn, I-yal-timish, who then ruled at Dihlī If these dates be correct, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, could not have reigned more than six months, which is evidently incorrect Jahān-Ārā says he vacated the throne, and retired to the court of Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, leaving him to take possession of the country, after he had reigned *one year and a little over* *This would bring us to about the fourth month of 612 H* , and the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh states that I-yal-dūz was defeated and put to death in this year, not in 611 H. The period assigned for Utsuz's reign is probably too great. See under Tāj-ud Dīn, Yal-duz, No IV , Section XIX

[3] I do not think any of his coins have been found

[4] At that time styled Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad See note [8], page 393.

Shāh, and was himself conducted to Khwārazm, and was treated with great honour and veneration [5]

He took up his residence near to the Malikah-i-Jalālī, the daughter of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, who was joined in wedlock to him They dwelt together [6] in the Khwārazmī dominions for a considerable time, and [at length] death's decree arrived, and he was received into the Almighty's mercy During the period of his own dominion and sovereignty, he had despatched trusty and confidential persons, and had acquired a place adjacent to [the tomb of] Shaikh Abū-Yazīd, Bustāmī, and had caused the position of his tomb to be fixed upon, and, at the time of his decease, he had made it his last request that his body should be removed from Khwārazm to Bustām.

[5] Tāj ud-Dīn, I yal-dūz, being dead at this time, Sultān Alā ud-Dīn, Muhammad, was deprived of his support, and this may have been another reason for his abdicating Several other authors agree with respect to this year, but others again distinctly state that Sultān Muhammad obtained possession of Fīrūz koh and Ghūr, and also of Ghaznīn, in 611 H Ghūr, as previously stated, had been subject to him in the time of Utsuz Yāfa-ī says "After these events [before related], in 611 H, [the Jami ut Tawārīkh agrees,] news reached the Sultān [Khwārazm Shāh] that Tāj-ud-Dīn, I yal dūz, had died at Ghaznīn [our author and several others state that he was put to death at Budā'ūn], leaving no heir who was capable of succeeding him [he left no son], and that *one of his slaves* had assumed his place This determined the Sultan to devote his energies to the annexation of that territory, together with other extensive provinces Having effected his purpose, Hirāt, Ghūr, Gharjistān, and Sijistān, and the territory as far as the frontier of Hind, an extensive empire, and containing many flourishing cities and towns, previously ruled by Sultān Mahmūd i Sabuk Tigīn and his descendants, up to the period of the rise of the Sultāns of Ghur, fell under his sway, and he nominated his eldest son, Jalāl ud Dīn, to the government of it," and a Khwārazmī Amīr [see page 257] was appointed to rule it as his deputy or lieutenant See the reign of Yal duz further on

In the treasury, at Ghaznīn, where Sultān Mu'izz ud-Dīn had placed them, were found, at this time that Sultān Muhammad obtained possession of Ghaznīn, several documents from the Khalīfah's Court to the Ghūriān Sultāns, inciting them to hostility against him, and vilifying and maligning him and his acts The finding of these documents proved to him that the hostility of the Ghuris towards him proceeded from the instigation contained in them He did not make known the contents of these documents at this time, intending to do so after sufficient time had elapsed for him to free the countries of the East See note [4], page 265

[6] How was it possible for them to have *dwelt together*, when, as our author himself states at pages 301 and 392, the marriage was never consummated, and the princess died a maid? They may have *resided* near each other She had been betrothed to Tughan Shāh, grandson of Malik Mu ayyid-i Ā-īnah dār before she was betrothed to Ẓiyā-ud Dīn See page 182

When, in accordance with his last will, they conveyed his remains to Bustām, the attendant at the Khānkah [monastery] of Bustām, the night previously, saw Shaikh Abū-Yazīd in a dream, who said to him, "To-morrow a traveller and guest arrives: it behoveth that thou shouldst perform the rite of going forth to receive him." At the dawn of the morning the attendant of the Khānkah set out from Bustām, and, at about the first watch of the day, the bier of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, arrived from the direction of Khwārazm. It was conducted with all reverence and veneration into Bustām, and they buried him likewise adjoining the Shaikh-ul-'Ārifain, Abū-Yazīd—the mercy of the Almighty be upon them!—and the Maliks of Ghūr, and the Sultāns of the Shansabī race, by the extinction of his dominion, came to a termination.

SECTION XVIII

THE SHANSABĀNĪAH SULTĀNS OF TUKHĀRISTĀN AND BĀMĪĀN

MINHĀJ-I-SARĀJ, JŪRJĀNĪ, the humblest of the servants of the Almighty's threshold, thus states, that, as Almighty God raised up great and powerful Sultāns from the race of the Shansabānīs, who were Maliks over the mountain tracts of Ghūr, and brought within the grasp of their jurisdiction, and under their subjection, sundry territories of the countries of 'Ajam and of Hind, one of those territories was Tukhāristān and the mountain tracts of Bāmīān, the rulers of which part have been famous and celebrated upon all occasions, from the most remote ages, for the grandeur of their station, the abundance of their riches, the vastness of their treasures, the number of their mines, and their buried wealth, and, on sundry occasions, the sovereigns of 'Ajam, such as Kubād and Fīrūz[1], these rulers have vanquished and overcome. That tract of country has also been famed and celebrated, to the uttermost parts of the countries of the world, for its mines of gold, silver, rubies, and crystal, bejādah[2] [jade], and other [precious] things.

When the sun of the prosperity of the Maliks and Sultāns of Ghūr ascended from the eastern parts of eminence, and Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, Jahān-soz, had wreaked vengeance upon the people of Ghaznīn, he had leisure to turn his attention to the subjugation of that territory. After having subdued it, he installed therein his eldest brother, Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, and from him descended an illustrious posterity, and Maliks of grandeur and dignity, the marks of whose equity and beneficence,

[1] See note [8], page 423.

[2] The name of a gem, by some said to be a species of ruby, and by others a species of sapphire; but *jade* is no doubt meant. Goez refers to a species of jasper found in these parts.

and the fame of whose munificence and obligations conferred, became published throughout the four quarters of the world[3] The mercy of the Almighty be upon the whole of them!

I MALIK FAKHR-UD DĪN, MAS'-ŪD, SON OF 'IZZ-UD DĪN, AL HUSAIN, SHANSABĪ

Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, son of Al-Ḥusain, was older than his other six brothers, and his mother was a Turkīah[4] He was a sufficiently great monarch, but, as he was not by the same mother as [his brothers] the Sultāns[5], they did not permit him to occupy the throne of the dominions of Ghūr, for this reason, that five other brothers[6], both on the side of the father and mother, were Shansabānīs, while the Malik-ul-Jibāl, Muhammad, who attained martyrdom at Ghaznīn, was by another mother, who was the attendant of the mother of the Sultāns, and Malik Fakhr ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, was by a Turkish bond-woman, as has been previously stated

After Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain [Jahān-soz], became disengaged from taking revenge upon the inhabitants of Ghaznīn, and had demolished the Ḳaṣrs of Bust, which was the place of residence of the house of Mahmūd, he caused an army to be got ready from the capital of Ghūr, and marched towards Tukhāristān, and, in the subjugation of that territory, and the strongholds thereof, manifested great alertness and dexterity, and the Amīrs of Ghūr, in that army, displayed such valour and martial heroism, that, if Rustam-i-Dastān[7] had been present, he would have recited the story of their valour

When those tracts were taken possession of, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, placed Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd [his brother], upon the throne of Bāmīān, and that territory was com-

[3] A term constantly quoted by Eastern authors before the time of Columbus

[4] The feminine of Turk

[5] They only assumed the title of Sulṭān some time subsequent to this period, and, of course, were not all Sulṭāns at once

[6] Here our author refers over again to the "Sulṭāns" just mentioned There is no improving his style without taking great liberty with the original

[7] Dastān, a name of Zāl-i-Zar [Zāl of the Golden Locks], the father of Rustam

mitted to his charge[8] Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, having ascended the throne, the adjacent hill territories, [namely] the mountain tract of Shaknān[9], Tukhāristān, as far as Dar-gūn[1], and Bilaur, and the tracts towards Turkistān

[8] Here, again, our author contradicts his own previous statements At page 339 he says that, on the death of Malik 'Izz-ud Dīn, Husain [the father of Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, and others], Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, the eldest *legitimate* son, who succeeded to his father's authority, *divided the dominions among his six brothers and himself, and that, in that division, Bāmiān was assigned to the eldest brother*, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Now he states that 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, conquered this territory several years subsequently, after he had destroyed the city of Ghaznīn Jahān-Ārā also states that, in the division of the father's hereditary patrimony among the brothers, Bāmiān went to the eldest son by a Turkish bond-woman, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd

The older Chroniclers contain a great deal respecting the affairs of Tukhāristān and the Hayātilah, whatever "the clay-stamped annals of *Senaccherib*" [Sennacherib ?] may say Ibn i Khurdād-bih, in his account of the Turks, also refers to them Haytāl [هيتال], according to the ancient dialect of Bukhārā, is said to signify a man of great strength and size, the 'Arabs made it Hayṭāl [هيطال]—the plural form of the word, applied to the people generally, being Hayātilah [هياطله] One writer states that Haytāl was the name of the territory of Khutlān, a dependency of Badakhshān, also called Kol-āb [Kol-i-Āb, which signifies a lake], but this is contrary to the MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK, and to our author's account

Fīrūz, son of Yazdijurd, son of Bahrām i Gūr, when his brother Hurmuz ascended the throne, fled from his fief of Sijistān, by way of Gharjistān and Tukhāristan, and sought shelter and aid from Khush nawāz, the king of the Hayātilah According to the Rauẓat-uṭ-Tāhirīn, the name of the ruler he sought aid from was Faghānī, the Chaghānī, or Shāh of the Chaghānīāns He espoused the cause of Fīrūz, and agreed to aid him with 30,000 men if Fīrūz would cede to him Tirmid and Wesah Another author calls the people of Tukhāristān itself Hayātilah likewise By Faghānī's aid Fīrūz gained the throne of Īrān, and for many years subsequent to this, and during several succeeding reigns, there was alternate peace and war between the sovereigns of Īrān and the Hayātilah rulers. In the time of Nusherwān, the Hayātilah, being without a ruler, are said to have chosen Faghānī [this would seem, from what was stated above from another author, to be the name of the family, not the person's name], the Chaghānīān ruler of Ṭukhāristān I have neither space nor time to say more at present, but will merely observe, that, by some modern writers, Tukhāristān and Ṭurkistān are often confused, one for the other

[9] Shaghnān and Shaknān are synonymous "Shighnan" is not correct, but such as one would adopt who could not read the original for himself, and depended entirely on the statements and translations of others

[1] Considerable discrepancy exists here, in some copies of the text, with respect to these names The best copies have as above, although the oldest leaves out the *and*, which makes it Dar gūn *of* Bilaur The next best has Dar-gūt [or Dar-kot or kūt], which, if the ن of the original MS was written rather long drawn out, as is often done, *might* be mistaken for ت The next best copies, which are comparatively modern, have Dar-gūr [or Dar-gor], and one Dar-būr

to the boundary of Wakhsh [2] and Badakhshān, the whole came under his jurisdiction [3].

Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, had able and accomplished sons; and, when Ḳimāj [4], from Balkh, and Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz [5], from Hirāt, who were slaves of the Sanjarī dynasty, conspired to eject Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, in order to take possession [of the country] as far as Fīrūz-koh, and the Ghiyāsiah sovereignty was, as yet, in the morning of its ascendancy, Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, rendered assistance to them, under the stipulation that whatever pertained to Khurāsan should go to them, and what belonged to Ghūr to [him] Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd [6]

When Almighty God bestowed victory upon Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, of Hirāt, was slain, he despatched the head of Yal-duz [7] to his uncle, Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, whose forces had arrived near at hand Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn followed in pursuit of them, and Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn was put to the rout Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn discerned him, and caused him to turn back again, and conducted him to his camp, and there placed him on the throne [8], and Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, both of them, stood before the

[or Dar-bor] The printed text, and one of the most recent copies have Dar-kūfah, and the former, in a note, Būr-Bilaur, and in brackets, as the probable reading, "*Darwāz and Bilaur*," but the different copies of the text collated do not show that this is at all the correct reading

[2] Also called Khutlān

[3] The dominions of the Sultāns of Bāmīān and Tukhāristān, according to Jahān Ārā and several other works, extended north to the territory of Kāshghar, south as far as Gharjistān and Ghūr, east to Kashmīr, and west as far as Tirmid. See note [6], page 426

[4] This appears to be the same Amīr Kimāj referred to in note [3], page 358, and he is probably the same as mentioned in note [5], page 374, and this Yal-duz [I-yal dūz] must be the same who is mentioned in the same note, which see.

[5] See pages 371-4

[6] Mr E Thomas, in his paper on the "COINS OF THE KINGS OF GHAZNI," Ro As Journal, vol xvii, in a note, page 199, erroneously states that, "On the first rise of Ghiás-ud din, Fakr[Fakhr ?]-ud-din *aids him*, under the condition that all the conquests in Khorasán should pertain to the former, while the acquisitions in Ghor should fall to his own share" The conditions were between Ḳimāj and Yal duz and Fakhr-ud-Dīn, *not* Ghiyās ud Dīn

[7] See the account given in Ghiyās-ud Dīn's reign, where our author says that Ḳimāj's head was sent, page 373, and note [9]

[8] A round about way of stating that they took him prisoner

throne in attendance on him. Chroniclers state that Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, became enraged [at this], and that he reproached both of them unjustly, saying that they mocked him. His words were these: "You two rascally boys laugh at me!" The Almighty's mercy be upon them!

This exclamation of his has been mentioned here for this reason, that the beholders and readers of these pages may know the laudable qualities of these two monarchs, the extent of their compassion and clemency, to what degree they guarded the honour and respect [due] towards their uncle, and to what extremity they bore his injustice.[9]

When the two Sultans[1] became disengaged from this audience, they caused complete arrangement to be made for the return of their uncle, and conferred honorary dresses upon the whole of his Amīrs and Slaves, and caused them to return. Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, retired towards Bāmīān again, and there he acquired great power, and the Sultans and Maliks of Ghūr used constantly to pay him homage.

His career came to an end in [the enjoyment of] sovereignty[2], and he ruled for a long period and died. He had several worthy and deserving sons. Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn was the eldest, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī[3], and Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Alī.

II. SULTĀN SHAMS-UD-DĪN, MUHAMMAD, SON OF MAS'ŪD, SON OF AL-HUSAIN, SHANSABĪ.

When Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, of Bāmīān, was

[9] We have ample proofs of their amiability and long suffering, from our author's point of view, in the fate of Sultān Khusrau Malik and his family, and Abbās-i-Shīs.

[1] Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, the younger brother, only received the title of Sultān some time after this occurrence.

[2] Such are the words in the original: it seems a truism if the passage is not corrupt.

[3] This is the Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī, who had his head struck off at Khwārazm, mentioned in note [8], page 481. He can scarcely be the same person as mentioned at page 342, because the latter's mother was one of the sisters of the two Sulṭāns, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn. If he is, his father, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, must have married his own niece, while his son, Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, must have married her sister, a most unlikely alliance, illegal according to Muḥammadan law. There must have therefore been two persons named Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī, but of the same race.

taken to the Almighty's mercy, his eldest son was Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad[4], and they raised him to the throne of Bāmīān, and the sister of the Sultāns Ghiyās-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was married to him, which princess's title was Hurrah-i-Jalālī. She was older than either of the Sultāns, and was the mother of Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, the son of [Shams ud-Dīn] Muhammad.

When Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, ascended the throne of Bāmīān, in accordance with the last will of his father, and with the concurrence of the Amīrs, Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn sent him a robe of honour, and paid him abundant deference and respect. He brought the whole of the territory of Tukhāristān under his sway, and, subsequently, the city of Balkh, Chaghānīān[5], Wakhsh, Jarūm, Badakhshān, and the hill tracts of Shaknān[6], came under

[4] This is the Malik's son, Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, who was taken prisoner by the Sipah-sālār, Barankash, along with 'Alī ud Dīn, Husain [Jahān-soz], and 'Alī, Jatrī, in the engagement with Sultān Sanjar before Aobah in 547 H. Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, obtained 50,000 dīnārs from Bāmīān for his ransom, which sum was paid over to Barankash. Our author, had he known this, is not likely to have related it.

[5] The best Paris copy, the I. O. L. MS., and the R. As. Soc. MS., have Isfahān!!

[6] Others say Balkh, Bughlān or Buklān [both are correct], Chaghānīān, and some part of Badakhshān. According to our author, his father, Fakhr-ud Dīn, Mas'ūd, held sway over some of these very tracts, now mentioned as "subsequently" coming under the sway of the son. However, it is clear, whatever "*Hwen Thsang*" may say to the contrary, that Tukhāristān was but a district or province of Balkh, and not a vast tract of country "*reaching from the frontiers of Persia*" [wherever that might mean in those days] "*to the Thsung-ling or Mountains of Pamir*," and that "*the great Po-chu or Oxus*" did not "*run through the middle*" of the Tukhāristān here referred to, for the very good reason that it lies south of the Jīhūn, Āmū, or Oxus. The MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK plainly states, that of Balkh there are a number of divisions and districts, such as Tukhāristān, Khulum, Samnagān, Bughlān, Zawālīn [this, in all probability, is Mr. Thomas's "Warwálín" [وروالين]—the first و is the copulative conjunction, and the ر wants the point to make it ز], and Baihakīs. Walwālij — ولوالج —may be traced to the same source. Of this Tukhāristān, Tālikān was the chief and largest town. Had such a place as Walwālij been *capital* of Tukhāristān, our author would, without doubt, have known of it, and have mentioned it here. Chaghānīān and Wakhsh lie to the northward of this Tukhāristān, and are accounted in Māwar-un-Nahr, as this latter term signifies, viz. beyond the river. "The Wakhsh-Āb—river of Wakhsh—issues out of Turkistān into the territory of Wakhsh, runs onward towards Balkh, and falls into the Jīhūn, near Tirmid." In his account of the Mughal invasion, our author mentions Balkh [بلخ] and Walkh [ولخ] sometimes as one and the same place, and, at others, as separate places.

While on this subject, I must now mention another matter. In the MASALIK

his jurisdiction He marched forces in every direction, and throughout the whole of those parts his mandates were obeyed

In the year in which the Sultāns of Ghūr and Ghaznīn led an army into the territory of Rūd-bār of Marw, to repel Sultān Shāh, the Khwārazmī[7], Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, by command of the Sulṭāns, brought the forces of Bāmīān and Ṭukhāristān and joined them On the occasion of Sultān Shāh's overthrow, Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril, of Hirāt, who had been a slave of Sultān Sanjar, and who, obliged to evacuate Hirāt, had joined Sultān Shāh, in this engagement fell into the hands of the troops of Bāmīān They slew him, and brought his head to the presence of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn The Sultān [in consequence] became very cordial towards Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, and upon this very occasion his advancement[8] took place, and he received the title of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, and a black canopy of state was assigned to him

Previous to this, neither Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, nor he had any canopy of state, and his designation was Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, but, when he acquired a canopy of state, he obtained the title of Sultān[9], and by Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, who were his uncle's sons, he was treated with great honour and reverence

WA MAMALIK, Bāmīān is described as "a town about half the extent of Balkh [in those days Balkh was a very extensive city], situated on a hill, and in front of it flows the river which runs through Gharjistān" The Tārīkh-i-Alfī, a work of great authority, Jahān-Ārā, the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, and some others, distinctly aver that there was *no town whatever called* Bāmīān, which is the name of the country, and that RĀSIF [راصف], RASIF [رسف], was the name of its chief town, which place was totally destroyed by Chingiz Khān on his advance towards Ghaznīn The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh says Bamian *is also called* Ṭukhāristān! Rāsif is probably the place called "Gulgulih" by Masson, but such name is not to be found in any Persian history that I know of The Mughals styled it *Maubālīg*—the unfortunate city—after its ruin

[7] See pages 249, 378, and note[5], page 379

[8] The printed text and I O L MS 1952, and two others, have دفع—*to repulse, drive away*, and, in the R A Soc MS دفاع—*repulsing, driving away*!

[9] The text here exhibits considerable variations, and great differences of idiom express the same signification Some authors state that, on this occasion, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn also received the title of Sultān, and that before his title was only Malik.

The Almighty bestowed upon him worthy and excellent offspring, and blessed him with six sons [1], and for a considerable time the country of Tukhāristān continued under the jurisdiction of his officers. He patronized learned men of distinction, and they took up their residence in his dominions, and acted with equity and beneficence towards his subjects, and died renowned and popular, and, after him, the sovereignty came to Sultan Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām.

III. SULTĀN BAHĀ-UD-DĪN, SĀM, SON OF SULTĀN SHAMS-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD.

Sultan Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, was a very great and august monarch, and was just and enlightened. He was the patronizer of learned men and the dispenser of equity, and, in his day, the whole of the learned 'Ulamā were unanimous, that there was no Musalmān sovereign who was a greater cherisher of learned men, for this reason, that his intercourse, his communion, and his converse, were exclusively with 'Ulamā of judgment and discrimination.

He was, on both sides, a Shansabānī, and his mother was the Ḥurrah-i-Jalāli, the daughter of Sultan Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, the sister of the two Sultans, and older than either of them. Ḳāẓī Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zawzanī, who was the most eloquent man of his day, [upon one occasion] was delivering a discourse within his [Bahā-ud-Dīn's] palace, and, during the invocation, the Sultān said: "What adornment can I give to the bride of the realm upon the face of whose empire two such moles exist, one Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and the other Mu'izz-ud-Dīn [3]!" The Almighty's mercy be upon them all!

[1] Our author, like others, does not even give the names of these sons. Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, however, was not the eldest of the sons of Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad. When the latter died, the Bāmīān nobles raised his eldest son, 'Abbās, by a Turkish wife, to the throne. The two brothers, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, were angry at this, and they deposed 'Abbās and set up their sister's son, Sām, and he received the title of Bahā-ud-Dīn. 'Abbās might have been here entered among the rulers of Tukhāristan and Bāmīān as well as Kutb-ud-Dīn, I-bak, among the sovereigns of Ghaznīn.

[2] The mother of his grandfather, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, was a Turkish bond-maid.

[3] These are our author's exact words, but what the "invocation" was our chronicler does not say; but it is a way he has of mystifying his own statements. The fact is, as related by another author, that the Ḳāẓī, mentioned

In short, the admirable benevolence of that monarch towards the 'Ulamā of Islām was more than can be contained within the compass of writing. That Miracle of the World, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Rāzī [4], composed the Risālah-i-Bahāiah in that Sultān's name, and for a considerable period he continued under the shadow of that sovereign's favour and protection. That Chief of learned Doctors, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Warsak [5], during the Sultān's reign, attained the office of Shaikh-ul-Islām of the district of Balkh, and Maulānā Sarāj-i-Minhāj [6], that Most Eloquent of 'Ajam, and the Wonder of his Age, was sent for, secretly, by Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, from the Court of Fīrūz-koh, who despatched a seal-ring of turquoise stone with the name of Sām engraved upon it, and with great respect and reverence invited the Maulānā to his Court. When this circumstance occurred, the writer of this History, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, was in the third year of his age.

The requests and solicitations of Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, were continuous and unremitting. The reason of this was, that, during the time of [his father], Malik [7] Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad the Maulānā proceeded from Ghaznīn towards Bāmīan, and, at that period, Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, held charge of the district of Balarwān [8]. He paid his respects to the Maulānā, and sought to retain

above began one day from the pulpit to eulogize Bahā-ud-Dīn, and was extolling the flourishing state his dominion were in, when that monarch exclaimed: "What adornment can I give unto the kingdom's bride, when on the cheek of her sovereignty are already two such moles?" The word khāl signifies *a mole*, and also *a maternal uncle*; and the moles here referred to are his two maternal uncles, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn.

[4] Jahān Ārā and Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh say that Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, was a learned monarch, and a friend of learned men; as an example of which he entertained, near his person, the Imām Fakhr-ud-Dīn of Rāzī, and treated him with great favour and consideration. They do not, however, mention "that Most Eloquent of 'Ajam, and the Wonder of his Age," our author's father; in fact, I have never noticed his name mentioned in any other work. This same Imām was subsequently accused, by some parties, of having brought about the assassination of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn. See note [3], page 485, and note [9], page 385.

[5] In some copies Warsal and Ḳadsak. The above seems the most correct.

[6] Our author's father.

[7] Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, whose reign has just been given.

[8] The majority of the best copies are as above, but two others have "Balwān," and three others "Barwān," and one "Baluwan of Bāmīan," but at page 115 our author says Balarwan is in Gharjistān.

him, and showed him great respect and veneration, and he had both seen and heard his soul-inspiring discourse, and his heart-expanding conversation, and the pleasure he had derived therefrom remained impressed upon his royal mind, and he was desirous of enjoying all the delicacies of the benefits of the Maulānā's conversation[9]. When Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, reached the throne of sovereignty of Bāmīān, he sent for the Maulānā repeatedly, and charged him with the administration of all the offices connected with the law, and sent him his private signet-ring.

The Maulānā proceeded to the Court of Bāmīān from the Court of Fīrūz-koh without the permission of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and, when he arrived in that part, he was treated with great respect and honour, and the whole of the [legal] functions of that kingdom, such as the Chief Ḳāzī-ship of the realm and other parts, the judicial administration of the triumphant forces, the chaplaincy of the State[1], together with the office of censor[2], with full power of the ecclesiastical law, the charge of two colleges, with assigned lands and benefactions abundant, all these offices the Maulānā was entrusted with. The diploma conferring the whole of these offices, in the handwriting of the Ṣāhib[3], who was the Wazīr of the kingdom of Bāmīān, up to the present time that this TABAḴĀT was put in writing in the sublime name of the great Sultān, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Muzaffar-i-Maḥmūd, son of Sultān I-yal-timish, Ḳasīm-i-Amīr-ul-Mūmminīn[4]—whose monarchy may the Almighty perpetuate!—still exists in the Kharītah [a bag of embroidered silk] containing the author's diplomas, along with his banner and his turban of honour. The mercy of

[9] Allowance must be made for a little family blarney.

[1] Here, too, the text varies much. One set of copies—the oldest—has as above—قضاء ممالك و اقطار دیگر و قضای لشکر منصور و خطابت—whilst the other—comprising the more modern copies—قضاء ممالك و امضای دعاوی حشم منصور و خطابت—"the Chief Ḳāẓī-ship of the country, and settlement of the requests of the triumphant forces or retinue."

[2] An official who examines the weights and measures, and has a supervision over merchants and shop-keepers, superintends the markets, and fixes the price of grain, &c. He can whip those found wine bibbing, and interfere in other matters relating to public morality.

[3] The title given to a minister.

[4] This title is totally incorrect. See reign of Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, Section XXI.

the Almighty be upon them! This fact is recorded in the narrative to show the admirable faith of that pious ruler

In short, he was a great monarch; and his dominions assumed great amplitude and expansion, and comprised the whole of the country of Ṭukhāristān and its dependencies, together with other territories, namely, in the east[5], as far as the frontier of Kashmir, and, in the west, as far as the boundary of Tirmid and Balkh; north, as far as the bounds of Kāshghar, and south, as far as Ghūr and Gharjistān, in the whole of which the Khutbah was read for him and the money impressed with his name[6]. The whole of the Maliks and Amirs of each of the three kingdoms, namely, Ghūr, Ghaznin, and Bāmiān, after [the decease of] both the Sulṭāns [Ghiyāṣ-ud-Din, and Mu'izz-ud-Din], turned their eyes on him, and, when Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Din, Muhammad-i-Sām, was martyred, the Maliks and Amirs of Ghaznin, both Ghūris and Turks, with one consent, requested him to come [and assume the sovereignty][7]. Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Din, Sām, accordingly, determined to proceed from Bāmiān to Ghaznin, and set out in that direction with a numerous army.

[5] At this period there were powerful sovereigns ruling over Kashmir and its dependencies, also the Jahāngirīah rulers of Suwāt, who held sway over a large portion of the mountain districts to the west, and the Sulṭāns of Pīch, of whom more anon

[6] How much of this tract never yet heard the Khuṭbah?

[7] Firishtah's History, or rather the translation of Firishtah's History, which supplies the chief materials for the Histories of India, so called, here says [that is the text] —"The inclination of the Khwājah, Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk [a title given to Wazirs], and the Turk Amirs, was towards the sovereignty of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Din, Maḥmūd, and the Ghūri Amirs, in secret, entertained the idea of the sovereignty of Bahā-ud-Din, Sām" This is nearly in the words of our author, whom he quotes, but Dow, vol i pp 149 50, translates this passage thus "The Omrahs of Ghor, *insisting upon* Baha-ul-dien, the King's cousin, *Governor* of Bamia, *and one of the seven sons of Hussein, and the Vizier* [Chaja-ul-Muluck!!], *and the officers of the Turkish mercenaries, on Mamood*, son of the former Emperor, the brother of Mahommed Ghori" BRIGGS, vol i., page 186, renders it. "The chiefs of Ghoor claimed it for Baha-ood Deen, the King's cousin, *Governor of Bamyan, and* one of the seven sons of *Ezz*-ood-Deen Hoossein, while the Vizier and the officers of the Toorky mercenaries espoused the cause of Mahmood," &c.

This is faithfully rendering the text, certainly, but it so happens that Bahā-ud-Din, Sām, was neither *Governor* of Bamyan, nor was he one of *Ezz*-ood-Deen Hoossein's ['Izz-ud-Din, Ḥusain's] sons, but certainly his *grandfather*, Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ūd, was 'Izz-ud-Din, Al-Ḥusain's, son

When he reached the district of Kīdān[8] he was attacked with diarrhœa, and, only nineteen days after the martyrdom of the victorious Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, died His reign was fourteen years[9]

IV SULTAN JALĀL-UD-DĪN, 'ALĪ[1], SON OF BAHĀ-UD-DĪN, SĀM, BĀMĪĀNĪ

When the victorious Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, obtained martyrdom, and Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, departed this life on the way [to Ghaznīn], the heirs to the sovereignty, then remaining, were of two branches of the Shansabānīah race—one, the family of the Sultāns of Bāmīān, and the second, the family of the Sultāns of Ghūr When they conveyed the bier of the victorious Sultān from Dam-yak[2], the Turkish Slaves of the [late] Sultān the great Maliks and Amīrs, took the Sulṭān's bier, together with vast treasures, and the magazines of military stores, from the Amīrs of Ghūr Those Ghūrīān Amīrs, who were in the army of Hindūstān, were inclined towards the sons of Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, and the Turk Amīrs were inclined to Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, son of [Ghiyās-ud-Dīn,] Muhammad-i-Sām, the [late] Sultān's nephew[3]

[8] It seems somewhat remarkable that Kīdān proved fatal, according to our author, to so many of the Shansabānī chiefs Muhammad, son of Sūrī, and Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, son of 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Al-Husain, also both died at Kīdān See pages 321 and 343

[9] He died in Sha'bān, 602 H, and reigned fourteen years. He must therefore have succeeded to the throne about the middle of the year 588 H, which was the year in which Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn defeated Rāe Pithorā at Tarā'īn

[1] Nearly every copy of the text is incorrect here in giving the name of 'Alā-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, instead of his brother's, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, and 'Alā ud-Dīn is *again* mentioned in them as the last of the Shansabī rulers of Ghaznīn, and he never ruled over Ṭukhāristān The best Paris copy, however, *contrary to all the others* examined, has *both brothers here*. Jahān-Ārā and some others have the same, but, in them, the brothers are not mentioned again, and the dynasty of Ṭukhāristān terminates with them Rauẓat uṣ-Ṣafā agrees with the above, and mentions 'Alā-ud-Dīn among the Ghaznīn rulers, his proper place

[2] See note [6], page 486

[3] Our author here contradicts the statement made in the preceding page The fact was that all the Amīrs, both Turks and Ghūrīs, seemed desirous that Baha-ud-Dīn, Sām, should succeed to the supreme authority, but after his death they became divided, when the choice lay between his son, 'Alā ud-Dīn,

The Ghūriān Amīrs, such as were at Ghaznīn, namely, the Sipah-Sālār [the Commander of Troops] Kharoshtī [4], Sulīmān-i-Shīṣ, and others besides them, wrote letters to 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and Jalāl-ud-Dīn [sons of Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām], and prayed them to come to Ghaznīn, and they came thither, as will be subsequently recorded, please God, in the Section on the Sulṭāns of Ghaznīn.

When Jalāl-ud-Dīn had seated his brother on the throne of Ghaznīn, he returned himself, and ascended the throne of Bāmīān A trustworthy chronicler [5] related that they [the brothers] divided the treasures at Ghaznīn, and that the share of Jalāl-ud-Dīn amounted to two hundred and fifty camel-loads of pure gold and of jewel-studded articles of gold and silver, which he conveyed along with him to Bāmīān.

A second time he assembled an army against Ghaznīn, and drew together forces from every part of his dominions, consisting of Ghūrīs, Ghuzz, and Beghū [6], and proceeded to Ghaznīn, and was taken prisoner [7], and was subsequently

Muḥammad, and Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, the late Sulṭān's brother's son, notwithstanding that Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, at the time of his death, had expressed a wish that his two sons should proceed to Ghaznīn, and endeavour, by conciliation, to gain over the Wazīr, the Turkish Slaves, and the Ghūriān Amīrs, and take possession of Ghaznīn, after which 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the eldest, was to have Ghaznīn, and Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, the youngest, Bāmīān. See the reign of the III ruler, Sulṭān 'Alā ud Dīn, Muḥammad, farther on Several authors consider the dynasty to have ended with Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām

[4] There is some doubt with regard to this probably by-name some have Kharosh, Kharoshnī, Ḥaroshtī and Ḥarosh, and Ḥarostī and Harosī The majority of the most generally correct copies are as above See Section xxiii.

[5] Nameless, of course

[6] This name is uncertain The majority of copies have Beghū, as above; whilst the oldest copy has Beghūr [not Ī-ghūr], whilst the best Paris copy, and the three which generally agree—the I O L copy, the Ro As Soc MS, and the Bodleian copy—have Saḳrār [سقرار] There is a tribe of the Ghuzz mentioned at page 377, note [6], under the name of Sankurān Perhaps Beghū may be another tribe of the Ghuzz also, and the Sankurān may also have been included in this levy of troops. See under the reign of I-yal dūz.

[7] After Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, reached Harāt [in Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 605 H], he sent agents to Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd [see note [8], page 400], and, among other matters, interceded for Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Kharmīl Maḥmūd accepted the terms offered by Sulṭān Muḥammad, and an accommodation took place between them This evidently refers to the acknowledgment of Sulṭān Muḥammad's suzerainty by Maḥmūd, mentioned in the note just referred to Another author, however, states, that, after disposing of the affairs of Balkh, Sulṭān Muḥammad proceeded to Guzarwān, which was the ancient fief of 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of

released, and returned to Bāmīān again. During his absence, his uncle, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn[8], Mas'ūd, had seized the throne of Bāmīān Jalāl-ud-Dīn came back with but a few men, and one morning, at dawn, attacked his uncle unawares, took him prisoner, and put him to death, and the Sāhib who had been his father's Wazīr he caused to be flayed alive, and he brought the country [again] under his jurisdiction

He reigned for a period of seven years, when Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, made a forced march against him from the banks of the river Jadārah, and suddenly fell upon him[9], and took him prisoner, and the whole of that treasure which he had brought from Ghaznīn, together with the treasures of Bāmīān, Ṣulṭān Muhammad appropriated, put Jalāl-ud-Dīn to death, and retired[1]

Khar-mīl [see pages 474, 475], and was then being invested by Abū 'Alī [an officer and probably a kinsman of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd], and that this same Abū 'Alī was made the means of communication, in behalf of the son of Khar mīl, with Mahmūd

Be this, however, as it may, when Tāj-ud-Dīn, I yal-dūz, became aware of the accommodation between Mahmūd and Sultān Muḥammad, he demanded of Mahmūd why he had made friends with the enemy of the Ghūrīs He received, in reply, the answer, that his, I-yal-dūz's, bad conduct had been the cause of it When this message was delivered to him, I-yal-dūz released Jalāl ud Dīn, 'Alī, brother of 'Alā ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, gave him one of his own daughters in marriage, and sent him, with a considerable army, to Bāmiān, where Jalāl-ud Dīn's uncle, 'Abbās by name, had assumed the sovereignty after the imprisonment of himself and brother One of I yal-dūz's chiefs, Abī Dakur [Zakur ?] by name, then accompanying him, advised Jalāl-ud Dīn, 'Alī, to face about, and march back against Ghaznīn itself, so that they might put an end to the career of that slave, referring to I-yal-dūz, whose servant he was This Jalāl-ud Dīn, 'Alī, declined to do, upon which Abī-Dakur separated from him, and retired to Kābul, which was his fief Jalāl-ud Dīn, 'Alī, continued his march to Bāmīān, the capital of which was Kāṣit [or Kasif], and recovered the sovereignty from his uncle 'Abbās See next page, and latter part of note [6], page 426, and account of the III ruler, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, and I-yal dūz, IV ruler, farther on.

[8] One of the oldest copies has Sultān Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, son of Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, but all the others have 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd See note [5], page 436 Alfī, Jahān Ārā, and Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, call him 'Abbās Rauẓat-us Safā, Mas'ūd

[9] This is the circumstance referred to at page 267 There the name of the river, in the majority of the best copies, was Jazār [جزار], but it appears that Jadārah [جداره] or Jadār [جدار] is the correct name See page 267 Some copies of the text make a great hash of this name, and have خرر—خوارکش—جرار—and even چرى

[1] Rauẓat uṣ Ṣafā says, but follows our author generally, "when Khwārazm Shāh came into Māwar-un-Nahr [the southern part of it], he made a forced

Jalāl-ud-Dīn was a very great monarch, and of great intrepidity, alertness, and gallantry, an ascetic, devout and continent, so that during the whole of his lifetime no inebriating liquor had ever passed his blessed lips, and the cincture of his garment had never been undone to any unlawfulness Manliness he possessed to that degree, that no prince of the Shansabānīān race came up to him in vigour, in valour, and in arms He was wont, in battle, to discharge two arrows at one aim, and neither of his arrows would miss the mark, and neither animal of the chase nor antagonist ever rose again from the wound of his arrow. At the time when the Turks of Ghaznīn followed in pursuit of him, at the Hazār Darakhtān[2] [place of the Thousand Trees] of Ghaznīn, he had struck the trunk of a tree with an arrow, and had overturned it [!], and every Turkish warrior who reached the tree would make obeisance to the arrow, and would turn back again, and [the tree of] this arrow became [subsequently] a place of pilgrimage

With all this strength and valour Jalāl-ud-Dīn was mild[3] and beneficent, but manliness availeth nothing against destiny, and, as his time was come, he died[4]

V SULTAN 'ALA-UD-DIN, MASUD, SON OF SULTĀN SHAMS-UD-DIN, MUHAMMAD

At the time that the sons of Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, namely, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, and Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, were both made prisoners at Ghaznīn, 'Alā-ud-Dīn,

march, and, quite unexpectedly and unawares, appeared before Bāmīān [Rāsif?] seized Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, killed him, gained possession of his treasures, and carried them off The Afghāns will have to keep a sharp look out now, or they may be served in the same fashion, and find a foreign force from '*the intermediate zone*' pounce suddenly on Bāmīān some fine morning

[2] In some modern copies of the text Hazār-Darakht There are several places of this name It *may* be that on the route between Ghaznīn and Gardaiz

[3] The flaying alive of the Wazīr, for example See page 437

[4] Other authors state that, after a nominal reign of seven years, Jalāl ud-Dīn, 'Alī, fell into the hands of the Khwārazmīs, and that he was the last of the race that attained power, but what his subsequent fate was is not stated Our author says he was put to death by the Khwārazmīs, but when or where is not mentioned See his reign, farther on

Mas'ūd[5], son of Shams-ud-Dīn, ascended the throne of Bāmīān, and took to wife the daughter of Malik Shāh of Wakhsh, who had been married to [and left a widow by] his brother, Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām. He conferred the Wazīr-ship upon the Sāhib, the Wazīr of Bāmīān, and assumed sway over the dominions of Tukhāristān.

When Jalāl-ud-Dīn was released from Ghaznīn, he turned his face towards Bāmīān. In the fortress of Kāwīk[6] was a person, one of the godly ecclesiastics, a holy man, whom they called Imām Shams-ud-Dīn-i-Arshād [the most upright]. Jalāl-ud-Dīn came to pay him a visit of reverence, to obtain a good omen from his words, and his benediction. This personage was a holy sage, who, after the acquirement of all the knowledge and science pertaining to the [written] law, had withdrawn from the world, and devoted himself to the worship of Almighty God, and who, having turned his face towards the Court of the Most High, had became a worker of miracles and the foreteller of the future.

When Jalāl-ud-Dīn paid him a visit, and sought the assistance of this Imām's blessed spirit, he enjoined him, saying: "Certainly, repossess thyself of the throne of Bāmīān; but take care that thou slayest not thine uncle, for, if thou slayest him, they will also slay thee."

Having performed his visit to the holy man, Jalāl-ud-Dīn retired and went away; and, when he had turned his back, that holy Imām predicted, saying: "The hapless Jalāl-ud-Dīn will kill his uncle, and they will kill him also;" and, in the end, so it turned out, as that unique one of the world had foretold. Jalāl-ud-Dīn moved onward from that place where he then was, with his followers, and,

[5] The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, which appears to have blindly followed our author, here calls this ruler Mas'ūd only, and, of course, agrees with our author's statement respecting his usurpation of the government and his subsequent fate. Other writers, however, including Jahān Ārā, Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh, and Tārīkh-i-Alfī, state that the news of the defeat of the two brothers, and their having fallen prisoners into the hands of I-yal-dūz, having suddenly reached Bāmīān, there being no one else to undertake the government, their uncle, 'Abbas, whose mother was a Turkish bond maid, naturally assumed it; but when they, having been set at liberty, returned in safety, he gave up to them the authority again. See note [1], page 428, and page 433, and note [7].

[6] The name of a pass and fortress, now in ruins, in the range of Hindū-kush, called Kawak by modern travellers. Some of the copies of the text have کاوک and کاوله

at the dawn of the morning, fell upon his uncle, took him prisoner, and put him to death, and flayed alive the Ṣāḥib, his Wazīr, as has been previously recorded[7]

[7] Our author has not yet finished his account of Jalāl-ud Dīn, 'Alī, he merely leaves it for another dynasty, and relates his farther proceedings, in the account of his brother, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, which see

SECTION XIX

ACCOUNT OF THE SULṬĀNS OF GHAZNĪN OF THE SHANSAB-ĀNĪAH DYNASTY

THE frail and humble author [of these pages], Minhāj-i-Sarāj-i-Dīn-i-Minhāj [1]—the Almighty shield his deformity!—thus states, that this Section is confined to the mention of the Shansabānī Sultāns from whose majesty the throne of the court of Ghaznīn acquired splendour and magnificence, and from whose sovereignty the countries of Hind and Khurāsān became glorious, the first of whom, of the Shansabī race, was Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, and, after that, Sulṭān' Alā-ud-Dīn, Al-Ḥusain took Ghaznīn, but did not rule there After that, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of Sām, captured it [2], and, when he attained martyrdom, he devised that throne to his own slave, Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, and with him that sovereignty terminated The mercy and pardon of the Almighty be on the whole of them!

I SULṬĀN SAIF-UD-DĪN, SŪRĪ, SON OF 'IZZ-UD DĪN, AL-ḤUSAIN

Sulṭān Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, was a great monarch, and was greatly endowed with valour, vigour, clemency, decision,

[1] A title he sometimes gives himself which will be explained in the Prefatory Remarks The 'deformity' was not bodily

[2] I fear our author had a very bad memory At page 377, and 449, he says his elder brother, Ghiyāṣ ud-Dīn, took it, and conferred the government of it on Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, as his lieutenant Here it is contradicted, and the copies of the text agree as to this name Here too he says that Mu'izz-ud-Dīn "devised" the throne of Ghaznīn to his slave, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, and, in his account of the latter, that he desired to bequeath it to him. The idiom of the text here again differs, but only the idiom, in the two different sets of copies.

justice, beneficence, a graceful presence, and kingly grandeur. He was the first person of this race to whom they accorded the title of Sultān[3].

When the news of the misfortune which had befallen his elder brother, the Malik-ul-Jibāl[4], was brought to his [Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī's] hearing, he set about taking revenge upon Sultān Bahrām Shāh, and caused a numerous army to be got in readiness from the different tracts of Ghūr, and set out towards Ghaznīn, overthrew Bahrām Shāh, and took Ghaznīn Bahrām Shāh fled frcm before him, and retired

[3] This personage should have been mentioned first after the death of his father, whose successor he was, and when the dominions were divided, and separate petty dynasties formed Who "they" were who accorded him the title of Sultān the chronicler does not say

[4] Kutb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Malik-ul-Jibāl Jibāl signifies mountains "*Jabbāl*" nothing At page 339 our author states that Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, in succession to his father, ascended the throne of Ghūr, and divided the territory among his brothers

Alfī says that Bahrām Shāh put Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, the Malik-ul-Jibāl, to death in 536 of the Rihlat [547 H], on which *'Alā-ud-Dīn, Al-Husain*, [Guzīdah and Khulāsat-ul-Akhbār, and Habīb-us-Siyar also agree] advanced against Ghaznīn for the purpose of avenging him Bahrām Shāh fled to Karmān, situated in a strong country surrounded by hills, where cavalry could not act, and made it his residence. *'Alā-ud-Dīn*, having gained possession of Ghaznīn, left his brother, Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, there, and returned himself to Ghūr Sūrī, placing dependence on the Amīrs and troops of Ghaznīn to support him, remained there with but a few of the Ghūrīān troops When winter arrived, Bahrām Shāh advanced from Karmān with an army of Afghāns and Khaljīs, which he had raised, on which the Amīrs seized Sūrī This took place in Muharram 537 of the Rihlat [548 H], but Guzīdah and Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh say in 544 H , and both Guzīdah, Habīb-us-Siyar, and Fanākatī state, that Bahrām Shāh was dead before 'Alā ud-Dīn [who is said to have been known as A'RAJ, or the lame from birth] reached Ghaznīn the *second* time.

Since writing note [2], page 347, I find that, in 543 H , some time after Sultān Sanjar's defeat by the Karā-Khita-īs [authors disagree as to the date of his overthrow See note [2], page 154], and when he had retired into 'Irāk, Sultān Bahrām Shāh, his sister's son, sent him a despatch intimating his recovery of Ghaznīn, and the death of *Sām and Sūrī*, the Ghūrīs [namely, Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, and Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī See pages 340—343,] who had previously acquired power over that territory, on which Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Khālid, Fūshanjī, a poet of the Court of Sanjar, composed the following lines —

"They, who in thy service falsehood brought,
The capital-stock of their heads in jeopardy placed
Far remote from thee, Sām's head, in frenzy sank,
And now the head of Sūrī they've to 'Irāk brought"

This tends to confirm the date mentioned by Guzīdah and others, and to show that the Ghūrīs had been guilty of hypocrisy, as many authors state, towards Bahrām Shāh, as well as Sultān Sanjar See page 343

towards Hind, and Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, ascended the throne of Ghaznīn, and made over the dominions of Ghūr to his brother, Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, the father of [the Sultāns] Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn

Having brought Ghaznīn under his sway, the whole of the Amīrs[5] and soldiery, the notables and great men of Ghaznīn and of the adjacent parts submitted to him, and he bestowed upon those classes ample gifts and favours, so much so, that the soldiery and Amīrs of Bahrām Shāh became overwhelmed in the benefits he bestowed upon them.

When the winter season came round, he commanded that the forces of Ghūr should have permission granted them to return to their own country, and entertained the followers, soldiery, and petty officials of Bahrām Shāh in his own service, and placed confidence in them The Sultān and his Wazīr, Sayyid Majd-ud-Dīn, Mūsawī, along with a small number of persons from among his old retainers, were all that remained with him, and the rest [both] at the court, and [stationed] in the Ghaznīn territory, were all the soldiery of Ghaznīn

When storms of snow and excessive cold set in, and the roads and passes of Ghūr became closed from the excessive snow, and the people of Ghaznīn became aware that it was impossible that troops or succour could reach Ghaznīn from the side of Ghūr, they despatched letters, secretly, to the presence of Bahrām Shāh, saying, "throughout the entire city and parts around, only a small number of persons have remained with Sultān Sūrī of the forces of Ghūr, the whole of the remainder are the servants of the Maḥmūdī dynasty It behoveth [the Sultān] not to let the opportunity slip through his hands, and he should repair to Ghaznīn with all possible haste" In accordance with those letters and solicitations, Bahrām Shāh, from the side of Hindūstān, advanced unexpectedly and reached Ghaznīn, and made a night attack upon Sultān Sūrī He came out of Ghaznīn with his own particular followers who were from Ghūr, and along with his Wazīr, Sayyid Majd-ud-Dīn, Mūsawī, took the road to Ghūr[6]

[5] Some copies have, ra'aya,—the people, the peasantry, &c

[6] It would have been just as difficult for him to reach Ghūr from Ghaznīn, as it was impracticable for troops from Ghūr joining him at Ghaznīn

Bahrām Shāh's horsemen set out in pursuit of him, until they discovered him in the precincts of Sang-i-Surākh [7] [the Perforated Rock or Stone] Sulṭān Sūrī, with the few followers that were along with him, joined battle with Bahrām Shāh s cavalry, and fought and opposed them as long as it was possible so to do, and, when compelled to fight on foot, they took shelter on the hill [side] It was impossible to surround the Sulṭān, his Wazīr, and his own followers, whilst an arrow remained in their quivers. When not an arrow remained in their quivers, Bahrām Shāh's troops, by [entering into] stipulation, and pledging the right hand, seized them, and secured them [8]

When they reached the gate [one of the gates ?] of the city [of Ghaznīn], two camels [9] were brought, and Sulṭān

[7] There are three or four places bearing this name, the correctness of which there is no doubt of It is the name of a *kotal* or pass near the Halmand river, about N N W of Ghaznīn, on the route from that city, and also from Kābul into Ghūr, but "*Sang-i-Surkh, a strong fort in Ghor, probably near the Hari river,*" is as impossible as "the mountains of Faj Hanísár" and "the Rásiat mountains"

[8] If a little liberty were taken with the text, then it might be "by promise [of safety], and their [Bahrām's officers] pledging their right hands, they were captured and secured," &c; but, seeing that they were at the *mercy* of Bahrām's troops, I do not see what stipulations were necessary Our author, as usual, wishes to soften it down.

[9] According to others, he was not so much honoured as to be placed on a camel, but was seated, with his face blackened, on an emaciated bullock, and paraded through the capital. From statements noticed in Dow's and BRIGGS' translations of FIRISHTAH'S History, to which all modern compilers of Histories of India resort, as authorities not to be doubted, but which statements, I was convinced, could not be correct, I have taken the trouble to examine Firishtah's *text*, more particularly, because that writer quotes our author as one of his principal authorities, and often quotes him verbatim I have also used in this examination the *lithographed text* which Briggs himself edited, or, rather, which was edited under his superintendence, and, as I expected, particularly in the passages now to be pointed out, I have found Firishtah generally correct, and his translators wholly wrong I am not the first, however, who has noticed them, and I beg leave to observe that I have no desire whatever to take, from Dow or Briggs, any credit that may be due to them, although I dare say there are some who will view what I have done in quite another light, but if *truth* in history be desirable, and correct translations of native historians wanted, it is time that these grave errors were pointed out and corrected, however distasteful it may be to those who have written *their* histories, fancying these versions reliable, and disgusting to those who, not even knowing a letter of any Oriental alphabet themselves, have presumed to declare such Histories compiled from such incorrect translations, "*works of undoubted authority*" To expose and correct such errors is *a duty*, when it is taken into consideration that such incorrect statements which are *not con*

Sūrī was seated upon one, and his Wazīr, Sayyid Majd-ud-Dīn, Mūsawī, was placed on the other, and they were both

tained in the original work, have been, and *are still being taught* in our colleges and schools. A careful writer like ELPHINSTONE, by the translations above referred to, has been betrayed into terrible errors, and others have repeated and re-echoed them down to the present day.

To those conversant with the Persian language and who can read for themselves, I say—do not fail to see for yourselves, for the lithographed text of FIRISHTAH is as easy as possible. It does not matter if, in translating, the *literal* words are not given; but FACTS must not be distorted, or made to appear what they are not.

DOW.

"He [*Byram*, which is the name he gives to Bahrām] soon after publicly executed *Mahommed* Prince of *Ghor*, who was son-in-law to the rebel *Balin*. . . . . *Seif ul dien*, surnamed *Souri*, Prince of *Ghor*, brother to the deceased, raised a great army to revenge his death. . . . . The Prince of *Ghor*, without further opposition, entered the capital, where he established himself, *by the consent of the people*, sending *Alla*, his brother, to rule his native principality of *Ghor*. . . . . It was now winter, and most of the followers of the Prince of *Ghor* had returned, upon leave, to their families, when *Byram*, unexpectedly, appeared before Ghizni, with a great army. *Seif ul dien* being then in no condition to engage him with his own troops, and having little dependence upon those of *Ghizni*, was preparing to retreat to Ghor, *when the Ghiznians entreated him to engage Byram, and that they would exert themselves to the utmost in his service*. This was only a trick for an opportunity to put their design in execution. As the unfortunate prince was advancing to engage *Byram* he was surrounded by the troops of *Ghizni*, and taken prisoner, *while Byram in person put the forces of Ghor to flight*. The unhappy captive was inhumanly ordered to have his *forehead* made black, and then to be put astride a sorry bullock, *with his face turned towards the tail*. . . . . When this news was carried to the

BRIGGS.

"He [*Beiram*] soon after publicly executed *Kootb-ood-Deen Mahomed Ghoory* AFFGHAN [*this last word is not contained in* Firishtah *at all*, and is the translator's own. MALCOLM too, Persia. Vol. I., note *, page 344, quotes PRICE—Vol. II. page 309—as an authority for "*Syfudeen* Souri" [Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī ?] being "*an Affghan* prince *of Ghour*." I felt convinced that Price would never have said so, and, on reference to the page, find he makes *no such statement*. It must be BRIGGS to whom Malcolm referred], to whom he had given his daughter in marriage. . . . . *Seif-ood-Deen-Soory*, Prince of *Ghoor*, brother of the deceased, raised a great army to revenge his death. . . . . *Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory*, without further opposition, entered *Ghizny*, where, having established himself *with the consent of the people*, he sent his brother, *Alla-ood-Deen Soor* (*sic*) to rule his native principality of *Ghoor*. . . . . It was now winter, and most of the followers of the Prince of *Ghoor* had returned to their families, when Sooltan *Beiram* unexpectedly appeared before *Ghizny* with a considerable army. *Seif-ood-Deen* being in no condition to oppose him with his own troops, and placing little reliance on those of *Ghizny*, was preparing to retreat to *Ghoor*, *when the Ghiznevides entreated him to engage Beiram, promising to exert themselves to the utmost*. This was done only to enable them to put their design of

publicly exposed about the streets of Ghaznīn, and, from the house-tops, dust, ashes, and excrement were launched

ears of his brother *Alla*, he burnt with rage, and, resolving upon revenge, with all his united powers, invaded *Ghizny*." — Vol I. pages 124-5

seizing him into execution. The *Ghoory* Prince advanced, but was instantly surrounded by the troops of *Ghizny*, and taken prisoner, *while Baram in person put the forces of Ghoor to flight*. The unhappy captive had his *forehead* blackened, and was seated astride on a bullock, *with his face towards the tail* . When this news reached the ears of his brother *Alla-ood-Deen*, he burnt with fury, and, having determined to take revenge, invaded Ghizny "—Vol I. pages 151-2

But what says FIRISHTAH ?—"In the latter part of his [Bahrām's] sovereignty, Kutb-ud Dīn, Muhammad, Ghūrī, Sūrī [this is incorrect he was not named Sūrī, Saif ud-Dīn was so named I also beg to remark that this is the name of a man, *not of a race or tribe*], who was his son in-law, was put to death at Ghaznīn by command of Bahrām Shāh Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, in order to avenge his brother's blood, set out towards Ghaznīn Saif-ud Dīn, having entered Ghaznīn and become possessed of it, and, placing faith in the Ghaznawīs, was there located He sent back his brother, 'Alā-ud Dīn, along with the whole of the old Amīrs, to Ghūr, and, notwithstanding that Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, used to treat the people of Ghaznīn with lenience, and that the Ghūrīāns did not dare to oppress them, the Ghaznawīs wished for Bahrām Shāh, and, although they used, outwardly, to show amity towards Saif-ud-Dīn Sūrī, secretly, they used to carry on a correspondence with Bahrām Shāh, until the winter set in, and the roads into Ghūr were closed by snow, and people were unable to pass to and fro At this time Bahrām Shāh unexpectedly reached Ghaznīn with a large army of Afghāns [he does not say they were Sūrīs or Ghūrīs], Khalj, and other dwellers in the wilds. At this time when not more than ten leagues intervened between them, Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, having received information of it, held consultation with the Ghaznawīs—who had been talking of their friendship and attachment—as to fighting, or retreating towards Ghūr They, making hypocrisy their garment, did not give him just counsel, and excited and stimulated him to fight. Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, placing faith in the counsel given by them, issued from the city with a body of the men of Ghaznīn, and a few of the men of Ghūr, and marshalled his ranks opposite [those of] Bahrām Shāh As yet the preparations for battle were not completed, when the Ghaznawīs seized Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, and, in high spirits, delivered him over to Bahrām Shāh He commanded that the *face* of Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, should be blackened, and, having placed him on an emaciated and weak bullock, which put one foot before the other with a hundred thousand shakings, they paraded him throughout the whole city [There is not a word about *with his face to the tail*—which is an Indian bāzār term] . When this terror striking news came to the hearing of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, the fervour of his nature burst out, and, with the determination of avenging his brother, with a furious and relentless army, he set out towards Ghaznīn." This is a literal translation of Firishtah's words

Then follow, in the two translations, things respecting 'Alā-ud-Dīn and his

upon their sacred heads until they reached the head of the

doings, still more absurd and incorrect, which had better have been noticed in the account of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, but, at that time, I had not the least conception that Briggs and Dow were so much alike, and had not compared their statements with the original. Both translators leave out Firishtah's statement, that "before the arrival of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh had died, and his son, Khusrau Shāh, had succeeded to the throne, and was made captive by means of treachery," and they merely give what Firishtah says was the common tradition that Bahrām encountered 'Alā-ud-Dīn, as our author states. "Alla" is supposed by the translators to have replied to "*a letter*" written by Bahrām Shāh, in these terms:—

Dow

"Alla replied, '*That his threats were as impotent as his arms.* That it was no new thing for kings to make war upon their neighbours, but that barbarity like his was unknown to the brave, and what he had never heard to have been exercised upon princes. That he might be assured that God had forsaken *Byram*, and ordained Alla to be the instrument of that just vengeance which was denounced against him for putting to death the representative of *the long-independent and very ancient family of Ghor.*'"—Page 126.

Briggs

"Alla-ood-Deen replied, '*That his threats were as impotent as his arms*; that it was no new thing for kings to make war on their neighbours, but that barbarity like his was unknown to the brave, and such as he had never heard of being exercised towards princes; that he might be assured that God had forsaken him, and had ordained that he (*Alla-ood-Deen*) should be the instrument of that just revenge denounced against him for putting to death the representative of *the independent and very ancient family of Ghoor.*'"—Page 152.

There is nothing of this kind in the original. FIRISHTAH says:—"Bahrām Shāh despatched an *emissary* with *a message*. 'Alā-ud-Dīn replied:—'This act which Bahrām Shāh has perpetrated is a sign of the wane of the dominion of the Ghaznawī; because, although sovereigns are used to lead armies against the dominions of each other, and, having overcome each other, are in the habit of depriving each other of their precious lives, still not with this disgrace and ignominy; and it is certain that heaven will take vengeance upon thee as a retribution and exemplary punishment, and will give me triumph over thee!'" There is nothing more than this in the original. Compare these passages in PRICE's *Mahommudan History*, vol. ii. pages 309—311. He translates it from Firishtah correctly although he does not profess to do so literally.

One more specimen here and I have done with this reign:—

Dow

"At first the troops of *Ghizni*, by their superior numbers, bore down those of *Ghor*, till *Alla*, seeing his affairs almost desperate, called out to two gigantic brothers, whose name was *Chirmil*, the greater and the less, whom he saw in the front, *like two rocks bearing against the torrent*. ... *Byram* fled, with the scattered remains of his army, towards *Hindostan*, but he was overwhelmed with his mis-

Briggs

"At first the troops of *Ghizny*, by their superior numbers, bore down those of *Ghoor*, till *Alla-ood-Deen*, seeing his affairs desperate, called out to two gigantic brothers, denominated the greater or lesser *Khurmil* [In a note, he says, he doubts whether this word should not be *Firmil*, and says there is a tribe so called!!! Elliot: INDEX, page 157, note, writes their name *Sufil*, and says Briggs [who

Pul-i-Yak Ṭāḳ[1] [the One-arch Bridge] of the city. When they reached that place, Sultān Sūrī, and his Wazīr, Sayyid Majd-ud-Dīn, Mūsawī, were gibbeted, and they were both hung from the bridge. Such was the cruelty and ignominy with which they treated that handsome, just, intrepid, and laudable monarch The Almighty bestowed victory upon Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, Jahān-soz, the brother of Sulṭān Sūrī, so that he took revenge for this barbarous deed and this dishonour, as has been previously recorded[2]

fortunes, and sunk under the hand of death, in the year five hundred and forty-seven, after a reign of thirty five years."—Page 127

read it correctly, but spoilt it after] "is wrong"!! See pages 350 and 351], whom he saw in the front *standing like two rocks, and bearing the brunt of the action, to support him*

Buram fled with the scattered remains of his army towards *Hindustan*, but overwhelmed with his misfortunes, sunk under the hand of death in the year A H 547, after a reign of thirty-five years"

The above is copied by MAURICE, and by ELPHINSTONE, although not quite in the same words, and is re-echoed by Marshman in his HISTORY OF INDIA, "written at the request of the University of Calcutta," and Meadows Taylor, in the STUDENT'S MANUAL OF INDIAN HISTORY, who improves it, by inserting in the margin of page 89—"Ghuzny plundered by Alla ood Deen, *Seljuk*"!!! FIRISHTAH's account is as follows —

"When the two armies came in contact, and the noise of the clashing of swords, and the whiz of arrows reached the vengeance-pursuing heavens, Khar-mīl the greater [older], and Khar-mīl the lesser [younger], entered the field like unto two rampant elephants Khar mīl the greater with a poniard ripped up the belly of a famous elephant," &c [There is not a word about "rocks," "torrents," or anything approaching it] "Bahrām Shāh, being without heart or strength in every way, fled towards the country of Hind, and, in a very short time, through grief and affliction at the loss of his son, and other matters, fell sick, and was removed from this hostel of mortality to the gardens of eternity According to the authentic account, his death took place in 547 H, after thirty-five years' reign."

Firishtah himself is not an author on whom implicit reliance can be placed, even though he quotes from the works of others, for he often *mis-quotes* them This is particularly apparent from his account of these events under the reign of Bahrām Shāh, and that of the same events in the chapter on the Ghūrīs, which is very different, and utterly contradictory, in many things, of his previous statements given above

[1] See page 355, and note [9]

[2] Everything is barbarous, cruel, savage, and the like that others do *to* Ghūrīs, but inducing a sovereign to come out of and abandon his capital and surrender after pledging to him the most solemn oaths, and then imprisoning him, and afterwards murdering him, and the rest of his race, inducing a noble to turn his back before shooting him in a cowardly manner, inviting his brother to

II. SULṬĀN-UL-A'ZAM[3], MU'IZZ-UD-DUNYA WA UD-DĪN, ABŪ-L-MUẒAFFAR, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF BAHĀ-UD-DĪN, SĀM, ḲASĪM-I-AMĪR-UL MŪMINĪN

Trustworthy narrators have related after this manner, that, when Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, Jahān-soz, was removed from the habitation of the world, and Sulṭān Saif-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, his son, ascended the throne of Ghūr, he commanded, that both the Sulṭāns[4], Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn[5], Muhammad, sons

an audience, and having him basely assassinated, flaying a minister alive, digging up the bones of the dead, massacring women and children, and burning a city in a drunken fit, and mixing the blood of Sayyids with earth to make mortar, all these, *on the part* of a Ghūrī, are mildness, amiability, beneficence, greatness, and the like Fanākatī says no less than 70,000 persons were massacred, on this occasion, in Ghaznīn alone

[3] Some copies of the text, the idiom of which differs considerably here, have Sulṭān-i Ghāzī, and most copies leave out the Kasīm, &c. His titles given at the end of his reign [which see] are altogether different

Between the putting to death of Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, and the establishment of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn at Ghaznīn as his elder brother and sovereign's lieutenant, a period of no less than twenty-six years elapsed, but, as our author gives no dates, the uninitiated reader would imagine that Mu'izz-ud-Dīn succeeded close upon Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī In reality, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn is the *first* of the Ghūrīān dynasty of Ghaznīn

[4] Sulṭāns subsequently

[5] This personage is incorrectly styled by the impossible title of *Shahábu-d-din*, *Shahab-ood-Deen*, and even *Shabudin*. Shihāb-ud-Dīn, which is Arabic, was certainly his title *before* his brother succeeded to the sovereignty of Ghūr, and his brother's was Shams ud-Dīn, but soon after the accession of the latter both their titles were changed, as mentioned at page 370 Many authors, either not noticing this fact, or ignorant of it, continued to style the former by his first title of Shihāb ud Dīn, and some have reversed the order of things, and appear to have imagined that Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was his first title, which was changed to Shihāb ud-Dīn, but no such title will be found on his coins. I have, myself, been led into the error of occasionally styling him Shihāb-ud-Dīn in my notes to the Khwārazmī dynasty, page 255-260, an oversight I now correct Firishtah calls him sometimes Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Ghūrī, and at others Mu'izz-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, the Ghūrī Dow, in his translation of Firishtah, chose to style him *Mahommed Ghori*, as though the last word was part of his *proper* name instead of that of his country, and overlooked the fact of the ى at the end of Ghūrī [غوری], being the yā-i-nisbat, expressing relation or connexion, as Hind and Hindī, Kābul, Kābulī, &c, and so compilers of Histories of India have re-echoed the name of Mahommed Ghori down to the present day, although some follow Briggs, who sometimes styles him by the impossible titles of *Shahab-ood-Deen*, and *Moyiz-ood-Deen*, but he too generally follows Dow, and calls him *Mahomed Ghoory*. See also Elliot, INDIA vol 2, page 292

of Sām, who were imprisoned within the fortress of Wajiristān, should be released, as has been stated previously in the account of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn [6].

Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn abode at the court of Fīrūz-koh in the service of Sulṭān Saif-ud-Dīn [his cousin], and Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn proceeded to the court of Bāmīān to the presence of his uncle, Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd-i-Ḥusain [7], Bāmīānī.

When Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn ascended [the throne of] the dominion of Ghūr, after the catastrophe [8] of Sulṭān Saif-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, and the news of it reached Bāmīān, Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, turned his face towards Mu'izz-ud-Dīn and said: "Thy brother hath distinguished himself, when wilt thou do [9] the like, and bestir thyself?" Mu'izz-ud-Dīn hung his head in the presence of his uncle, and left the audience hall, and set out then and there for the Court of Fīrūz-koh. When he reached the presence of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn [his brother], he became Sar-i-Jāndar [Chief Armour-Bearer], and he continued to serve his brother, and served him with assiduity, as has been previously recorded.

He continued in his brother's service for the period of one year, when some cause of umbrage [1] arose in his august mind, and he proceeded towards Sijistān, to [the Court of] Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Sijistānī [2], and there he remained one cold season. Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn despatched a distin-

[6] Guzīdah, and some other works, mention that 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, made Harī his capital, and conferred the sovereignty of Ghaznīn upon his nephew, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, as his deputy [The others say "his nephews, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn"], and that he [others "they"] succeeded, by treachery, in securing the person of Khusrau Shāh, in 555 H; but from this statement, and what those writers immediately after state, it is evident, beyond a doubt, that they have confused Ghiyāṣ with Mu'izz, and Khusrau Shāh with Khusrau Malik his son.

[7] Eldest son of 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Al-Ḥusain, and first of the Ghūrīān rulers of Bāmīān

[8] He was mortally wounded and left for dead in the action with the Ghuzz, by Abū-l-'Abbās-i-Shīṣ, brother of the noble he had so treacherously shot with an arrow when his back was turned. See page 367

[9] The words خواهی کرد in Persia, and in the Persian of the *East*, signify "*wilt* thou *do*" not "*thou art doing*"

[1] Because his brother Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn had not conferred a separate appanage on him.

[2] The Malik-us-Sā'is [the Sanguinary], Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, who succeeded his father Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Fatḥ, in 559 H See page 189.

guished person and brought him back again, and committed to his charge the territory of Ḳaṣr-i-Kajūrān and Istīah After he had brought the whole of the district of Garmsīr under his authority, Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn entrusted to him the city of Tigīn-ābād, which was one of the largest cities of Garmsīr[3]. This Tigīn-ābād is the place about which, and the possession of it by the Sulṭāns of Ghūr, the downfall of the dynasty of Mahmūd-i-Ghāzī, son of Sabuk-Tigīn, has been caused, and about which Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, had improvised and sent to Khusrau Shāh, son of Bahrām Shāh, the quatrain, which is as follows.—

"Thy father first laid the foundation of enmity,
Hence the world's people all under oppression fell
Have a care, lest for one Tigīn-ābād[4] thou dost not give,
From end to end, the kingdom of Maḥmūd's dynasty to the wind."

The Almighty's mercy be upon the Sulṭāns of both dynasties!

When Sultān[5] Mu'izz-ud-Dīn acquired the territory of Tigīn-ābād, the Ghuzz tribe[6], and the chieftains of that sept, who, retiring defeated from before the forces of Khiṭā[7], had moved towards Ghaznīn, during a period of twelve

[3] Dow says, in his translation of Firishtah · "Mahommed Ghori was left by his brother [Yeas ul dien !] when he acceded (*sic*) to the *throne of Ghor*, in command at *Junganabad*, in the province of Chorassan" BRIGGS has. "On the accession of Gheias-ood-Deen to the *throne of Ghizny and Ghor*, he appointed his brother, *Moyiz-ood-Deen Mahomed* [not called "Mahomed Ghoory" here], governor of *Tukeeabad*"!! FIRISHTAH, who quotes our author, says "Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, on attaining the sovereignty of Ghūr, left his full brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, who is renowned as Shihāb-ud-Dīn, at Tigīn-ābād, which belongs to the territory of Garmsīr" He was only "renowned as Shihāb-ud Dīn" by Firishtah, and a few other comparatively modern writers who, perhaps, knew not of the passage in our author where he mentions the change of title by both brothers The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir written, or, at least, begun before the Sulṭān's death, does not mention the word Shihāb any more than our author

[4] The citadel of this place is situated on the Koh-i-Sher, and is sometimes called the fortress of Koh-i-Sher, and is mentioned by Baihaḳī, but, in the MS. copies of Baihaḳī, is called Aytkīn-ābād This remark above would indicate that Khusrau Shāh, not Bahrām, was 'Alā-ud-Dīn's antagonist. See note [2], page 347

[5] Not Sulṭān then but Malik The title was conferred after this

[6] The word used signifies an army [not "armies"], but, as all the able men of the tribe carried arms, I have not used the word in its literal sense

[7] Before the Ḳārlughīah Turk-māns See note [6], para. 2, page 374

years had taken the Ghaznin territory out of the hands of Khusrau Shāh and of Khusrau Malik, and had brought it under their own sway. Mu'izz-ud-Din was in the constant habit of making raids upon the Ghuzz from Tigin-ābād, and assailing them, and continued to harass that territory until the year 569 H [8], when Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Din subdued Ghaznin, and placed Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Din upon the throne [of that territory] and returned to Ghūr again, as has been previously recorded

The second year after this, [namely] in 570 H, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Din brought the districts of Ghaznin under his sway, and acquired Gardaiz [9], and, in the third year [571 H] [1], he marched an army towards Multān and delivered it from the hands of the Karāmiṭah [2], and, in this year, 571 H, the

[8] There is some discrepancy among authors with respect to the date of the capture of Ghaznin Jahān-Ārā, and Haft Iklim say, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Din acquired possession of Ghaznin in 570 H, after which he conferred the government of it upon his brother, Mu'izz-ud Din, as Wālī [Haft Iklim says, deputy or lieutenant], Faṣiḥ-ī says Ghaznin was taken in 569, the Zubdat-ut-Tawārikh, which copies our author, also says 569, Tabakāt-i-Akbarī agrees with Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, and Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh, that Ghiyāṣ-ud-Din took Ghaznin from the Ghuzz, in 569, and conferred it on his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Din, in 570, the Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk of Yaḥyā Khān, Mir'āt-i-Jahān Numā, and the Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh say 569, the Lubb-ut-Tawārikh-i-Hind says Ghaznin was given to Mu'izz-ud-Din in 567, and states that the Maḥmūdīs had regained possession of it, and that Ghiyāṣ-ud-Din took it from the Amirs of Khusrau Malik (*sic*?) Budā'ūnī states that some say Ghiyāṣ-ud-Din took it from the Ghuzz in 569 H., and others, that he took it from Khusrau Malik who had re-taken it from the Ghuzz Alfī states that Khusrau Shāh himself returned to Ghaznin after the withdrawal of 'Alā-ud-Din, but the Ghuzz, who had defeated Sulṭān Sanjar [his great uncle], were perpetually making raids upon the Ghaznin territory, and he, Khusrau Shāh [*not his son*, Khusrau Malik], again returned to Lāhor, and the Ghuzz, taking possession of Ghaznin, retained possession of it for *ten* years Firishtah, who does not always copy his authorities correctly, says Ghaznin was taken by Ghiyāṣ-ud-Din in 567 H, and that the Ghuzz only held it *two* years!

[9] Gardaiz is the name of a large *darah* of the Tājiks, or Tāziks, for both are correct [The Ghūrīs were themselves Tājiks], with lofty hills on either side, well watered, and once very populous and well cultivated To the east and south-east are Afghāns. In Akbar's reign there was a strong castle here named Gardaiz also See note [7], page 498.

[1] Three of the works just quoted state that Multān was taken in 570 H.; but Firishtah, who is evidently wrong, has 572 H

[2] Who had regained possession of it some years previously He does not mention the capture of Ūchchah, which immediately followed that of Multān. An account of the capture of Ūchchah and the conduct of Mu'izz-ud-Din has been given by Firishtah, which has not been correctly rendered by his translators, and makes the conduct of Mu'izz-ud-Din appear in a light contrary to

Sanḳurān tribe [3] broke out into rebellion, and committed great violence, until, in the year 572 H., he marched an

[3] Faṣiḥ-ī is the only work, among those previously quoted, which mentions this affair. Therein it is stated that the Sanḳurān were a tribe of the Ghuzz. They are referred to in the second paragraph of the note at the foot of page 290. This name, in some copies of the text, is written Sanḳurīān and Sufrān, and, in one of the oldest copies, Shanfūzān. Shalūzān appears to be the present name of the *locale* of this tribe, which is also mentioned in the history of Tīmūr. See note [7], page 498. Some call it Shanūzān.

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facts, and these mis statements, to which I draw attention, have been re-echoed by all the Indian History writers.

DOW, vol. i. page 136.

"The prince of that place [*Adja*, this is intended to represent Ūchchah] shut himself up in a strong fort. *Mahommed* began to besiege the place; but, finding it would be a difficult task to reduce it, *he sent a private message to the Rajah's wife*, promising to marry her if she would make away with her husband.

"The base woman returned for answer that she was rather too old herself to think of matrimony, but that she had a beautiful young daughter, whom, if he would promise to espouse, and leave her *in free possession of the country* and its wealth, she would, in a few days, remove the Rajah. *Mahommed basely accepted* of the proposal, and the wicked woman accordingly, in a few days, found means *to assassinate* her husband, and to open the gates to the enemy. Mahommed *confirmed his promise* by marrying the daughter upon acknowledging the true faith, *but made no scruple* to deviate from what respected the mother; for, *instead of trusting her with the country*, he sent her off to *Ghizni*, where she soon died of grief and resentment. Nor did her daughter relish her situation better; for, in the space of two years, she also fell a victim to grief."

BRIGGS, vol. i. page 169.

"The Raja was besieged in his fort (of *Oocha*); but *Mahomed Ghoory*, finding it would be difficult to reduce the place, *sent a private message to* the Raja's wife, promising to marry her if she would deliver up her husband.

"The base woman returned for answer that she was rather too old herself to think of matrimony, but that she had a beautiful and young daughter, whom, if he would promise to espouse, and leave her in *free possession of her wealth*, she would, in a few days, remove the Raja. *Mahomed Ghoory accepted* the proposal; and this Princess, in a few days, found means to *assassinate* her husband, and open the gates to the enemy.

"Mahomed *only partly performed his promise*, by marrying the daughter, upon her embracing the true faith [he could not marry her legally unless she did so]; but he *made no scruple* to depart from his engagements with the mother; for, *instead of trusting her with the country*, he sent her to *Ghizny*, where she afterwards died of sorrow and disappointment. Nor did the daughter long survive, for in the space of two years she also fell a victim to grief."

FIRISHTAH's account is as follows:—

"The Rājah of that country took refuge therein [in Ūchchah], and Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-Dīn pitched his tents and pavilion around the fort, and set about preparations for investing it. As he knew that to overcome that Rājah in battle and capture the fort would be arduous, he despatched a person to the

army against them, and fell upon that people, and put the greater number of them to the sword They have related that most of the Sankurān tribe were manifestly confessors of the Ḳur'ān creed [4], who, on this occasion, obtained martyrdom, but, as they had stirred up rebellion, they were put to death, as a matter of exigency, according to sovereign prerogative.

In the following year [5] after this event, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn marched an army towards Nahrwālah by way of Ūchchah and Multān The Rāe of Nahrwālah, Bhīm Dīw [6], was young in years, but he had numerous forces and many elephants, and, when a battle took place, the army of Islām was defeated and put to the rout, and the Sulṭān-

wife of the Rājah, *who was despotic over her husband*, and cajoled her, and promised, saying 'If, by your endeavours, this city shall be taken, having contracted marriage with you, I will make you the Malikah-i-Jahān [Queen of the Universe, i e his consort, but there is not a word about "making away with," or "delivering up her husband" the offer is her own] The Rājah's wife, frightened of or at the power and grandeur of the Sulṭān, and knowing that he would be victorious [over her husband, and capture the place], sent a reply, saying 'No worthiness remains to me, but I have a daughter possessed of beauty to perfection, and grace If the Malik consents, he may take her into the bonds of marriage, but, after taking the city, if he will not evince any avarice towards *my own peculiar property and effects* [not a word about entrusting the country to her], I will remove the Rājah' The Sulṭān agreed, and in a short time that woman *caused her husband to be put to death*, and delivered up the city Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, *having fulfilled his promise*, made the Rājah's daughter a Musalmān according to the rites of the sublime law of Muḥammad, contracted marriage with her, and both of them, mother and daughter, were sent to Ghaznīn, *that they might learn the duties respecting fasting and prayer and to read the sacred pages* [the Kur'ān] The mother, whom her daughter held in abhorrence on account of her abominable act, and placed no faith in, shortly after died, and the daughter herself, after two years, *from not having obtained the enjoyment of the Sulṭān's society* [the marriage was never consummated], through grief and mortification, followed her mother"

The Rājah above referred to, according to the Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā, was chief of the Bhaṭī tribe, which previously held a large part of Sind The same work states that Ūchchah was taken by assault The name is differently written by different authors—بهاتيه—بهه and بهته—while some have بهيه and تهته Compare Abū-Rīḥān-al-Bīrūnī, and see translation in Elliot's INDIA, vol 1 page 61, and page 154.

[4] If so, it is somewhat strange that such an orthodox champion of the faith should have massacred them

[5] "The following" year after 572 H. is 573 H, but, just under, our author says 574 H, which is the year which most authors mention, but Faṣiḥ-ī has 575 H

[6] This is the correct name, confirmed by several other writers, but some copies of the text differ One has بهيو ديو—another بهو دو—and three بهيمديو The Rauẓat-uṭ-Tāhirīn styles him Bhoj [بهوج]-Dīw

i-Ghāzī returned again without having accomplished his designs. This event took place in the year 574 H.[7]

In the year 575 H., Mu'izz-ud-Dīn led an army to Furshor[8], and subdued it; and, in another two years subsequent to that, he marched an army towards Lohor. As the affairs of the Maḥmūdī empire had now approached their termination, and the administration of that government had grown weak, Khusrau Malik, by way of compromise, despatched one of his sons, and one elephant[9], to the presence of the Sultān-i-Ghāzī. This circumstance happened in the year 577 H.[1]

The following year, 578 H., the Sultān led an army towards Dīwal[2] [or Dībal] and possessed himself of the

[7] Our author slurs over this affair because it was a reverse, but it was not dishonour. Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's forces were completely worn out with their long march, the latter portion of it through the sandy desert, and suffering from thirst and want of forage for their cattle. The forces of Bhīm-Dīw were numerous, fresh, and well supplied. Numbers of the Musalmān forces perished in the obstinate battle which took place, and the retreat was effected with great difficulty.

[8] Previously spelt Purshor and Burshor, and in some copies of the text here Burshor likewise—the letters *p* and *f*, and *b* and *w* are interchangeable. In the passage at page 76, where mention is made of the idol temple which fell on the night of Maḥmūd's birth, the place supposed to be Peshāwar is written in every copy of the text with an extra letter. Nearly every author I have quoted mentions that, in ancient books, this place was known as Bagrām. See my account of it in Journal of Bombay Geographical Society, vol. x.

[9] Our author should have added, "a renowned elephant, and the finest that Khusrau Malik possessed." *His son is called Malik Shāh by some* writers, including Firishtah, but one of his translators turns it into *Mullik*.

[1] As to this date there is considerable discrepancy. Of the different works previously quoted, the majority state that the first expedition against Lāhor took place in 577 H., as our author has it, but two others mention 576 as the year, and three others that it took place in 575. Budā'ūnī says 580 H., but he has omitted the first expedition, and mistaken the second for it. I do not quote Baiẓāwī or Guzīdah, for they are both at sea with respect to the two last Maḥmūdī sovereigns, and make *one* of them.

[2] In the same manner, there is much discrepancy with regard to the invasion of Dīwal. Five authors give 577 H. as the year, one 578, one 576, one 575, and Budā'ūnī 581 H. Of these, some say the expedition against Purshor and Dīwal took place in the same year; others that it took place the year after Purshor was annexed, and the year *before* the first expedition against Lāhor; whilst others state that Dīwal was taken the year *after*, and some omit all mention of it. Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, Ḳazwīnī, the author of the Jahān-Ārā, which I have often quoted, on his way to visit Hindūstān, died at this place in 975 H.—1567 A.D. It is not the same place as Thathah, but in the Thathah province between Thathah and Karāchī. See note [5], p. 295.

whole of that territory [lying] on the sea-coast, and acquired much wealth, and returned.

In the year 581 H., he [again] led an army towards Lohor[3], and ravaged and pillaged the whole of the districts of that territory, and, on his return homewards, directed that the Hiṣār [fortress] of Siāl-kot should be restored[4]. Ḥusain son of Khar-mil was installed therein, and

[3] The name of this city—which is a very ancient one—is also written Lāh-nor [لاهور], as well as Lohā-war [لوهاور].

The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā, and Firishtah say that this second expedition took place in 580 H., and the Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh says it was in 579, but the others agree with our author as above. The astonishing thing, however, is, that our author himself, in his account of Khusrau Malik's reign, at page 115, which see, only mentions *two* expeditions to Lāhor—one in 577 H., and the other, when it was taken, in 583!

[4] Most authors, including Firishtah, make a great error in asserting that Mu'izz-ud-Dīn *founded* the fortress of Siāl-kot. Such is not the case, and some of the authors I have been quoting very correctly state that it is a very ancient place, founded by one of the early Hindū rulers. Mu'izz-ud-Dīn found it in a dilapidated condition on the occasion of his retirement from the Panjāb, and unsuccessful attempt to take Lāhor, and, considering its situation a good one for his purposes, he put it in a state of efficiency, and garrisoned it at the suggestion of the Rājah of Jamūn. I extract this statement from a History of the Rājahs of Jamūn [the *n* is nasal], which the author states to be composed from Hindū annals, and in no other writer have I seen the same details, although another confirms a portion of it, which I shall subsequently refer to.

"In the year 1151 of Bikrāmaditya, Rājah Jakr [or Chakr] Dīw succeeded his father as ruler of Jamūn, and, in the middle of his reign, in 555 H., Khusrau Malik, the descendant of Maḥmūd, Ghaznawī, abandoned Ghaznīn, and assumed the throne of Lāh-nor. The Jamūn Rājahs continued to entertain their natural hatred towards his dynasty, but without effect, and Khusrau Malik, by degrees, brought under his rule the northern parts of the Panjāb, as far as the foot of the mountains [the Alpine Panjāb]. The tribe of Khokhar, who dwelt round about Manglān [Makhiālah?], at the foot of the hills, who were subject to the Jamūn-wāl [the Jamūn dynasty], having received encouragement from the Lāh-nor ruler, and sure of his support, refused any longer to pay tax and tribute to Jamūn, and threw off its yoke.

"At this time, the year 579 H., Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, the Ghūrī, who had taken possession of Ghaznīn, raised the standard of conquest, and Rājah Jakr [Chakr] Dīw despatched his full brother, Rām Dīw, with presents to the Sulṭān's presence, representing to him the state of affairs, and inciting him to invade Khusrau's territory, assuring him that, on his appearance, the territory of Lāh-nor would pass from his grasp. The Sulṭān, who received the emissary with favour, replied in writing to the Rājah, that 'his Miān-jī [agent] had made known the Rājah's object, and that the time was at hand for the appearance of his standards in that part,' and in that same year the Sulṭān made a raid on, and possessed himself of, the Purshor territory and Multān, and invested Lāh-nor, which Khusrau Malik defended.

"The Sulṭān, finding he could not gain possession of it easily, devastated and ravaged the country about Lāh-nor, and retired by the northern part of the

the Sulṭān again retired. After his departure, Khusrau

Panjāb; and, at the suggestion and representation of the Rājah of Jamūn, *repaired anew* the fort of Sīāl-koṭ [Sīāl is the name of a tribe of Jats, since displaced, and dwelling much farther south, at and around Jang-i-Sīāl], which was then in a ruinous and dilapidated state, and left there Ḥusain-i-Khar-mīl [turned into *Hussein Churmili* by Dow, and *Hoossein Firmully* by BRIGGS !] as governor, with a garrison The Mīān-jī, of Jamūn, was then dismissed, with a request to inform the Rājah that next year his wishes would be fulfilled

"Khusrau Malik, after the Sulṭān's departure, aided by the tribe of Khokhar, invested Sīāl-kot, but, as Rājah Jakr [Chakr] Dīw, assisted and supported the defenders, Khusrau Malik was unable to take it At this period the Rājah, who had attained to nearly his eightieth year, died, and was succeeded by his son, Rājah Bij, who is also called Bijayī [बिजयी] Dīw, in 1221 of Bikrāmaditya, and in that year, which corresponds with 582 H, the Sulṭān [Mu'izz-ud-Dīn] crossed the Sind at the Nīlāb ferry, where the Rājah's Mīān jī went to receive him, and on the banks of the Bihat [the Jhilam] the Rājah's son, Nar-singh Dīw, joined him with a considerable force He was presented to the Sulṭān through Ḥusain i-Khar mīl, and received with honour He accompanied the Sulṭān to Lāh-nor, which was taken, and made over to the charge of Kar mākh ['Alī i-Kar-mākh, who is turned into *Ally Kirmany* by BRIGGS !], governor of Multān The Rājah's son and his agent were dismissed with honorary robes, and the town of Sīāl kot, together with the fort, was entrusted to the care of the Rājah Khusrau was taken to Ghaznīn, and was subsequently put to death From the circumstance of the Sulṭān, in his communications, styling the Rājah's agents by the term Mīān jī, according to the custom of Īrān, instead of Wakīl, the whole family of the Jamūn-wāl [*not the present dynasty*], considering this title great honour, adopted it, and from it the abridged term Mīān, used by their descendants, is derived"

Dow, in his translation of Firishtah, states, under the reign of Khusrau Malik [page 129], that "the *Emperor Chusero* [Khusrau would not have known his own name thus written], in alliance with the *Ghickers*, besieged the fort of *Salkot*, but, their endeavours proving *unsuccessful*, they were obliged to desist" BRIGGS, in his version, repeats this in the same words, with the exception of styling Khusrau, *Khoosrow Mullik*, and the Khokhars, *Gukkurs*, and that Khusrau *had to abandon* the investment, but under the reign of Mu'izz ud-Dīn, Dow [page 137] states "This fort [*Salcot*], as we have before related, was *effectually* besieged by *Chusero*, in the absence of *Mahommed*," and BRIGGS also [page 176] says "This fort, as we have before related, being *successfully* besieged and taken by *Khoosrow Mullik*," &c, and thus both translators totally contradict their own previous statements FIRISHTAH, whom they translate, of course, states, as other writers do, that Khusrau Malik was *unable* to take it Led away, I imagine, by this statement, and placing reliance on its correctness, ELPHINSTONE has repeated [page 311] this absurdity He says "Khusru Malik, taking courage from despair, made an alliance with the Gakkars [Dow, *Gickers*, Briggs, *Gukkurs*, Elphinstone, *Gakkars* !], *captured* one of Shahab u-dín's strongest forts, and obliged him to call in the aid of stratagem," &c Thus a totally incorrect translation of a native historian's words, and a statement respecting which the translators themselves contradict their own previous translation, is handed down from one writer to the other This is writing history with a vengeance

The stratagem referred to above is related in Firishtah, which see but it

Malik assembled the forces of Hindūstān [*], and a levy of the [different] Khokhar tribes, and appeared before the gates of Sīāl-kot, and sat down before it for a considerable time, and again retired without being able to effect his object. After that, in the year 582 H., the Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī [Mu'izz-ud-Dīn] appeared [again] before the gates of Lohor. As the Maḥmūdī sovereignty had reached its termination, and the sun of the empire of Sabuk-Tigīn had reached its setting, and the Recorder of Destiny had inscribed the decree of Khusrau Malik's dethronement, that monarch was not possessed of the power to resist, and he entered into negotiations for peace, and, for the purpose of having an interview with the Sultān [Mu'izz-ud-Dīn], Khusrau Malik came out [of Lohor][6]. He was seized, and imprisoned, and Lohor passed into the possession of the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, and the kingdom of Hindūstān [7] came under his sway.

is not related by any of the authors I have quoted, from some of whom he derived his own information.

The account contained in the Hindū history of Jamūn previously quoted, of Khusrau Malik's attempt to take Sīāl-kot, which was a standing menace to his rule, agrees with the account given by our author and some others, with the exception that other tribes of unbelievers besides the Khokhars were engaged in it, and, although Khusrau Malik had got together a large following, he was unable to keep the field against the superior and more efficient forces of the Ghūrīs.

The Khokhars [کهوکهر] are a totally distinct race from the Gakhars [ککهر]. The name of the former is sometimes written [کهکهر] Khukhar, but the first mode is the most correct. Abū-l-Faẓl, in the Ā'-īn-i-Akbarī, constantly mentions them, and he writes the two names very differently. There are still numbers of Khokhars in the Panjāb, some 20,000 families, and I have met with them constantly in the Multān district, and districts further to the north-west, towards the Indus, in the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah. Their chief *locale* is about Bārih, Aḥmad ābād, and Khūsh-āb. They still style their chief SULTĀN as well as RĀE, and will not give their daughters in marriage to other tribes, or, at least, used not to. The Ghakars are still further northwards. Our author does not mention a word about these transactions with the Khokhars in his account of Khusrau Malik's reign, and only mentions two expeditions against Lāhor, and therein states that Khusrau Malik delivered it up to Mu'izz-ud-Dīn in 583 H., but here he says in 582 H. Some of the works I have been quoting say Mu'izz ud-Dīn obtained possession of Lahor in 582 H., while others say it happened in 583 H.

[5] This is the same person who subsequently gave his adherence to Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and then acted treacherously, and was ousted from Hirāt, and put to death. See note [2], page 257. His correct name is 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain. His father's name was Khar-mīl.

[6] See page 115, where our author states that Khusrau Malik, under the faith of a treaty, was induced to come out.

[7] That portion only over which Khusrau Malik ruled, but subsequently he conquered more.

The Sipah-Sālār, 'Alī-i-Kar-mākh, who was the Wālī [Governor] of Multān, was located at Lohor, and the father of the author of this work, Maulānā Sarāj-ud-Dīn-i-Minhāj, the Wonder of his Age, and Most Eloquent of 'Ajam, became the Ḳāẓī of the forces of Hindūstān, and, dressed in an honorary robe, conferred upon him by Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, in the audience hall [or tent] of the camp[8] he established his Court of Judicature Twelve camels were assigned to convey his tribunal[9] [on the march]. The mercy of the Almighty be upon him, and upon the orthodox Sulṭāns of the past, and the Musalmān Maliks of the present!

After these events the Sultān-i-Ghāzī set out on his return to Ghaznīn, taking along with him Khusrau Malik; and from the court of Ghaznīn sent him to the court of Fīrūz-koh, to the presence of the Sultān-ul-A'ẓam, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn. From thence Khusrau Malik was sent into Gharjistān and imprisoned within the castle of Balarwān, and it was commanded that his son, Bahrām Shāh[1] [by name], should be detained within the walls of the fortress of Saif-rūd of Ghūr; and, when the outbreak and sedition of Sultān Shāh[2], Khwārazm-Shāhī, arose in the year

[8] Where public business was usually transacted

[9] For himself and the Muftīs He did not continue at Bāmīān long then. See pages 431 and 433

[1] This, probably, is the son who had been given up as a hostage to Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Firishtah, but on whose authority he does not mention, styles him Malik Shāh There is not the slightest doubt as to who put them to death, and the text very plainly indicates who did, both here and at page 115 Compare Elliot INDIA, vol ii, note [2], page 295

[2] Not "Khwārazm Shāh" but his brother He was not *a* Sulṭān, this is part of his *title* merely See page 245 The error of calling him Sulṭān or King of Khwārazm is of common occurrence Elphinstone, misled by translators or translations, calls him "King of Khárizm" His name was Maḥmūd, and his title, Sulṭān Shāh-i Jalāl ud Dīn At page 115, our author says Khusrau Malik and his son, Bahrām Shāh, were put to death when the affair of Sulṭān Shāh occurred in 598 H, and here says, 587 H, while twice, in his account of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn's reign [see pages 378 and 379], he distinctly states that the engagement with Sulṭān Shāh, in which Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, then only Lord of the Stables, was taken prisoner, took place in 588 H [Jahān-Ārā, 588 H] The year 587 H is that in which the first battle took place with Rāe Pithorā, according to the whole of the authors I have been quoting, as well as several others, including our author himself, and the second battle, in which Rāe Pithorā was defeated and [according to Musalmān accounts] slain, took place beyond a doubt [see page 468], in 588 H There is no doubt whatever as to the dates our author gives, for they are as plainly written as it

587 H, they martyred Khusrau Malik and his son [Bahrām Shāh]. The mercy of the Almighty be upon them all!

Subsequent to these events, the Sultān-i-Ghāzī caused the forces of Islām to be organized, and advanced against the fortress of Tabarhindah[3], and took that stronghold, and

is possible to write, and all the copies of the text collated agree, but *neither of these three dates can be correct*. The campaign against Sultān Shāh, Khwārazmī, which lasted over six months, took place in 586 H, *or* early in 587 H, and in 589 H he died. What tends to prove this to be correct, even from our author's own statements, is the fact, that, between the acquirement of Lāhor, and the first battle of Tarā'īn, *no operations* were undertaken *east* of the Indus by Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, because occupied elsewhere. See also next page where it is said that the Kāzī of Tūlak was to hold Tabarhindah for the period of *eight* months, thus showing that the Sultān intended to come again the next cold season and relieve it. The Kāzī however held out for five months longer, and, the Sultān not having arrived, was obliged to capitulate. Here is further proof. Alfī and Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh say Sultān Shāh sent a message to Ghiyās-ud-Dīn [after Sultān Shāh revolted against his brother's authority. See also page 246 and note [8]], after he had gained possession of several places in Khurāsān with the aid of the Karā-Khitā'is, that he, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, should give up to him the places belonging to his [Sultān Shāh's] father, otherwise to prepare for hostilities. Ghiyās-ud-Dīn summoned his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, from Hind to join him. Some writers affirm that up to this time the latter was styled Malik only, and that after that campaign the title of Sultān was conferred upon him, as well as on his cousin, Shams-ud-Dīn of Bāmīān, from which period, and not before, the name and title will be found on his coins. In the neighbourhood of the Murgh-āb, in the valley of Marw-ar-Rūd, the two brothers, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Shams-ud-Dīn of Bāmīān, and Tāj-ud-Dīn, ruler of Sijistān, being also present, after several months, encountered Sultān Shāh, who was defeated, and reached Marw with only forty followers. This is said to have taken place in 586 H. Sultān Takish, Khwārazm Shāh, hearing of this reverse his rebellious brother had sustained, advanced from Khwārazm against him by forced marches, and Sultān Shāh again sought protection from the Ghūrīs, who, some time after, aided him with a numerous force, and despatched him towards Khwārazm. This was in 588 H, for, his brother Takish having marched into 'Irāk at the request of Kutlagh Īnānaj [see page 167, note [8]] in that year, Sultān Shāh made a dash against Khwārazm, the capital of his brother.

Alfī further states, but it is somewhat contrary to other accounts, that, on the way, Sultān Shāh was taken ill, and died at the end of Ramazān, 589 H. When the news of this event reached Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, he despatched orders for his troops to march back again.

Another reason why I consider 586 H correct is, that all authors of any authority, as well as our author himself, say that the second battle of Tarā'īn took place in 588 H, after which Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, was left to carry on operations in Hindūstān, and, if the campaign against Sultān Shāh took place in that year, and the two armies were *six* months in sight of each other, Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, could not have been present there to be taken prisoner, and be at Kuhrām in Hindūstān at the same time. See page 515.

[3] All the copies of the text collated, both here, and elsewhere in the work, as well as many other authors, say Tabarhindah [or Tabarhindh]. The

made it over [to the charge of] Malik Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, the Ḳāẓī Muḥammad-i-'Abd-us-Sallām, Nisāwī, Tūlakī[4] This Ḳāẓī, Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, was the son of the uncle of the maternal grandfather of the writer of this History, [namely] Ḳāẓī Majd-ud-Dīn, Tūlakī At his [Ḳāẓī Ziyā-ud-Dīn's][5] request, they selected twelve hundred horse from the forces of Hindūstān and of Ghaznīn, all men of Tūlak, and the whole of them were ordered to join his Khayl [band or division], and were located within that fortress, under the stipulation that they should hold it for the period of eight months, until the Sultān-i- Ghāzī should return again from Ghaznīn, but the Rāe Kolah[6] Pithorā, however, had arrived

printed text has Sirhind, and many authors of comparatively modern date, including the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā, and Khulāṣat ut-Tawārikh, also have Sirhind The Tārīkh-i-Alfī, and Zubdat-ut-Tawārikh say Tarhindah, Budā'ūnī also has the same in one copy, and Tarhindah [the Persian *b* might have been left out by the copyist] in another, and, in another place, says it was Jai pāl's capital The Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh-i-Hind says Tabarhindah *now known by the name of Bithandah* Firishtah has Pathindah [پتهنده] in the latest lithographed copy of the Persian text which was so carefully collated, it is said, with several copies of the original, by BRIGGS himself, and Bathindah [بتهنده] in other MS copies I have examined, but, in his translation, BRIGGS has Bituhnda, and DOW calls it "The capital of Tiberhind" I may mention that Bathindah, which is the place Briggs probably means, is some hundred miles west of Thānī sar See also note [2], page 76, next to last para

[4] That is to say, he or his family came originally from Nisā, and he was Ḳāẓī *of* Tūlak, which was a considerable place mentioned by our author in several places We might as well say *Chief Justice Supreme Court*, as "Kázi Tolak" Instead of Nisāwī, some copies of the text have Būshārī, and Būshāī, but the majority of the best copies have Nisāwī BRIGGS turns him into "*Mullik Zeea-ood-Deen Toozuky*," and DOW into "*Malleck Zea*"!

[5] Compare Elliot INDIA, vol ii page 295

[6] The right word may be Golah, as both would be written كوله In Sanskrit गोलक—*golak* signifies the offspring by illegitimate connexion with a widow, but we hear nothing of such a connexion on the part of Prithī Rāj's father TOD, in his usual highly imaginative way, however, considers *Gola* [Golah] to mean a slave —"In Persian *Gholam*, literally 'a slave,' evidently a word of the same origin as the Hindu *gola*" In another place, he asserts that Golah refers to the *natural brother* of Prithī Rāj Vol i page 179 Had Prithī Rāj been a *golak*, I do not think he would have been eligible to succeed his grandfather The Tāj ul-Ma'āṣir, referring to the second battle between the Hindūs and Muḥammadans, calls Kolah [or the Kolah] the *son* of the Rāe of Ajmīr, and all authors with whom I am acquainted state, that Kolah or Golah, the son of Pithorā or Prithī Rāj, after his father was put to death, was made tributary ruler of Ajmīr by Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, as do all the authors I have been quoting, and no other writer that I know of pretends that Pithorā was a *natural* son of his father or adds Kolah or Golah to his name Our author has apparently confused the two names, and this seems the more likely, because he

near at hand, and the Sulṭān marched to Tarā'īn [7] to meet him. The whole of the Rānās [8] of Hind were along with the Rāe Kolah.

When the ranks were duly marshalled, the Sultān seized a lance and attacked the elephant on which Gobind Rāe [9],

has not said a single word about Pithorā's son having been set up by the Musalmāns, although they had to support him subsequently by force of arms

[7] This name is plainly and correctly written, in the different copies of our author's text, and all the authors I have quoted previously, as well as many others, call this place by the same name. Compilers of Histories of India, led astray by the *translations* of Firishtah [not by Firishtah himself] which supplied them with their materials, have turned this name into *Narain*. Dow has "*Sirauri* upon the banks of the Sirsutty," and BRIGGS, "*Narain*, now called *Tirowry*, on the banks of the *Soorsutty*." ELPHINSTONE, following Briggs, no doubt, calls it "*Tirowry*, between *Tanésar* and *Carnál*," and Dowson [Elliot INDIA, vol ii page 295], in the translation of this passage of our author's text, evidently trusting to Briggs's translation rather than to the original text, is led to believe our author wrong, but acknowledges, in a foot note, that "the text [our author's] has Taráín," and adds "but Firishta gives the name as Náráín, and says it was afterwards called Tiraurí. He places it on the banks of the Sarsutí fourteen miles from Thánisar and eighty from Dehli." Now all this is incorrect as far as Firishtah is concerned, even to the lithographed text of Briggs's *own revision*, for the former has Tarā'īn [ترائن] like other authors, not Narā' īn [نرائن]. Mīrzā Mughal Beg, who, about eighty years since, made a personal survey of these parts, and the territories further west, says that "on the Shāh Rāh [Royal Route] from Kamāl to Thānī-sar is A'ẓim-ābād-i-Talāwarī [تلاوری], where there is a large and lofty Rabāṭ of great strength and solidity which can be seen for miles round. Seven miles from this place, to the north, is Amīn-ghar, a large village with a large and lofty Rabāṭ likewise. About two miles from the village of Chatang is a small river, filled in the rainy season only, running from right to left, which joins the river Sursutī. Six miles from Amīn-ghar, still going northerly, is the city of Thānī-sar."

This is within a mile or two of the distance given by many other writers as well as Firishtah. There are several places called Talwanḍī, and one, on the road from Dihlī to Bhaṭnir, called Talwāṛah [تلواڑه], but no other Talāwaṛī. For an account of the engagement, as given in the Jamūn History, see next page.

[8] In some copies Rāes. other writers say, a number of Rājpūt princes.

[9] Thus styled [گوبند] and also Gobindah [گوبنده] in the oldest copies of the text. Some have كند and كوبند both of which modes of writing the name confirm the correctness of the above, which is a common Hindū name, but some more modern copies of the text have Kand [کند], Khānd [کهاند], and Khāndī [کهاندی]. Most other authors, including Firishtah, have this latter name also, but the Hindū bard, Chand, calls him Rāe Gobind, like our author in the oldest copies. He led the van of the Hindūs on an elephant. Translators of Firishtah make him commander of the whole, but Rāe Pithorā was himself an experienced leader: the other led the van. TOD (vol i p 119), says Chaond Rae, which the historians of "*Shabudin*" style "Khandirai, *was not brother* of Pirt'hwirájá" ! ! He states that he was of the Dahima race of Rājpūts, one of three brothers, the eldest of whom, Kaimas, was lord of Biana [Bīānah], and minister of Pirt'hwirájá, the second was

Rāe [Rājah] of Dihlī, was mounted, and on which elephant he moved about in front of the battle. The Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī, who was the Ḥaidar of the time, and a second Rustam, charged and struck Gobind Rāe on the mouth with his lance with such effect that two of that accursed one's teeth fell into his mouth. He launched a javelin at the Sultān of Islām and struck him in the upper part of the arm and inflicted a very severe wound[1]. The Sulṭān turned his charger's head round and receded, and from the agony of the wound he was unable to continue on horseback any longer. Defeat befell the army of Islām so that it was irretrievably routed, and the Sultān was very nearly falling from his horse. Seeing which, a lion [hearted] warrior, a Khalj[2] stripling, recognized the Sultān, and sprang up behind him, and, supporting him in his arms, urged the horse with his voice, and brought him out of the field of battle[3].

"Poondir, who commanded the frontier at Lahore" [the utter absurdity of this assertion I have already shown, I think, in note [1], page 466], and the third brother, Chaond Rae, was the principal leader in the last battle in which Pirt'hwirájá fell." All the Muhammadan historians and three Hindū chroniclers agree in the statement that this person, styled Gobind by some, and Khāndī by others, was Pithorā's *brother*, and that he was present in both battles, and was killed in the last.

[1] These are the author's exact words: there is nothing in the text about "on the other hand, returned the *blow*, &c." The سل or سلی signifies not *a blow* here, but a small spear or javelin, an Indian weapon, the point of which is sometimes barbed, and sometimes made with three barbs. From five to ten were taken in the hand [the left] at once, and launched at an enemy singly with the right.

[2] Not a Ghalzī Afghān, I beg leave to notice, but a Turk.

[3] Various are the different accounts given by authors respecting the incidents of this battle, and very erroneous and incorrect are the versions translated from Firishtah which, as *authentic statements are to be desired in all matters of history*, ought to be corrected, and more particularly respecting this important period of Indian history.

The *History of the Rājahs of Jamūn* states that "Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, in 587 H., determined to undertake an expedition against the fortress of Tabarhind, which was the strongest place belonging to the great Rājahs of Hind. Rae Pithorā, the Chohān, sovereign [Farmān-rawā] of Hindūstān, and eighth in descent from Bal Dīw, Chohān, advanced to give battle to the Sulṭān. They met at Tarā'īn-ghar, fourteen miles from Thānī-sar. During the engagement, Rāe Khānī [*sic in* MS.] Rāe, ruler of Dihlī on the part of his brother, from the back of an elephant on which he was mounted, with a *long* spear wounded the Sulṭān in the upper part of the arm. He would have fallen from his horse from the agony of the wound, had not some of his slaves come to him at the moment, and borne him out of the fight. The Sulṭān, having sustained this defeat, retired towards Ghaznīn, and, near the banks of the Rāwī, a deputation from the Rājah of Jamūn presented themselves."

On the Musalmān forces not seeing the Sultān, lamentation broke from them, until they reached a place where

Another history, written by a Hindū, says Kidi [کیدی] Rāe commanded his brother's army, and that, after the Sulṭān had wounded him in the mouth, he wounded the Sulṭān in the head with his spear, and the Sulṭān received another wound in the side [by whom inflicted is not said], and *he fell from his horse*, when a Khalj youth took him *on his own horse*, and, placing him before him, carried him safely out of the fight. Budā'ūnī also says the Sulṭān fell from his horse, and agrees with the above in the last clause of the sentence.

Other authors, including the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, and Taẕkarat-ul-Mulūk, state that Khānī Rāe commanded the van, and was leading on the enemy when the Sulṭān attacked him. They state that the Khalj youth was on foot at the time, and, seeing the state of the Sulṭān, he sprang up behind him, and carried him out of the *mêlée* to his own camp, whither his own troops had retired; and that the panic and anxiety which had arisen on its being found that the Sulṭān had not come out of the fight with the rest of his army subsided.

One of the oldest copies of our author's text here differs from the others collated to a considerable degree. It says that "the Khalj youth recognized the Sulṭān [in the mêlee and confusion], joined him, and *replaced* him on the horse's back [thus implying that he had fallen or had to dismount], cried out with his voice to urge the horse, and brought the Sulṭān out of the battle." This is the literal translation of the passage in that copy; and, in it, there is no mention of the youth having mounted the horse also.

The Sulṭān remained at Lāhor until his wound was healed before he returned to Ghaznīn.

But what say FIRISHTAH and his translators on this subject?

Dow, vol. i. page 138-9.

"In the year 587, he [*Mahommed*] marched again towards Hindostan, and, proceeding to *Ajmire*, took the capital of *Tiberhind*, where he left *Malleek Zia*, with above *a thousand chosen horse, and some foot*, to garrison the place. He himself was upon his way back, when he heard that *Pittu Ra*, the prince of *Ajmire*, with his brother *Candi Ra*, king of *Delhi*, in alliance with some other Indian princes, were marching towards *Tiberhind*, with two hundred thousand horse, and three thousand elephants. Mahommed determined *to return to the relief of the garrison*. He met the enemy at the village of *Sirauri*, upon the banks of the *Sirsutti*, fourteen miles from Tannassar, and eighty from *Delhi*, and gave them battle. Upon the first onset his right and left wings retired, being outflanked by the enemy, till, joining in the rear, his

Briggs, vol. i. p. 171—173.

"In the year 587, he [*Mahomed Ghoory*] marched again to Hindustan, and, proceeding towards *Ajmeer*, he took the *town* of *Bituhnda*, where he left *Mullik Zeea ood-Deen Tozuk* with above *a thousand chosen horse, and some foot* to form its garrison. While on his return, he heard that *Pithow Rae*, *Raja* of *Ajmeer*, with his brother *Chawand Rae*, the Raja of *Dehly*, in alliance with other Indian princes, were marching towards *Bituhnda* with 200,000 horse, and 3000 elephants. *Mahomed Ghoory* marched to the relief of his garrison; *but, passing beyond Bituhnda*, he encountered the enemy at the village of *Narain*, now called Tirowry, on the banks of the Soorsutty, fourteen miles from Thanisar, and seventy from Delhy. At the first onset his right and left wings, being outflanked, fell back, till, joining in the rear, his army formed a

the defeated army was safe from pursuit by the infidels.

army was formed into a circle Mahommed, who was in person in the center (*sic*) of the line when first formed, was told that his right and left wings were defeated, and advised to provide for his own safety *Enraged* at this *counsel, he smote the imprudent adviser, and rushed on towards the enemy, among whom he commenced, with a few followers, a great slaughter* The eyes of *Candi Ra*, king of *Delhi*, fell upon him *He drove* the elephant, upon which he was mounted, directly against him *Mahommed, rising from his horse, threw his lance with such force at the elephant, that he drove out three of his back teeth* [the elephant's ! !] In the meantime the *King* of *Delhi*, from above, pierced the Sultan through the right arm, and had almost thrown him to the ground , when *some* of his *chiefs* advanced to his rescue This gave an opportunity, to one of his faithful servants, to leap behind him as he was sinking from his horse, and, supporting him in his arms, he carried him from the field, which, by this time, was deserted almost by his whole army The enemy *pursued them near forty miles* "

circle *Mahomed Ghoory* was in person in the centre of his line, and, being informed that both wings were defeated, was advised to provide for his own safety *Enraged* at this counsel, HE CUT DOWN THE MESSENGER, *and, rushing on towards the enemy, with a few followers, committed terrible slaughter* The eyes of *Chawand Rae* falling on him, *he drove* his elephant directly against *Mahomed Ghoory*, who, perceiving his intention, charged and delivered his lance full into *the Raja's mouth, by which many of his teeth were knocked out* In the meantime, the Raja of *Dehly* pierced the king through the *right arm*, with an ARROW [! !] He had almost fallen, when *some of his chiefs* advanced to his rescue This effort to save him gave an opportunity to one of his faithful servants to leap up behind *Mahomed Ghoory*, who, faint from loss of blood, had nearly fallen from his horse, but was carried *triumphantly* off the field, although almost wholly deserted by his army, *which was pursued by the enemy nearly forty miles*," &c

MAURICE, MURRAY, ELPHINSTONE, MARSHMAN, and MEADOWS TAYLOR, and probably others, such as MILL and THORNTON, take their accounts from the above versions of DOW and BRIGGS Marshman adds, "*He* was pursued for forty miles by the victorious Hindoos, and *was happy to escape across the Indus*," perhaps unaware that he remained at Lāhor till his wound was healed [as Dow states] and that there was *no pursuit at all*

FIRISHTAH, from the revised text of BRIGGS has as follows —

"In 587 H , he [Shihāb-ud-Dīn] determined to enter Hindūstān, and he took the fort of *Pathindah* [پتهنده but the MSS I have examined have Bathindah بتهنده], which, in that day, had become the capital of Rājahs of great dignity, out of the hands of the men of the Rājah of *Ajmīr* He left Malik Ziyā-ud-Dīn, Tūlakī, in that fortress, with 1200 horsemen, each and every one of whom was selected and a picked man , and was desirous of returning Suddenly, information reached him, that Pitho Rāe, Wālī [a ruler, a prince, the governor of a province] of Ajmīr, in concert with his brother, Khāndī Rāe, Wālī of Dihlī, and bringing along with them several Rājpūt Rājahs, were advancing, by regular marches, with an army of 200,000 horse, and 3000 elephants, with the determination of retaking the fort of Pathindah [Bathindah ?] Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, abandoning his intention of returning [to Ghaznīn], advanced to meet them, and at the mouẓa' [place,

Suddenly the Sultān arrived. A number of Amīrs

district, village] of Tarā'īn, on the banks of the Sursutī, seven *kuroh* [distance of rather less than fourteen miles] from Thānī sar, now known as Tarāwarī [but in several MSS of Firishtah, which I have seen, it is ترزی not تراوری], and forty *kuroh* from Dihlī, an encounter and conflict took plac[e]. The right and left wings of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn having broke and face[d] about [it does not say that they were actually broken by the Hindūs, and [it] appears to mean that they declined the onset, or recoiled], and not a great number remained in the centre either [There is not a word about his arm[y] forming "*a circle*"] At this juncture one of the Sultān's confidential atte[n]dants represented [saying] "the Amīrs of the right and left [wings] who we[re] nourished by the beneficence and favours of your Court [or dynasty] n[ot] keeping their ground resolutely, have taken to flight, and the Afghān [Firishtah does not appear to have had authority for introducing Afghāns here, fro[m] the statements of the contemporary writers of these times] and Khalj Amīr[s] who were the commanders of the advance, who continually boasted of the[ir] valour and prowess, are not to be found [seen], and, should you prompt[ly] [I give the exact words, except adopting the second person plural for th[e] third] turn the reins of retrocession towards Lāhor, it seems expedient [so t[o] do]" *This speech not agreeing with the Sultān's temperament, he drew h[is] sword from its sheath, and, with the troops [remaining] of the centre, charged t[he] enemy's forces and commenced the conflict* [Firishtah then quotes some lin[es] to the effect that both friend and foe lauded his prowess] Suddenly the ey[e] of Khāndī Rāe, the Sipah-sālār [commander of the army] of Dihlī, falling o[n] the Sultān, he urged the mountain like elephant on which he was mounte[d] towards the Sultān, who at once seized his spear and made towards him, an[d] smote him in the mouth with such effect, that many of his teeth fell out [... Khāndī Rāe *likewise* [i e ,—which Briggs has read for ...—*arrow*] showe[d] the greatest audacity and agility, and, from the top of his elephant, inflicte[d] such a wound [with what weapon not said] on the upper part of the arm [... of the Sultān that he was nearly falling from his horse A Khalj youth o[n] foot [there is not a word about his chiefs coming to his rescue] discovered it, jumped up behind him on the horse, and, taking the Sultān in his arms, bor[e] him out of the battle-field, and conveyed him to the forces of the runawa[y] nobles which were twenty *kuroh* off, and the tumult and disquiet which ha[d] arisen, consequent on the defeat of the army of Islām, and not finding th[e] Sultān, subsided" There is not a word about *pursuit*

According to the Zain-ul Ma'āsir, quoted by Firishtah immediately afte[r] the above, "Sultan Mu'izz-ud Dīn, having become faint from the effects of th[e] wound, fell from his horse This not being noticed [in the *melé*], no one cam[e] to his aid Night intervened, and, when one watch of the night had passed a party of his Turkish slaves came to seek him, and went into the battle-fiel[d] and began searching among the slain The Sultān [who appears to hav[e] revived], recognizing the voices of his faithful slaves, acquainted them wit[h] his situation His slaves gave thanks for his safety, and, taking him on thei[r] shoulders, in turns, proceeded along throughout the night, and by day-daw[n] reached their own people"

This battle is said to have taken place in the fifteenth year of the reign o[f] Rāe Pithorā, and the Hindū writers state that this was the *seventh* time th[e] Sultān had invaded Hind, in all of which he had been defeated [4]

[4] The Malik ul Ḥājī, Ziyā ud Dīn [subsequently 'Ala-ud-Dīn], Muḥammad, the Sultān's niece's husband, was present in this battle See page 393.

Ghūrī youths, and other distinguished men, had noticed the Sultān, along with that lion-like Khaljī, had recognized him, and had gathered round him, and broke spears and made a litter and a stretcher, and had borne him to that halting-place. The people [now] became composed, and once more, through [the safety of] his life, the true faith acquired vigour, and the dispersed army, on the strength of the safety of the life of that Sultān-i-Ghazī, again came together[5], and retired, and turned their faces towards the Musalmān dominions.

The Ḳāzī of Tūlak[6] was left [in charge of] the fortress of Tabarhindah, and Rāe Pithorā appeared before the walls of that stronghold, and fighting commenced. For a period of thirteen months and a little over the place was defended. The following year the Sultān-ī-Ghāzī assembled the troops of Islām, and commenced his march towards Hindūstān, to avenge the [disaster of the] previous year[7].

[5] The idiom varies considerably here in nearly every copy. Some have—"On the strength of the safety of that Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī, the army came together again [or rallied]," &c.

[6] The same as mentioned at page 458.

[7] I have here also to notice, and enter my protest against, a statement respecting the character of Sultān Mu'izz ud Dīn, which Firishtah's translators have incorrectly given, and which neither Firishtah nor any other author asserts. In this instance the character of this Prince has been unjustly assailed, held up in a wrong light, and things are asserted which *never happened at all*.

Dow, vol. i. page 139.

"*Mahommed* remained a few months with his brother at *Ghor*, *who still kept the imperial title*, and then, returning to *Ghizni*, *spent the ensuing year in indolence and festivity. But, ambition again fermenting in his mind*, he recruited a noble army," &c.

Briggs, vol. i. page 173.

"*Mahomed* remained a few months with his brother at *Ghoor*, *who still retained the title of King* [he *never lost* the title of Sulṭān], and then, returning to *Ghizny*, *spent the ensuing year in pleasure and festivity*. At length, having recruited an army," &c.

Firishtah says: "Sulṭān Shihāb ud-Dīn, having taken leave of his brother [at Fīrūz-koh], proceeded to Ghaznīn, and, with the determination of taking revenge [on Pithorā], *having made sleep and rest unlawful to himself* [I give the words literally], in a short time assembled troops, brave and ruthless," &c. This is a specimen of "*pleasure and festivity*," certainly!

Here is another specimen of the same kind, and it is repeated by one writer after another as undoubtedly true and correct.

Dow, page 140.

"When his [*Mahommed's*] victorious spears had advanced as far as *Peshawir*, an old sage of *Ghor*, prostrating

Briggs, page 174.

"When he had advanced as far as *Pishawur*, an old sage of *Ghoor*, prostrating himself before him, said,

The author heard from a trustworthy person, a distinguished man of the highland district of Tūlak, whom they used to style by the title of Mu'īn-ud-Dīn, Ūshī[*], who said: "I was in that army along with the Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī, and the number of cavalry composing the army of Islām that year was one hundred and twenty thousand arrayed

himself before him, said, 'O King, we trust to thy conduct and wisdom, but as yet thy design has been a subject of much dispute and speculation among us.' *Mahommed* replied, 'Know, old man, that since the time of my defeat in *Hindostan*, notwithstanding external appearances, I have never slumbered in ease, or waked but in sorrow and anxiety. I have therefore determined, with this army, to recover my lost honour from those idolaters, or die in the noble attempt,'" &c.

'O King, we trust in thy conduct and wisdom, but as yet thy design has been subject of much speculation among us.' *Mahomed Ghoory* replied, 'Know, old man, that since the time of my defeat in *Hindustan*, notwithstanding external appearances, I have never slumbered in ease, or waked but in sorrow and anxiety. I have therefore determined, with this army, to recover my lost honour from those idolaters, or die in the attempt," &c.

Here, again, ELPHINSTONE has been deceived, and, quoting BRIGGS, further disseminates a wrong translation. MARSHMAN says [vol. i. p. 44] that "*he* [Shahab] *stated*" this "*in one of his letters*," but, *unfortunately*, Firishtah himself *says nothing of the kind!* His words are:—"When his [the Sulṭān's] standards, the emblems of victory, reached the Peshāwar territory, one of the Pīrs [a holy man, a saint] of Ghūr, who was [sufficiently] bold, bowing his forehead to the ground [only Pīrs are not wont to do so], represented [saying], 'It is not understood at all whither the Sulṭān goeth, nor what his object is.' Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-Dīn replied: 'O such an one [فلان]! know for certain that, from the time I have been defeated by the Rājahs of Hind, I have abstained from my wife's bed [I do not give the literal words to this part of the sentence, but it tends to show that he had but one wife, and his having but one child appears to prove it], and have not changed the clothes on my body, and, having passed this year in grief, sorrow, and sadness, I have not permitted the Amīrs of Ghūr, of the Khalj, and of Khurāsān, who, notwithstanding their ancient servitude, abandoned me in the battle and fled, to present themselves in my presence, nor have I seen their faces during this period. Now, placing dependence on the goodness of God, I am proceeding towards the country of Hind, and I have no expectation of the services of those old [ancient] Amīrs, who, from their cradles to this time, have been nourished by the favours of this [my] family.' The Pīr, hearing this statement, kissed the ground of service, and said, 'Victory and success attend the followers at the sovereign's stirrup,'" &c. This is rather different to the statements above.

[*] The name of a town of Farghānah, and also of a place near Baghdād. The person here referred to is no other than the celebrated Mu'īn-ud-Dīn, Chistī, whose tomb is at Ajmīr, and so much frequented. The Emperor Akbar paid several visits to it. Some writers say that he only came into India towards the close of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's career, and stayed to propagate the Musalmān faith.

in defensive armour [9]" When the Sultān-i-Ghāzī with such-like organization and such a force arrived near unto Rāe Kolah Pithorā, he had gained possession of the fortress of Tabarhindah by capitulation, and had pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Tarā'īn [1] The Sultān [now] made

[9] It does not appear to have been steel armour The meaning of the word used is, "a covering, a garment, vestment worn in battle, and also put on horses ,"—defensive armour of some sort, some of steel, perhaps, and some of leather This is what Firishtah appears to have turned into "helmets inlaid with jewels, and armour inlaid with silver and gold "

[1] See note [1], page 459 Hasan Nizāmī, in the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, a contemporary writer, who began his work the year before Sulṭān Mu'izz ud-Dīn's assassination, and who *begins with this expedition*, does not mention where this battle took place, but mentions that Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, on reaching Lāhor, despatched the Sadr-i-Kabīr, Kiwām-ul-Mulk [these are his titles, not his name], Rukn [Rúhu is a mistake]-ud-Dīn, Hamzah, to Ajmīr to offer his ultimatum to Pithorā Rāe, but his inflated style greatly obscures the details. Some writers state that two emissaries were sent The Sulṭān called upon Pithorā Rāe to embrace the Musalmān faith and acknowledge his supremacy. The Chohān prince sent an indignant reply, and, having received aid from most of the Rājahs of Hind, with 300,000 horse—Rājpūts, and some Afghāns, one author says—advanced to meet him, and they again met on the former battle-field Pithorā Rāe sent a message to the Sulṭān, saying, "It is advisable thou shouldst retire to thine own territory, and we will not follow thee" The Sulṭān, in order to deceive him, and throw him off his guard, replied "It is by command of my brother, my sovereign, that I come here and endure trouble and pain give me sufficient time that I may despatch an intelligent person to my brother, to represent to him an account of thy power, and that I may obtain his permission to conclude a peace with thee under the terms that Tarhind [Tabarhindah], the Panjāb, and Multān shall be ours, and the rest of the country of Hind thine " The leaders of the infidel forces, from this reply, accounted the army of Islām as of little consequence, and, without any care or concern, fell into the slumber of remissness That same night the Sulṭān made his preparations for battle, and, after the dawn of the morning, when the Rāj pūts had left their camp for the purpose of obeying the calls of nature, and for the purpose of performing their ablutions, he entered the plain with his ranks marshalled Although the unbelievers were amazed and confounded, still, in the best manner they could, they stood to fight, and sustained a complete overthrow Khāndī Rāe [the Gobind Rāe of our author], and a great number besides of the Rāes of Hind, were killed, and Pithorā Rāe was taken prisoner within the limits of Sursuti, and put to death "

There are, however, other versions of these events which although partly traditionary, bear some measure of truth, and it will be well to notice them The History of Jamūn, which agrees in some measure with the Rājpūt traditions, states that Pithorā Rāe, having been apprised by certain informers of the part the Rājah Bij, or Bijayī Dīw, had taken in aiding the Musalmāns, proposed to march against him, and chastise him At this juncture, hostility arose between Pithorā Rāe and Rājah Jai Chandra, ruler of Ḳinnauj [the details of which are too long for insertion here], respecting his daughter In 588 H Sulṭān Shihāb-ud Dīn, having learned the state of Pithorā Rāe's affairs, prepared to avenge his previous defeat, and Bijayī Dīw, Rājah of

disposition of his forces The centre division of the army, the baggage, the standards and banners, his canopy of

Jamūn, despatched his son, Nar-singh Dīw, with a body of his forces to join him, and Rājah Jai Chandra of Kinnauj, who had been in communication with the Sultān [TOD also says "the Princes of Kanouj and Putun invited *Shabudin* [Shihāb-ud-Dīn?] to aid their designs of humiliating the Chohan [Rāe Pithorā] The envoy was Chand Poondir, *the vassal chief of Lahore, and guardian of that frontier*, speedily joined his camp with his available forces"! vol 1 page 256] Perhaps the writer was unaware that Lāhor had been in the possession of the Ghaznawīds for *more than a century*, and that *Shabudin*, so called, had only taken it from the last of that dynasty *five or six years before*, and since that time his *own governor* had held it The Sultān came in contact with Rāe Pithorā on that same field of Talāwarī, and formed his forces into two divisions The troops of Jamūn and Kinnauj were to oppose Khāndī Rāe of Dihlī, while the Sultān, with his own forces, encountered Rāe Pithorā The battle was obstinately maintained, and it is related that Khāndī Rāe fell by the sword of Nar-singh Dīw of Jamūn, and the Sultān himself slew several of the enemy Rāe Pithorā was captured alive and taken to Ghaznīn, where he was deprived of his sight For further details on this subject, see page 485, note [8]

Alfī gives another version of this battle, which is certainly curious It states that the Sultān, having taken the route by Purshor, arrived within the limits of Dihlī [the territory of?] Pitho Rāe and Kandī [*sic*] Rāe prepared to oppose him, on which Mu'izz ud Dīn made a precipitate retreat Rāe Pitho was following in pursuit of him until they had passed beyond Lāhor, and had reached the mouẓa' [village or district] called Shihāb ud-Dīn [Shihāb-ud-Dīn-pūr?], when the Sultān came to a stand His object in retiring had been to separate Rāe Pitho from his own territory, and, at the place above mentioned, a battle took place, in which Rāe Pitho was defeated and taken prisoner After this the Sultān advanced upon Ajmīr He subdued that territory, and put Rāe Pitho to death, after which he made Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn, Ī-bak, governor of it, and returned to Ghaznīn

Another writer states that "Pithorā Rāe was killed in the battle, and Khāndī Rāe, the leader, escaped in safety," whilst another says that "both were captured and slain"

The statements of both Dow and BRIGGS are equally imaginary with respect to the battle, where they say —

DOW, vol 1 page 142	BRIGGS, vol 1 page 177
"The Mussulman troops, as if now only serious in fight, made such dreadful slaughter, that this prodigious army, once shaken, *like a great building was lost in its own ruins*"	"The Moslems, as if they now had only began to be in earnest, committed such havoc, that this prodigious army, once shaken, *like a great building tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins*"

This last sentence is quoted by several writers, including MAURICE, ELPHINSTONE and MARSHMAN, and MEADOWS TAYLOR says ["The Student's Manual of Indian History," page 92], "'Like a great building,' *writes Firishtah*, 'it tottered to its fall,'" &c, but, unfortunately, Firishtah never wrote anything of the kind His language here is particularly simple Referring to the final charge by the Sultān, he says "The dust of the battle-field was drenched with the blood of the brave, and, in the twinkling of an eye, he threw the ranks of

state, and the elephants, were left several miles in the rear. He marshalled his ranks, and was advancing leisurely. The light-armed and unincumbered horsemen he had directed should be divided into four divisions, and had appointed them to act against the infidels on four sides; and the Sultān had commanded, saying: "It is necesssary that, on the right and left, and front and rear, 10,000 mounted archers should keep the infidel host in play; and, when their elephants, horsemen, and foot advance to the attack, you are to face about and keep the distance of a horse's course in front of them[2]." The Musalmān troops acted according to these instructions, and, having exhausted and wearied the unbelievers, Almighty God gave the victory to Islām, and the infidel host was overthrown.

Rāe Pithorā, who was riding an elephant, dismounted and got upon a horse and fled [from the field], until, in the neighbourhood of [the] Sursutī[3], he was taken prisoner, and they despatched him to hell; and Gobind Rāe of Dihlī was slain in the engagement. The Sultān recognized his head through those two teeth which had been broken. The seat of government, Ajmīr, with the whole of the Siwālikh[4] [territory], such as Hānsī, Sursutī, and other

the enemy into commotion. At this crisis Khar-mīl ['Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, *son of* Khar-mīl] and other Amīrs, from different directions, charged, and overthrew the Hindū troops." This is all: he then mentions the fall of Khāndī Rāe and other chiefs.

[2] The object was to harass, and to induce them to break their order. The Sulṭān's tactics, from our author's description, as well as that of others, are not very clear. One writer, however, throws a little more light upon the matter; and from that it appears that the Sulṭān, leaving the central portion of his army—about half his entire force—some miles in the rear, with the baggage and other *matériel*, divided the remainder into five divisions, four of which, each of 10,000 light-armed horse—mounted archers—were to attack the enemy right and left, and front and rear, and retire, pretending flight. This mode of fighting having been carried on from about 9 A.M. to the time of afternoon prayer, the Sulṭān, considering that the enemy had been sufficiently wearied, with the remainder—his fifth division, the flower of his troops, consisting of some 12,000 horse—made a final charge, and put the Hindū army to a complete rout.

[3] The ancient Saraswatī. Probably our author means in the tract near the Sursutī: the word is سُرسُتی. Ibn-i-Baṭūṭah calls Sursutī a great city. In Akbar's time Sursutī was one of the Maḥalls of Sirkār Sanbhal.

[4] Like some other historians, our author calls that tract of country, lying south of the Himālayah, between the Sutlaj and the Ganges, and extending as far south as Hānsī, by the name of Siwālikh; but some other native writers, including the author of the History of Jamūn, include the whole of the Alpine

tracts, were subjugated. These events took place, and this victory was achieved, in the year 588 H.[5], and the Sulṭān placed Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak[6], in the fort of Kuhṟām[7], and returned [home again][8].

Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn advanced from Kuhṟām to Mīrath, and took that city and fortress, and, in the following year, he possessed himself of the capital city, Dihlī[9]. In this same

tracts below the higher range, from the Ganges to Kashmīr, that is to say, the extreme northern boundary of India—under the name of Koh-i-Siwālikh. Another writer says Siwālikh is the ancient name of the territory of Nāg awr. See page 200 also. The Sulṭān returned to Ghaznīn along the skirts of the hills of the northern Panjāb.

[5] Authors generally agree respecting this date; but, as already noticed, our author, in another place, states this was the year in which the campaign against Sultān Shāh took place. See note [2], page 456.

[6] For the meaning of Ī-bak, see under his reign, next Section.

[7] As written with the vowel points—not Kahrām.

[8] Our author leaves out entirely all mention of the son of Rāe Pithorā having been set up at Ajmīr as a subject and tributary ruler, as mentioned in the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir and subsequent histories, and hence his name, together with the Sulṭān's also, was impressed on the coins issued by him during the short period he ruled at Ajmīr.

[9] Mr. E. Thomas [COINS OF THE PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLÍ], page 22, note [1], says "The historical evidence as to the capture of Dehlí by the Moslems, in 587 H., is complete and consistent with the best authorities," &c. He is mistaken, however, even on his own authorities. Ḥasan Niẓāmī, in the Tāj-ul Ma'āṣir [Elliot, vol. ii. page 216], gives *no date* at all, but, in the following page, says, "*in the month of Ramaẓān* [which is the *ninth* month], 588 H.," Ḳutb-ud-Dīn "*marched against Jatwan*" to relieve Hānsī. After this he marched against Mīrath and took it, and, *after that again*, marched towards Dihlī, and invested and took it [page 219]. I have compared the text of the Tāj-ul Ma'āṣir, and find the above date quite correct. Our author, Minhāj-i-Sarāj [the version given at page 300 of ELLIOT, which is evidently translated from the printed text, is incorrect and imperfect], who often contradicts his own statements and dates, after saying here that the overthrow of Rāe Pithorā took place in 588 H., in his account of Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, farther on, says that Ḳutb-ud-Dīn took possession of Mīrath in 587 H., but immediately endeavours to correct himself, and says "From Mīrath he issued forth, *in the year* 588 H., and captured Dihlī, and, in the year 590 H.," accompanied the Sulṭān against Jai Chand, &c. The fact is that the Hindūs, having been overthrown in 588 H., in the battle of Tarā'in, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn was left at Kuhṟām, from which, towards the close of the same year, he moved against Jatwān, and relieved Hānsī, and then proceeded against Mīrath. These movements must have occupied some three months, and, in the last days of 588 H., or early in 589 H., he invested Dihlī, and gained possession of it. Some works, however, such as the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, Haft-Iḳlīm, Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh, and Firishtah, say Dihlī was taken in 588 H. The Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh-i-Hind says, "Mu'izz-ud-Dīn advanced against Dihlī, after taking Ajmīr, and, on the kinsman of Rāe Pithorā and Khāndī [Gobind?] Rāe, who then held possession of it, tendering tribute and submission, he was allowed to retain it, and the next

year likewise—589 H.—he [Ḳutb-ud-Dīn] took the fort of Kol. In the year 590 H., the Sultān [again] marched from Ghaznīn and advanced towards Ḳinnauj and Banāras, and, in the vicinity of Chandwār[1], he overthrew Rāe Jai-Chand[2], and by that victory three hundred and odd elephants fell into his hands.

Under the shadow of the ascendancy and auspices of that victorious and just monarch, victory was conferred upon his slave, the Malik-i-Karīm [the Beneficent Malik], Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, so that he continued to subdue the territory of Hindūstān and parts adjacent, namely, the state of Nahrwālah, and Thankīr[3], the fort of Gwāliyūr,

year, 589 H., Kuṭb ud-Dīn, who had been left at Kuhṛām, took it, and made it the seat of government,' and, in this, the works quoted above agree. The statement of our author, backed by the statement of Faṣīḥ-ī, and the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, and some others, is to be depended upon; but 587 H. is out of the question altogether, although that year is given in the Khulāṣat ul-Akhbār, and one or two others. If 587 H. is correct, in what year was Rāe Pithorā defeated the first time? See also note [2], page 456. The year 589 H. is a somewhat remarkable one:—Dihlī was made the capital of Muhammadan India; Richard Cœur de Lion fought in Palestine; Salah ud-Dīn, Yūsuf, Sulṭān of Miṣr, died; and Changiz Khān entered into friendly relations with Ūng Khān.

[1] In some copies Chandwāl and Jandwāl, and in some other authors Chandwāī and Chandīwar. The only place bearing a similar name at this time, and in the direction indicated, is what is styled Chandpūr and Chandanpūr, in the district of Farrukhābād, on the route from Bareilī to Fatḥ-ghaṛ, Lat. 27° 27', Long. 79° 42'.

[2] That is, he turned his arms against Ḳinnauj and Banāras. The Rājah of Ḳinnauj and Banāras, his former ally, according to the Hindū accounts, against Rāe Pithorā, had assembled numerous forces, in consequence of Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak's, aggressive policy, and was about to march against him. It was to support Kuṭb-ud-Dīn that the Sultān again came into India, and an encounter [the Hindū writers say "several" encounters] took place between them on the Jūn [Jamna], in which the Rājah [Jai-Chandra] was slain. Some say as many as 600 and 640 elephants, one of which was a white one, were captured, besides a vast amount of other booty. The white elephant is probably the same as was presented subsequently by Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, the Sulṭān's nephew, to Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh. Firishtah says the white elephant, which was taken on this occasion, soon after died. Jai-Chandra was killed in this action, and his body could not be recognized. At length, after much search, a body was found, but was so disfigured with wounds that it could not be distinguished for certain by his people; but, on examining the mouth, it was found to be the body of the Rājah, from the fact of his teeth being fastened in with *pegs* of gold [.. signifies a peg, pin, &c., not a *plate*], he being an old man. The probability is they were false teeth, or a set not his own, fastened by gold pins or wires. His stronghold, Asnī, was also taken.

[3] Here our author seems confused. In his account of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, he does not say that Kuṭb-ud-Dīn took Thankīr, quite the contrary, and, in his

and Budā'ūn, the whole of which he took, the dates of every one of which will, please God, be subsequently recorded in the [account of the] Kutbi victories [4]

When the august Sultān, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of [Bahā-ud-Dīn] Sām, departed this life in the city of Hirāt, the victorious Sultān, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of Sām, was on the frontiers of Ṭūs, and Sarakhs, of Khurāsān [5], and, with the purpose of performing the

account of Bahā-ud-Dīn, Tughril [Section XX], says that Sultān Mu'izz ud-Dīn himself took it, and afterwards made it over to Tughril, which is correct There is great discrepancy here, too, among authors The Tāj ul-Ma'āṣir, Alfī, and others, say the Sultān marched against it, and then marched on Gwāliyūr, the Rājah of which agreed to pay tribute, and paid a large sum down He was allowed to retain his territory, on these terms, for a time, and the Sultān returned to Ghaznīn Alfī says he took Thankīr, the present Bīānah, in 590 H, Budā'ūnī says 591 H, and Tāj ul-Ma'āṣir says in 592 H See account of Kutb ud-Dīn, next Section

[4] That is to say, the victories gained by Kutb ud-Dīn, Ī bak

[5] We now come to "Proceedings West of the Indus" [See Elliot, INDIA, vol ii page 297], and very important proceedings they are, and most of the proceedings hitherto related by our author have occurred *west* of the Indus Ghaznīn, as well as Ghūr, is *west* of the Indus Our author takes good care to trumpet the successes of the Ghūrīs, but conceals their reverses He appears to have forgotten that, when Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn left Ṭūs, and abandoned the expedition against Khurāsān, on receiving intimation of the death of his elder brother at Hirāt, he left, in command of a large force at Ṭūs, and parts around, Muḥammad-i Khar nak, the chief of the Amīrs of Ghūr, and of the Ghūrīān champions, a second Rustam in valour He began carrying his depredations as far as Abīward, made some of the Khwārazmī nobles captive, and slew a great number of men Subsequently, he pushed on as far as Trāk against Tāj-ud Dīn, Khalj, a Khwārazmī officer The latter sent his son to Muḥammad-i-Khar-nak as a hostage for himself, and, on the return of the latter towards Ṭūs again, the Amīr of Maraghah sent his son to him also Muḥammad i Khar-nak, becoming arrogant at this success, turned his face towards Marw News now reached him that a force from Khwārazm had arrived near Marw by way of the desert He advanced to meet it by way of Rūe When the two armies came in contact, good fortune smiled upon the Khwārazmī forces, and, although Muḥammad-i-Khar-nak's troops were twice as numerous, the Khwārazmīs charged them, and overthrew them Muḥammad-i-Khar-nak, by a thousand contrivances, succeeded in throwing himself into Ṭūs The Khwārazmī troops followed, made breaches in the walls, and took him captive, and, fearing his fury likewise, one of the Amīrs—Amīn Malik [styled, by our author, Malik Khān, of Hirāt, the Amīn i-Ḥājib, at page 415, and see page 287, note [9]]—struck off his head, and despatched it to Khwārazm to the Sultān He greatly disapproved of this act, but it filled Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn with amazement and anxiety, for Muḥammad i Khar-nak was the most valiant of his champions, and the pillar of his army Such was his intrepidity, and the strength of his arm, that the Sultāns frequently pitted him in combat against the lion and the elephant, and he could overcome both, and could break the leg of a three year old horse with his hands This

mourning ceremonies for his brother, he came to Bādghais of Hirāt. Having performed the mourning rites, he nominated different Maliks to the several fiefs of the kingdom of Ghūr[6] He gave the city of Bust, and the districts of Farāh and Isfizār to his late brother's son, Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, son of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, and to Malik Ziyā-ud-Dīn[7], the Pearl of Ghūr, who was uncle's son of both the Sultāns, and the son-in-law of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, the territory of Ghūr and Garmsīr, namely, the throne of Fīrūz-koh, and the town and territory of Dāwar[8], and also presented him with two elephants To Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Alb-[Arsalān]-i-Ghāzī, son of Kazil Arsalān, Saljūkī, who was the son of a sister[9] of the two Sultāns, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn gave the city of Hirat [and its dependencies], after which

is the person styled *Mahomed Zeeruk, Prince of Murv*, by Briggs, and *Zireek, Prince of Murve*, by Dow In the revised text of Firishtāh, his name is turned into خرنک [Khur Beg]'

It was after this defeat of Muhammad-i Kharnak that Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, was urged by his ministers and nobles to advance against Hirāt, as the sons [son and son-in law] of the late Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i Sām, were quarrelling about the inheritance, and their nobles were inclined to join his service Consequently in Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 600 H, the Sultān marched towards Hirāt for the second time, and Alb-i-Ghazī, the sister's son of the two Sultān brothers, surrendered that stronghold to him, as already related in note [2], page 257 Muhammad-i Kharnak must be the same person as is referred to at page 344, the son of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, son of Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn Kharnak [son of 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Al-Husain], the uncle of the Sultāns Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and the former's full name would be Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad 'Alī-i Kharnak, and he was *second* cousin of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn and his brother

My note [2], page 257, will show why and with what object the Sulṭān was between Tūs and Sarakhs, where he heard of his brother's death

[6] He divided the ancestral dominions amongst the family of Sām His brother had died in the fifth month of 599 H, and, from this date only, authors state, "he assumed the title of Sulṭān," but this must mean, that from that date he assumed the title of Sulṭān-ul A'ẓam—the *greatest* Sulṭān—which had been his brother and sovereign's title, his own, previous to his brother's death, being only Sultān-ul-Mu'aẓẓam—the *great* Sulṭān—as shown by his coins

[7] This is the Malik-ul Hājī, who, after he received the investiture of Ghūr and Fīrūz koh, received the title of Sulṭān 'Ala ud Dīn See pages 391, 397, and 417

[8] Here, too, the idiom differs in the copies of the text in the same manner as previously alluded to

[9] One sister, the elder, married Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, of Bāmīān, another married Alb-Arsalan-i-Ghāzī, son of Ḳazil Arsalān, Saljūḳī, and the third was the mother of Tāj-ud Dīn, Zangī, but the father is not mentioned See page 342, and note [3], page 425

he returned again to Ghaznīn, and brought along with him to that city some of the Amīrs and Maliks of Ghūr to serve under him, and commenced his preparations for an expedition against Khwārazm [1].

In the year 601 H., he marched his forces into the Khwārazm territory, and Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, fell back discomfited [2] before the Ghaznīn forces and

[1] This expedition was undertaken to recover what had been lost, and avenge the defeat and death of Muḥammad-i Khar-nak. See note [2], page 257.

[2] Sulṭān Muḥammad's "falling back discomfitted" appears from the sequel. The Sulṭān's object was to defend his capital. No action whatever took place between them until the Ghūrīs appeared in the neighbourhood of the city, and took up a position east of the Shaṭṭ mentioned under.

Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, having become aware of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's designs of carrying war into his enemy's country, and his vast preparations, hastened back from Khurāsān, by way of the desert, to Khwārazm, and his people prepared to give the Ghūrīs a warm reception. The Sulṭān asked for aid from Khurāsān, both in shape of horse and foot, and Gūr Khān of Ḳarā Khiṭā was also asked for assistance. Sulṭān Muhammad's camp was fixed on the western bank of the Shaṭṭ-i Nūdwār or Nūdawār [نودوار]—our author's Karā-Sū, no doubt, but another work says the bank of the Nūr—and, in a short space of time, 70,000 men assembled. "The Ghūrīān forces were vast in numbers, and contained so many elephants," says Yāfa-ī, "that, had they desired, they might have drained the Jīḥūn." But, setting aside all exaggeration, the number is said to have been 140,000 men, and about 300 or 400 great elephants. The Jāmi' ut-Tawārīkh, which constantly copies Yāfa-ī, says 70,000 warriors, and elephants [besides followers?]. Arrived on the banks of the Jīhūn, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, took up a position on the east side of the Shaṭṭ, and pitched his camp, and gave orders to search for a ferry in order to cross over next day, and attack the Khwārazmī forces.

Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was engaged in arranging his elephants, and making his preparations for crossing next morning at dawn, when news, suddenly and unexpectedly, reached him that Sulṭān Muhammad had arrived, and along with him Sulṭān 'Usmān of Samrḳand [his son-in-law subsequently] and that the Khiṭā-ī forces were pushing on. Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, finding that he was much in the same position as the "Lords of the Elephant"—"Hast thou not beheld how the Lord of Lords dealt with the Lords of the Elephant? Did He not make their evil design the means of drawing them into error, and sent against them flocks of birds, which cast upon them lumps of burnt clay which rendered the perfidious like unto the corn that has been reaped?" [Kur'ān Chap. c. 5]—and that destruction awaited him if he remained, resolved to retire. He directed that the whole of the heavy material should be burnt during the night, and his army began to retire along the banks of the Jīḥūn, but they were pursued by the Khwārazmīs next day at dawn, and, at Hazār-Asp [afterwards destroyed by the Mughals. Guzīdah and Jāmi' ut-Tawārīkh call it Hazār Ṣaf], the Ghūrīs faced about and came to a stand, and drew up to fight. Sulṭān Muhammad, with his forces, fell upon the right wing of the Ghūrīs, and overthrew it, and the rest gave way, pursued by the Khwārazmīs. In this affair several of the Amīrs of Ghūr, and a great number of men were

retired to Khwārazm. When the Sultān-i-Ghāzī appeared before the gates of Khwārazm, and carried on hostilities for some days, the people of Khwārazm commenced engaging the Ghūrīs on the bank [3] of the aqueduct which had been drawn from the river Jīhūn towards the east of the city, and the name of which place and water is Ḳarā-Sū [4] [the Black Water], and of the Amīrs of Ghūr several persons were slain and taken prisoners in that engagement.

As the capture of [the city of] Khwārazm was not accomplished on account of the scarcity of the appliances of the Ghaznīn forces, the length of the campaign, and the lack of forage, the Sultān withdrew his troops from the gates of Khwārazm [5] and retired along the banks of the Jīhūn, and towards Balkh. The forces of Khitā, and the Maliks and Amīrs of Turkistān had arrived on the banks of the Jīhūn, and had possessed themselves of the route of the army of Islām. When the Sultān-i-Ghāzī reached Andkhūd [6], on a Tuesday, at the time of evening prayer [7], the van of the infidels of Turkistān reached the Sultān's position, and set to to fight. The commander of the van of the army of Islām was the Sālār [chief, leader, &c.], Ḥusain-i-Khar-mīl, and he put the infidels to the rout. He was one of the Maliks of

taken prisoners. After a time the Khwārazmīs gave up the pursuit, and Sulṭān Muhammad returned to Khwārazm, where he gave a great banquet, and made great rejoicing.

In this action the Ghūrīs lost still more of their war material and elephants, and they continued their retreat towards Andkhūd [Guzīdah says, within the limits of Tāl-kān] and, on reaching it, found that the troops of Gūr Khān of Karā-Khiṭā, under Bānīko of Tarāz, were there posted to bar their retreat, and appeared on all sides of them. The Ghūrīs fought with great bravery from dawn to the setting of the sun, and darkness put an end to the fray, in which, according to Yāfi'ī, the Ghūrīs lost 50,000 men. Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says the Ghūrīs were broken on the first charge of the Khiṭā-īs. See following page for a specimen of our author's exaggeration.

[3] Some copies have "on the *hither* side or bank of the aqueduct"!

[4] The Karā-Sū is some eight or nine miles from the city—or rather the city here referred to.

[5] Almost as absurd a reason as our Central Asian *oracles* pronounced would render the success of the Russians against the same territory "utterly impossible," a few months ago. Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was only five days before the place. The preceding note [2] shows why the Ghūrīs had to retire.

[6] Not Andkhod. See note on this in the account of Kabā-jah farther on.

[7] He is particular about the day of the week and time of day, but not the day of the month.

Juzarwān[8]. He at once represented to the Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī the fact of the success of the Islāmī forces and the repulse [!] of the infidel troops "It is advisable," he said, "that the sovereign of Islām should command that the army of Islām should mount at once and pursue the routed infidels, and fall upon them unexpectedly, whereby a great victory may be achieved[9]"

The Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī replied: "For years past I have been seeking such an encounter as this. I shall not be found to hold back: to-morrow, at dawn, by the guidance of the Most High, we will do battle face to face, and see unto whom Almighty God will bestow the victory I shall at least have acquired the merit of having fought for the faith as by creed enjoined" Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Khar-mīl[1], perceiving that the mind of the Sultān-i-Ghāzī was imbued with this intention, was convinced that the Sulṭān gave vent to these words by virtue of unbounded reliance in the true faith, and the ardour of piety, [for regard had to be given to the fact] on the other hand, that the host of the infidels which had come upon them was countless, and all fresh and calm, while the Musalmān army was wearied by the march from Khwārazm, and the horses were emaciated, and would not be strong enough to withstand the enemy, and he withdrew from the service of the Sultān, and, with the whole of his retinue and followers to the number of five thousand horse, set out, at night, towards Juzarwān[2], and almost all the troops [also] whose horses were weak and emaciated departed

[8] This place has been often mentioned as Guzarwān and as above. *g* and *j* are interchangeable

[9] In the next paragraph our author contradicts this absurd statement

[1] The same who after this was Wālī of Hirāt His conduct here was in keeping with his doings there See note [2], page 257

[2] One copy only has "the *town* of Juzarwān," but it is a comparatively modern copy There was a town, probably, as well as a district so called

This desertion of the Sulṭān by 'Izz-ud Dīn, Husain, son of Khar mīl, appears to have given rise to the improbable story related by Firishtah and some others, and repeated by Briggs in his translation of Firishtah, but Dow does not give the whole This story is repeated and re echoed by Briggs' copyists, and people are led to imagine that Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn's most trusted, most devoted, and loyal slave, whom he delighted to honour, and whom he intended as his successor, had refused to admit his master and sovereign into Ghaznīn, of which he is styled governor, after the Sulṭān's defeat and accommodation with the allied forces of Khiṭā and Sulṭān 'Usmān We know that Taj-ud-Dīn,

In the morning, notwithstanding that only a few horsemen of the centre division and his own slaves remained

I-yal-dūz, held the government of Karmān, but where is it stated that he held Ghaznīn at all at that time? It appears that he had not been removed from Karmān up to the period of the Sulṭān's death, and the honour shown to him by Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, only a few months after his return from Khwārazm, when marching against the Khokhars, precludes the possibility of I-yal-dūz's having acted in the way asserted by Firishtah, and it was only when Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, conferred on him the investiture of Ghaznīn, with a deed of manumission, and the title of Sulṭān, that he proceeded thither from his government of Karmān. See page 500, note [4]. It is also stated that another of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's chiefs "*went straight*" from the field of battle at Andkhūd to "Mooltan," and seized it. Where Andkhūd? Where Multān? This story, absurd though it seems, appears to have emanated from the Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir, and something similar is related in Guzīdah, the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, and in Alfī, noticed farther on; but *no mention whatever* is made in these works about closing the gates of Ghaznīn by I-yal-dūz [Iladd-giz, in Guzīdah] or any other person; and it appears to have received great amplification from Firishtah himself, for the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, a work of authority, written a few years before, says not one word about anything of the kind. See also note [2], page 481. The Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir has the name of this rebel written in four different ways, in as many copies of the text, namely, Ī-bak-i-Bāk [ايبك باك], I-bak-i-Nā-pāk [ايبك ناپاك], and the unintelligible names of ايتكه بال or ابكه, but in a fourth لك بال without points. [It is evidently the same name as occurs in Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh—Lik-Tāl [ليك بال]. Guzīdah styles him Ī-bak, Badshah of Multān!!] "a Turkī slave—one of the most trusted servants of the kingdom fled from the field of battle with the Khwārazmīs, thinking that the Sulṭān had been killed, and some calamity had befallen the state, and made for Multān with all possible despatch. Arrived there, he stated to the Amīr-i-Dād [chief justice], Hasan, that he had important matters to communicate to him in private within the Ḳaṣr, by the royal command, and which it was by no means advisable should become known to others." Having succeeded in getting a private audience, he gave a sign "to a mean Turk" who assassinated the Amīr-i-Dad, who appears to have held the chief authority there under the governor of the province of Lāhor and Multān, Amīr Muḥammad, son of Abī 'Alī. For some time this affair remained secret, and it was thought that Hasan had been imprisoned by the Sulṭān's commands; but, at length, it became noised abroad, far and near, through Hind and Sind. See note [1], page 481. The Tāj-ul Ma'āsir then passes, at once, to the outbreak of the Kokars [Khokhars—natives of Khurāsān and Europeans generally leave out the *h* in pronunciation of the Hindī ख], while Firishtah gives a long account of the slave's reduction and punishment. He says, "the Sulṭān, unable to enter Ghaznīn, proceeded towards Multān, encountered Ī-bak-i-Nā-pāk [otherwise Yāl-būr, &c.], took him captive, and marched towards Ghaznīn with the frontier troops of Hind." At Ghaznīn, the Sulṭān, through the intercession of the great men of that city, overlooked the conduct of *Iladd-giz* [this is the name Guzīdah and Firishtah use for this personage, and Yal-dūz, for Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz], and, having disposed of that matter, entered into a treaty of peace with Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and, after that, made preparations for his expedition against the Khokhars. Firishtah, like some other more modern writers,

with him, the Sulṭān drew out his ranks and commenced the engagement. The army of the unbelievers, having formed a circle round about the troops of Islām, came on, and, in despite of the remonstrance his slaves were using that of the army of Islām only a small number of men remained, and that it was advisable to retreat, the Sultān-i-Ghāzī still continued to maintain his position, until, of cavalry and his own personal slaves[3], only about one hundred horsemen remained, who, with a few elephants, the Turkish slaves, and the Ghūrīān leaders, who were the Sultān's grandees, in front of his charger's head, were hurling back the infidels, devoting their lives, and obtaining martyrdom

Trustworthy persons have related on this wise, that the Sultān-i-Ghāzī stood his ground so persistently that his august state canopy, from the wounds of the arrows of the infidel Mughals[4] [and the arrows remaining sticking fast], became like unto a porcupine, and he would not turn his head round in any direction, until one of his Turkish slaves, whose name was Ayyah[5], Jūkī, came up, seized the Sultān's bridle, and dragged him away towards the fortress of And-

styles them Ghakars—گهکر—but he could scarcely have been expected to know the difference, and even Elliot, in his Index [page 160, note *], after writing the word properly, supposes Gakhar [گکهر] and Khokhar [کهوکهر] one and the same race, but there is as much difference between them as between an Afghān, and a Khar'l Jat, as those who have served in the Panjāb well know The Ṯabaḳāt-i Akbarī, a work of greater authority than Firishtah [whom I do not consider an authority in these matters any more than respecting the presence of *cannoneers* [توپچی] at the battle of Tarā'īn], says nothing of the kind, and, had I-yal-dūz, Ī-bak-i-Nā pāk, Līk-Tāl, or any other person, been guilty of the acts mentioned, there is no doubt our author would, at least, have referred to them He might smooth or slur over a defeat, but not circumstances of this kind See Alfī's account of the expedition against the Khokhars in note [1], page 481, which I think tends to disprove much of the improbable story under discussion, more particularly when the Tāj-ul Ma'āşir says not one word about either Īladd giz or Yal-dūz, nor about the Sultān's coming to Multān against Ī-bak-i-Nā-pāk, whose name is not again mentioned in the entire volume The account given by our author farther on in his account of 'Alā-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, at page 492, and of Tāj ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, page 496, also tends to disprove this story

[3] This description of troops has already been mentioned in note [2], page 168.

[4] The Khiṭā-īs he means

[5] In two of the best copies, Ī bah or Ai-bah, and in one good old copy Abīah or Abiyah, but in the oldest the name is plainly written as above Jūkī in all probability is the name of his tribe Some other authors style him a Khalj, but it is one and the same thing—Turk and Khalj

khūd, and conducted him thither, and brought him within the walls of that fortress[6]

[6] Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, with the few men remaining of the centre division of his army, as soon as the sun rose, succeeded, by stratagem, in throwing himself within the walls of the Ḥiṣār of Andkhūd [Guzīdah says, Tāl-ḳān], but the Khitā-ī troops invested it, perforated the walls, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn would have been captured, when Sulṭān 'Uṣmān of Samrḳand, who was now with the Khitā-ī forces, sent him a message saying "For the honour of the true faith I do not desire that a Sulṭān of Islām should fall into the hands of those of another belief, and be put to death by them therefore it is advisable that you should agree to sacrifice for your own safety what remains of your elephants and other animals, your valuables, treasures, arms and armour, and other war material, that I may make these things the means, with these people, of obtaining your escape in safety" This he agreed to do, and Sulṭān 'Uṣmān, by a thousand efforts and contrivances, succeeded in securing the Sulṭān's escape, and he reached his own territory in safety There can be no doubt whatever as to the Sulṭān's gallantry, but our author's statements are *rather* highly coloured The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, contrary to others, states that the Sulṭān defended Andkhūd *for some time*, and then surrendered on terms, but it is not correct

The following is another specimen of the translations from which Indian history is written, referring to this campaign —

DOW, vol 1 page 145

"News was then brought to him [*Mahommed*] of the death of his brother *Yeas ul deen, who retained nothing of the empire but the name* [this is totally incorrect, and is the translator's own] *Mahommed*, upon this, succeeded to the empire He *turned* by the way of *Budgeish*, and *subdued the country of Chorassan, recovering it out of the hand of the Siljoki*, and he divided *it* among the family of *Sam*, giving the government of *Ferose Ko* and *Ghor* to *Malleck Zea*, who was son-in-law to his brother, *Yeas ul deen*, the deceased Emperor, *Bust*, *Farra*, and *Isphorar* he gave to *Mamood*, his brother's son, and the government of *Herat* and its districts to *Nasir*, his nephew by a sister

"*Mahommed*, after these transactions, returned to *Ghizni*, where, according to the will of the deceased *Emperor, he was crowned in form*, and mounted the imperial throne In the same year, he heard of the death of *Zeeruk*, prince of *Murve*, and, in the beginning of the next, marched to the *conquest* of that *country*, ad-

BRIGGS, vol 1 page 180-181

"On hearing of the death of his brother, he [*Mahomed Ghoory*] now returned towards *Ghizny*, by the *route* of *Budghees*, and, *subduing part of the country of Khwaruzm, recovered it out of the hands of the Suljooks He divided this new conquest* [! ! !] among several members of his own family [see our author, page 472], giving the government of *Ferozkooh* and *Ghoor* [Are these in *Khwaruzm recovered from the Suljooks*?] to his *nephew Zeea-ood-Deen*, son in law of his late brother, *Gheias-ood-Deen* He also gave *Boost*, *Furrah*, and *Isfurar* [All in Khwaruzm perhaps?] to the Prince *Mahomed*, his brother's son, and the government of *Hirat* and its dependencies to *Nasir-ood-Deen, his nephew by a sister*

"On his arrival at *Ghizny*, according to the will of his deceased brother, *he was crowned in form* [STUDENT'S MANUAL OF INDIAN HISTORY—"he was crowned Sulṭān without opposition"], and ascended the throne. In the same year he heard of the death of *Mahomed Zeeruk*, Prince of

The following day, Sulṭān 'Uṣmān of Samrḳand, who

vancing by way of Charizm [! ! !], and *Tacash*, the King of that country, not able to oppose him in the field, shut himself up in the city The King pitched his camp on the banks of the *great canal*, which the *Chilligus* had formerly dug to the *westward* of that city He forthwith attacked the place, and in a few days lost many brave nobles in the pursuit of glory In the mean-time, news arrived, that *Aibeck*, the general of the King of *Chitta, in Tartary*, and *Osman, King* of *Samarcand*, were advancing with great armies, to the relief of *Charizm* *Mahommed* was so unwilling to abandon his hopes of taking the city, that he delayed till the allied armies advanced so near, that he was under the necessity of burning all his baggage, and to retreat with the utmost expedition to *Chorasan* [! !] But *an army from the city* pressed so close upon his heels, that he was obliged to give them battle He was totally defeated, losing all his elephants and treasure

"In the meantime the *confederate Kings*, who had taken a circuit, to cut off *Mahommed's* retreat, met him full in the face, as he was flying from the King of *Charizm*."

Murv, and in the beginning of the next year marched *to complete the conquest of Khwarusm* [! ! !] [This is what is styled "his *western* campaign against the King of Kharizm" in THE STUDENT'S MANUAL, but I think Khwārazm lies *north* of Ghaznīn] *Mahomed Ghoory*, having encamped on the banks of the great canal, which had formerly been dug to the *westward* of the city, forthwith attacked the *place*, but lost many brave officers and men in AN ATTEMPT TO ESCALADE IT [! ! !] Meanwhile news arrived that *Aurra Beg*, the general of *Ghoorkhan*, King of *Khutta*, and *Othman Khan Samarkandy*, were advancing with armies to the relief of *Khwarizm Shah Mahomed Ghoory*, unwilling to abandon his hopes of taking the city, delayed his retreat till the allied armies advanced so near, that he was compelled to burn his baggage, and to retire with the utmost precipitation towards *Khorasan* His army was pressed so closely *by troops* from *that province*, that he was compelled to give battle, and was wholly defeated, losing all his elephants and treasure, while the *confederate Kings* [see page 473, and note 2] who had taken a circuit to cut off his retreat towards Ghuzny, intercepted him"

This may truly be called the Romance of History Deceived, apparently, by this translation, ELPHINSTONE [page 316] has fallen into great error He says "*He* [Shāhāb u din] *gained a great victory over the king of that country* [Kharizm], *besieged him in his capital, and soon reduced him to such straits as to constrain him to sue* [!] *for aid to the Khitan Tartars*," &c Never was a statement more erroneous MARSHMAN too, possibly quoting from the same, says "Mahomed led his troops against *Talash*," as he styles Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the *son* of Sulṭān Takish

The following is FIRISHTAH'S account — "Sulṭān Shihāb ud-Dīn was between Ṭūs and Sarakhs when the account of the decease of his brother, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, reached him, and in whose name the kingdom was [i e in whom the sovereignty rested This is the passage misinterpreted by Dow—"*who retained nothing of the empire but the name*" The original is اسم پادشاهى او بود] From thence he set out for Bādghais, performed the mourning ceremonies there, and, in this year, he divided the whole of the states of Khurāsān [Firishtah here shows that he is himself no authority as to the geography of

was a second Yūsuf [in beauty], and the Afrāsiyābī Maliks of Turkistān, who were Musalmāns [7], interposed and

these parts, any more than he is an authority as to the history] among the family of Sām [i e the descendants of Sām, his father, *only* Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn now to be mentioned was not of the family of Sām except as a son-in-law—the revised text of BRIGGS has—Āl-i-Sāmān—آل سامان] in this manner. He gave the throne of Fīrūz-koh and Ghūr to his uncle's son, Malik Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, who was Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ ud-Dīn's son-in-law, Bust, Faraḥ, and Isfarā'īn [Isfīzār?] to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, and Hirāt and its dependencies to his sister's son, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn He himself returned from Bādghais to Ghaznīn, and, in accordance with the will of his brother, having placed the crown of empire upon his head, he became established on the exalted throne of sovereignty [This is the literal translation of the sentence which has been twisted into *crowned in form*, &c] At this time intimation reached him of the slaying of Muhammad i-Khar-nak [in the *revised* text Khan Beg—جغر ادباك], governor of Marw, and, in the year 600 H, he set out, with numerous forces to subdue Khwārazm Khwārazm Shāh, unable to oppose him [in the field], entered the fortress of Khwārazm

"When the Sulṭān reached Khwārazm, he took up a position on the water [canal, river, and the like] which they have (*sic*) dug and set flowing from the Jīḥūn to the *east* of the city [the word خلج here used with reference to this water-cut has been mistaken by Dow for the Turkish tribe, Khalj, which he styles *Chilligies*] For some days fighting went on, and several of the Ghūrīān Amīrs were killed At this juncture news arrived that Ḳarā Beg, the general of Gūr Khān, Bādshāh of Khiṭā [this is enough to show of what value Firishtah's authority is for these matters See page 261, for the name of the general of the Khiṭā ī forces on this occasion Hitherto, Firishtah has copied our author, whom he quotes as one of his authorities, tolerably correct], and Sulṭān 'Uṣmān, sovereign of Samrḳand, were marching to the aid of Khwārazm Shāh On receiving this information, such alarm was felt by the Sulṭān that he set fire to the surplus baggage and equipage, and set out towards Khurāsān [he means Ghaznīn] Khwārazm Shāh followed in pursuit, and Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-Dīn faced about and gave battle, and was defeated, and lost his treasure, his horses, and elephants. Having proceeded on his way, unexpectedly, the army of Ḳarā Beg, Khiṭā-ī, and Sulṭān 'Uṣmān seized the route in advance," &c The rest agrees with our author, and there is *not a word*, in the whole account, about *escalade* or anything approaching it, and, moreover, the canal, which he had not crossed, was some miles from the city Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, in order to celebrate the flight of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, bestowed the nick-name "Ghūrī Breaker" upon a son born to him the night before the enemy retired. See page 281

The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, which pours out page after page of rhapsodical nonsense upon the most trivial matters, merely mentions, with respect to this disaster, that the Sulṭān sustained "*a slight misfortune and reverse* [دله چشم رخمی و شکستکی']," gives the year 600 H as the date, and does not mention [in the three *MSS* I have read] anything whatever about the Sulṭān having been wounded The word رخمی mentioned above may have been mistaken for such meaning I should be sorry to place implicit faith on any statements in the above work, unless corroborated by some other work by a contemporary writer

[7] Our author calls the whole of those opposed to Mu'izz ud-Dīn, "infidels"

brought about an accommodation, and the infidel forces drew back again, and the Sulṭān returned to Ghaznīn, and commanded that forces should be organized for a three years' campaign in Turkistān, and determined to march into Khitā [8].

At that period, an assemblage of contumacious persons, [consisting] of Khokhars, and other rebels of the tribes of the hills of Lohor [9] and Jūd hills had broken out into revolt [1],

several times before this; but the fact is all are infidels who are opposed to Ghūrīs Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was saved from captivity or death through the good offices of Sulṭān 'Usmān, a Musalmān like himself

8 When Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, overcome with grief and chagrin, reached his own territory in safety, Sulṭān Muḥammad despatched one of his Chamberlains to him, saying "You are aware that you yourself are the cause of this hostility and distrust Perhaps you may now be inclined to give up your hostile intentions against my dominions and be desirous of peace" Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was agreeable, and he bound himself by the most solemn promises to abide by the terms, and, further, to aid and assist Sulṭān Muḥammad whenever requested Perhaps the latter may, in doing this, have had a foreboding, that he might want support against Chingiz Khān, who had acquired vast power at that time, and whose doings caused anxiety to the Khwārazmī Sulṭān

After this accommodation had been concluded, a body of insurgents assembled together at Ṭāl-ḳān, and Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī [brother of Shams-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, of Ṭukhāristān], who was Wālī of Balkh at that time, was the chief mover in this outbreak He made a raid upon Marw-ar-Rūd, and slew the intendant stationed there, and sought to plunder the place. Sulṭān Muḥammad, on becoming aware of this raid, nominated Badr ud-Dīn-i-Khiẓr [خضر—probably Khazr—خزر] from Marw, and Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, from Abīward, with their troops, to march against him After coming up with them, Zangī, together with ten Amīrs, were taken in the encounter which ensued, and were sent off prisoners to Khwārazm, where they met with their deserts, and their heads were struck off Notwithstanding this affair, the peace was faithfully observed between the two Sulṭāns and their Amīrs. Still, the remembrance of past events rankled in the heart of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and, in order to prepare for any eventuality that might offer to enable him to avenge his defeat, "under pretence of holy war, he was in the habit of organizing his troops, and manufactured arms in great quantities, until, in 602 H, he became bent on undertaking an expedition into Hindūstān against the infidels, in order to improve the finances of himself and officers, and also of his men, all of whom, during the last few years, and, in the Khwārazm expedition, had sustained great losses."

9 "Of the hills of Lohor" is contained in two copies only The hills to the north of Lāhor, of course, are meant.

1 The following is the description of this affair contained in the Tārīkh-i-Alfī, which compare with Elliot's extract from the original in his INDEX, page ٢١, and his translation, pages 158—160 —

Transactions of the year 592 of the Riḥlat

"In trustworthy histories it is stated, that, at the time that Shihāb-ud-Dīn

and, in the cold season of that year, the Sultān came into Hindūstān, and sent that refractory race to hell, and

[see remarks as to his correct title and name, as shown by his coins, note [6], page 446] was defeated by the Turks and Khiṭā-īs, as already noticed, it became noised abroad throughout his territories that the Sulṭān, Shihāb-ud-Dīn, had disappeared in that battle, and it was unknown what had happened to him—whether he had been killed, or whether he was still living, and had gone into any foreign part Consequently, the seditious in his territory—in all parts—raised their heads, and each stretched forth his hand towards some tract of the territory Among the seditious was one, Rāe Sāl by name, who was [dwelling] in the hilly country, between the city of Luhāwar [لهاور] and Ghaznah, and, in concert with a body of Kokars, in the [same] tract [of country], and who always used to pay revenue to the treasury of Shihāb-ud Dīn, having revolted from authority and obedience, he commenced plundering and harrying that district, and completely closed the route between Luhāwar and Ghaznah [Ghaznīn], and in such wise that not a soul could pass along it." [He is called "*Re bāl*" [ربال] and "*Ran-bāl*" [رنبال] in Jāmi'-ut Tawārīkh, but both names are doubtful, and are, probably, meant for Rāe-Sāl, "the ruler of the Koh-i-Jūd [the Salt Range], at which the frontier of Hind commences, who had turned Musalmān, and subsequently relapsed, and the Khokhars, who also used to pay tribute to the Sulṭān, in consequence of these reports, also rose" Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir, after stating that the proceedings of Līk Tāl [لیک تال], and the rumoured death of the Sulṭān, was the cause of great confusion and disturbance, says, "the Kokar tribe, rising in rebellion, entertained the idea of becoming independent, and obtaining dominion The sons of Kokar, *Bakan* and *Sarkah* [Firishtah has but one, whom he calls 'the chief of the Khokhars, who bore the name of *Sarkah*'], also entertained the desire of acquiring sovereign power" Then there is an account of their taking Lohor, and of their defeating the feudatories of the Multān province, Bahā-ud Dīn and his brother, and others, and that the Sipah-Sālār, Sulīmān, had to fly before them] Alfī continues —"When Shihāb-ud Dīn reached Ghaznah in safety, in the manner previously described, and this matter came to his knowledge, he determined to proceed into Hindūstān, and thoroughly chastise the rebels of that part Therefore he first directed Amīr Muhammad, son of Abī 'Alī [this must be his kinsman, the son-in-law of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, the late Sulṭān], who was his lieutenant over Luhāwar and Multān [the Amīr-i-Dād, Hasan, was probably subordinate to him], to remit with all possible celerity the revenue of the year 601 H [and yet the Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir gives the year 600 H as that of his return from Khwārazm, and his expedition against the Khokhars], as it was required in the preparations making for the invasion of Khiṭā [Jāmi' ut-Tawārīkh says, "*after* the Sulṭān had taken his slave Lek Tāl [or Līk-Tāl], who h d taken possession of Multān, and had put him to death, and disposed of that affair, he *despatched* Muhammad, son of Abī 'Alī, to Lāhor *and* Multān as governor, in order that he should send the tribute of those territories, which for the last two years were in arrears, to provide him with funds for his campaign against Khiṭā] Amīr Muḥammad wrote, in reply, that the revenue of the years (*sic*) mentioned was ready, but that the Kokars [Khokhars], *and* Rāe Sāl, the chief of the Jibāl-i Jūdī [the Jūd Hills] [Tāj ul-Ma'āṣir does not make the distinction between two different tribes, but says the sons of Kokar, Bakan and Sarkah—in another MS كركر سوه], had so closed the *lower* route to Ghaznah [neither the

carried on holy war as prescribed by the canons of Islām, and set a river of the blood of those people flowing. When

Bolān nor the Khaibar, the two by some *supposed sole* routes into Afghānistān, are referred to], that not a person could proceed by it.

"On hearing this, Shihāb-ud-Dīn wrote [he *sent* the Amīr-i-Hājib, Sarāj-ud-Dīn-i-Abī Bikr] to his slave, Kutb-ud-Dīn, who was the commander of the forces of Hind, [to the effect] that 'having despatched a person to the Kokars to forbid them against committing these odious acts, he should call upon them to repent of their doings and return to obedience, on which he would pass over their misconduct.' Kutb-ud-Dīn despatched a person to them, in conformity with this command, and urged them to submit. The son of Kokar [not mentioned before] replied: 'This is not your affair. it was necessary for Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn to send a person of his own, if he were alive, wherefore, then, did he not send to us, that we also might have sent the taxes for him?' That emissary, in reply, said: 'Consider this great regard towards you, that he hath sent me, who am his slave, to you.' Again, the son of Kokar said, in answer: 'All this is mere talk. Shihāb-ud-Dīn is not forthcoming.' The emissary replied. 'The verification of this matter is easy: send one of your own confidential people to Ghaznah, that he may, with his own eyes, see, and come and say whether Shihāb-ud-Dīn is living or not.' In short, the son of Kokar did not give ear to the emissary's words, and still continued firm, as before, in his sedition and rebellion; and, when the person sent by Kutb-ud-Dīn related to him the state of affairs, he represented it to the Court of Shihāb-ud Dīn. The Sultān directed Kutb ud-Dīn to assemble the [available] troops of Hindūstān and march against the Kokars, and to annihilate and eradicate, beyond ought that could be conceived, that seditious and contumacious race.

"When the command reached Kutb-ud-Dīn, he assembled and made ready his forces, and was about to move against that tribe, when Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn himself was on the point of marching his troops towards Khitā, but, successive complaints of the violence and outrages committed by the Kokars reached him, and his people represented to that Sultān such numbers of things [respecting them], that it became incumbent on him to quell them and restrain their sedition first; and then to proceed in the other direction. Consequent upon this he gave up his determination of invading Khitā, and pitched his [advanced] tent in the direction of Luhāwar, and, on the 5th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, of this same year [602 H.], he set out from Ghaznah towards Hindūstān. When Shihāb-ud-Dīn reached Purshāwar, he found that the Kokars, in large numbers, had taken up a position between the Jīlam [Jhilam] and the Sūdarah [Sūdharā]. On hearing this news, Shihāb-ud-Dīn made a forced march from Purshāwar on Thursday, the 25th of the same month, and fell upon them unawares [Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says he attacked them on the 25th], and from break of day till the time of afternoon prayers he kept up the flame of battle and conflict, and the Kokars fought in such wise that, with all that grandeur and power, the Sultān had nearly been forced back from his position, when, unexpectedly, at that juncture, Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, with the forces of Hindūstān, arrived [upon the scene], and commenced slaughtering the Kokars. As Kutb ud-Dīn's troops were fresh and vigorous, the Kokars were unable to resist them, and they took to flight. The soldiers of Islām, pursuing them, inflicted such havoc upon them as cannot be conceived. Those that escaped the sword fled to the dense depths of the *jangal* and the Musalmāns set fire to

he set out on his return towards Ghaznīn, in the year 602 H., at the halting-place of Dam-yak, he attained mar-

it on all sides [Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh states that the Hindūs [the Khokhars] fled to the highest ranges of the Koh-i-Jūd, and, on being pursued, lighted a great fire, and threw themselves into it, and perished. Great plunder was taken and many captives, so that five Hindū [Khokhar] captives could be bought for a *dīnār* The son of Re-bāl, chief of the Koh-i-Jūd, sought the protection of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and made great supplication to him. Ḳutb-ud-Dīn made intercession for him with the Sulṭān, who pardoned him, while the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir says one of Kokar's sons was among the slain [Sarkah], and the other, Bakan, made for a fortress in the Jūd Hills, in which he was invested, and, after holding out some time, being hard pressed, made intercession through Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, and surrendered the place, and was forgiven] At that time those infidels agreed together not to surrender to the Musalmāns, and they threw themselves into the *jangal*, and were consumed

"The Sulṭān, having disposed of that affair to his satisfaction, advanced to Luhāwar [Jāmi' ut-Tawārīkh says he arrived there on the 15th of Rajab], and gave his troops permission to return to their own homes [quarters ?], where, having rested some days [some time], they might set out on their invasion of Khiṭā "

The authors of the Tārīkh-i Alfī availed themselves of the best authorities in the compilation of their great work, and there is scarcely any celebrated work, whether Arabic or Persian, that they did not use and quote from They also appear to have often used such Hindū historical works as were available, and yet there is no mention of the story of the Yal-dūz or Ildad-giz rebellion, nor of Lek-Tāl, nor of Ī-bak-i-Nā-pāk, nor Ī-bak-i-Bāk It seems *rather significant* that the author or authors of this story should have selected names similar to those of the two most trusted, loyal, and favourite slaves of the Sulṭān, and who succeeded him in the sovereignty of Ghaznīn and Hindūstān respectively—Ī yal-dūz and Ī-bak—for their story, but it is certain that the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir is accountable for the latter part of it, in which Ī-bak-i-Nā-pāk is mentioned

The Khokhars were not annihilated in this affair by any means, and gave great trouble in after years, and gained posaession of Lāhor.

BRIGGS says, page 201, vol i · "In the latter end of the King's reign [Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's], their chieftain [of the *Gukkurs*] was converted to the true faith *when a captive After becoming a proselyte* he procured his release from the King, who endeavoured to persuade him to convert his followers," &c. This is totally contrary to the original A Musalmān became captive to the Khokhars, and whilst among them he explained to them the tenets and usages of the Muḥammadan faith The chieftain asked the Musalmān how the Sulṭān would treat him if he should embrace the Muḥammadan faith, to which the Musalmān replied that he would undertake to say that the Sulṭān would treat him with royal favour, and would confer on him the authority over those mountain tracts This circumstance was duly represented to the Sulṭān in writing by the captive Musalmān, and the Sulṭān at once despatched a rich dress of honour for the chief of the Khokhars, and he came and presented himself before the Sulṭān, was treated with great honour, was made a Musalmān, returned home with a *farmān* investing him with the government of those parts, and he made most of the Khokhars converts DOW, in this instance, has translated the passage correctly, but, unfortunately for Firishtah's authority, this tale does not tally with the last events in the Sulṭān's life, and it, in a measure, contradicts his own statements respecting them.

tyrdom[2] at the hand of a disciple of the Mulāḥidah, and died[3]. One of the learned men of that period has com-

[2] The idiom differs here in one of the oldest copies, which has, "he was killed," &c.

[3] Yāfa-ī says that one successful expedition gained in Hindūstān at this time was sufficient to repair the Sulṭān's finances, and to set right the affairs of his troops, and, on his return to his capital, after having crossed the Jīlī [جيلى] ferry—the ferry over the Jhilam probably—Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh has Hānlī—هانلى—[Ben As Soc MS جيلى and Jahān-Kushā-ī جيل] ford, and says he crossed over on the 1st of Sha'bān—his royal tent was pitched on the banks of the Jīḥūn [of Hind ?], i e the Sind or Indus, so that one-half of it reached near to the water, and hence it was not deemed necessary to guard that side, and that, at the time of taking his *noon-day nap*, two or three Fidā-īs [disciples] suddenly issued from the water and assassinated him, and in this most authors agree Guzīdah, however, says he was then on his way to Turkistān to wreak vengeance on Sulṭān 'Uṣmān of Samrḳand! The term Fidā-ī is particularly applied to the disciples of the chief of the Mulāḥidah heretics, and our author plainly states that it was from the daggers of the disciples of this sect that Mu'izz-ud-Dīn met his death, and not from the Khokhar tribe, and, when we consider that he had undertaken an expedition against them only two or three years before [see note 5, page 381], it is by no means improbable that they caused him to be assassinated The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says the assassins were Khokhars, but almost immediately contradicts the statement, and says that Imām Fakhr-ud-Dīn was suspected of having brought it about "Some malignant Muḥammadah 'Ulamā, on account of the great friendship that existed between the Sulṭān of Khwārazm and the eminent Imām Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Rāzī [see page 429, and page 492], accused him of having conspired against the life of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and asserted that Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, had sent some person, who, after consultation with the Imām, had assassinated the Sulṭān, but it is considered by some writers that these very people who had accused the Imām had themselves caused the deed to be done The Imām, as the late Sulṭān's slaves were bent upon avenging him, threw himself on the protection of the Wazīr, Mu ayyid ul Mulk, until such time as the Wazīr contrived to secure him from their vengeance, and sent him to a place of safety Imām Fakhr-ud-Dīn used to accompany Sulṭān Mu'izz ud-Dīn in his expeditions, and he states that Sulṭān Mu'izz ud-Dīn invaded India nine times twice he was defeated, and seven times victorious." The statement above mentioned is confirmed, with but slight variation, by the author of the Tāj ul-Ma'āsir, a contemporary writer, and corroborated by our author's very meagre account Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir says, that the Sulṭān's tents were pitched in a delightfully verdant mead on the bank of a clear stream [water] At this time some *heretics* [Mulāḥidahs—ملاحده], who had been following him for some time, awaiting an opportunity to assassinate him, at the time of *evening prayer*, and whilst the Sulṭān was in the act of bowing his head to the ground in prayer, and was uttering the praises of his Creator, the impure and obscene *sect* chose for the execution of their design They slew a Salāh-dār [armour-bearer] and two Farrāshes [carpet-spreaders] in attendance, and then went round towards the Sulṭān's Khargah [pavilion or tent], and occupied it [to "*surround*" it would have required a large number The words used are فرو گرفت—seized, took possession Compare Elliot, INDIA, vol ii page 236], and one or two among those three or four assassins rushed upon the Sulṭān, and inflicted five or six

posed a verse on this occurrence. It is here recorded that it may come under the observation of the sovereign of the Musalmāns, and that verse is as follows :—

"The martyrdom of the sovereign of sea and land, Mu'izz-ud Dīn,
From the beginning of the world the like of whom no monarch arose,
On the third [4] of the month Sha'bān in the year six hundred and two,
Happened on the road to Ghaznīn at the halting-place of Dam-yak [5]."

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deep wounds, of which he immediately died" I have merely given an abstract of the author's rhapsodical narration

Alfī says they were Khokhars who had lost relatives killed in the late operations —"One man among them came upon a door-keeper, and wounded him, on which the wounded man began to cry out On this, the rest of the people about rushed up to the wounded man to see what was the matter, and were collected around him The Khokhars seized this opportunity, and succeeded in reaching the Sulṭān, whom they despatched with many severe wounds"

Some other authors say it was one Khokhar only who murdered the Sulṭān, and that he had attached himself to him, and followed him for the purpose

The Hindūs give a different account, which is also related by Abū-l-Faẓl and in the Jamūn History with a slight difference —"Although the Persian Chroniclers state that Rāe Pithorā fell on the field of Talāwaṛī [Tarā'īn], and that Mu'izz-ud-Dīn fell at Dam yak by the hand of a Khokhar who had devoted himself to the deed, and that such statement has been followed by the author of the Tabakāt-i Akbarī and by Firishtah, nevertheless, from the mouth of the Hindī bards, the depositaries of the traditions of every celebrated event, and which is handed down orally from generation to generation, it is stated that, after Rāe Pithorā was made captive and taken to Ghaznīn, one Chandā, some write Chāndā, the confidential follower and eulogist of Rāe Pithorā, styled by some authors his Court poet, proceeded to Ghaznīn to endeavour to gain information respecting his unfortunate master By his good contrivances he managed to get entertained in Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's service, and succeeded in holding communication with Rāe Pithorā in his prison They agreed together on a mode of procedure, and one day Chandā succeeded by his cunning in awakening the Sulṭān's curiosity about Rāe Pithorā's skill in archery, which Chandā extolled to such a degree that the Sulṭān could not restrain his desire to witness it, and the captive Rājah was brought out and requested to show his skill. A bow and arrows were put into his hands, and, as agreed upon, instead of discharging his arrow at the mark, he transfixed the Sulṭān, and he died on the spot, and Rāe Pithorā and Chandā were cut to pieces then and there by the Sulṭān's attendants

The Jamūn History states that Rāe Pithorā had been blinded [see note [1], page 466], and that, when brought forth, and his own bow and arrows given him, notwithstanding his blindness, having fitted an arrow, and tried the temper of the bow, guided by the sound of the Sulṭān's voice, and the indications of Chandā, he discharged the arrow in the right direction, and transfixed him The rest agrees

[4] Jahān-Ārā and some others say the 1st of Sha'bān, 602 H

[5] As the second line of this quatrain ends in *yak*, it is wholly impossible that the last work can be *Damik* Dam-yak is the correct name of the place Authors differ considerably about its situation some say it was a little west of the Jhilam, some on the Nīl āb, and others that it was a village beyond the Indus on the route to Ghaznīn, but the first seems most probable To prove

May the Most High King encompass that Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī with his mercy and forgiveness, and preserve the sovereign of the age!

With respect to the equity and justice of this monarch in the world, the mention of them could not be contained in the capacity of writing; and the observance of the law of the Chosen One, and the preservation of the system of holy warfare likewise, according to the tenets of the Muḥammadan faith, was accomplished in that sovereign[6]. According to the traditions which they have related concerning the Prophet—on whom be peace!—they say, that he, having been asked respecting the general resurrection, affirmed that it would take place six hundred and odd years after him, and the martyrdom of this sovereign occurred in the year 602 H., and, in this same year, likewise, indications of the last judgment appeared, and they were the irruption of Chingiz Khān, the Mughal, and the outbreak of the Turk. Therefore it is evident that that monarch was the strong barrier of Islām in the world, and, when he attained martyrdom, the gate of the final judgment opened[7].

The amount of wealth acquired in holy wars, accumulated in the treasury at Ghaznīn, was so great that the indication of the like has not been noticed with regard to the treasury of any sovereign, and Khwājah Ismā'īl, the Treasurer, stated at the Court of Fīrūz-koh, at the time of bringing an honorary robe to the Malikah-i-Jalālī, the daughter of the august Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām

how little trust is to be placed in Firishtah's statements, as shown in Briggs's "Revised Text," the Persian scholar will there find this place styled Ramhek—رمهك—in the prose, and a few lines under, in his version of the same quatrain quoted by our author, translated above, it is turned into Rhutak—رهتك—and Briggs translates it *Rohtuk*, which mistake is re-echoed by his copyists, and so the blunder gets handed down.

6 Other authors, too, fully appreciate the character of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and say that "he was a God-fearing and just sovereign, compassionate towards his people, liberal to his servants, honoured and reverenced learned and good men, and treated them with distinction." His deeds prove that he was faithful to his brother, but if his "exploits" are not more substantial than the mythical relationship to his "*great ancestor* Sooltan Mahmood I." [who has been lately declared *illegitimate* in the "STUDENT'S MANUAL OF INDIAN HISTORY"], they need not have been ever recorded.

7 Notwithstanding which, our author, who appears to have had as keen an appreciation of the mammon of unrighteousness as others who croak about the end of the world, took care to accept villages and money presents, and even slaves to send to his "dear sister" to sell in Khurāsān not long after.

[Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's niece and Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn's betrothed wife], that of jewels contained in the Ghaznīn treasury, of diamonds alone, which are the most precious of gems, there were actually fifteen hundred *mans*[8]. The amount of other jewels and money may be judged of accordingly.

Titles and names of the Sultān.

SULṬĀN-UL-MU'AZZAM[9],

MU'IZZ-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN,

ABŪ-L-MUZAFFAR, MUHAMMAD, SON OF SĀM.

NĀṢIR-I-AMĪR-UL-MŪMINĪN[1]

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[8] It depends upon what *man* is meant. Our author must refer to the *man* of Tabrīz, which is much smaller than that of Hindūstān, the former being somewhat less than 2 lbs., whilst the latter varies from 40 to 80 lbs. The Tabrīz *man* is thus described:—6 *habbah* [*habbah* signifies, a seed, a grain, &c., and is equal to a barley-corn] = 1 *dāng*, 6 *dāngs* = 1 *miskāl*, 15 *misḳāls* = 1 *astār*, 40 *astārs* = 1 *man*.

I fear the Khwājah was as great an exaggerator as our author himself. Other authors however mention the quantity as 500 *mans*. Even the latter number is too incredible almost for belief.

[9] After his brother's death, on becoming supreme ruler, he took the title of Sulṭān-ul A'ẓam.

[1] How he obtained the title of Nāṣir-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn, and when, the chronicler does not say. It *may* have been conferred upon him by the Khalīfah of Baghdād for being with his brother, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, a tool in the Khalīfah's hands against the Sulṭān of Khwārazm. I imagine it is this title on his coins which Mr. E. Thomas reads as the name of the Khalīfah. Un Nāsir ud Dīn 'Ullah was certainly Khalīfah at this period. See CHRONICLES of PATHÁN KINGS of DEHLI, page 12.

The Sultān is styled "Us-Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abū-l Muẓaffar," &c., on a coin said to have been struck at Dihlī, 589 H., in the year 4 [of his rule in Hind?].

Length of his reign: Thirty-two years and eight months[2].

Seat of government in the summer season:—Ghaznīn and Khurāsān.

Seat of government in the winter season.—Lohor and Hind.

Ḳāzīs of his Court.

Ḳāẓī of the kingdom, the Ṣadr-i-Shahīd, Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Abū Bikr, subsequently, the Ṣadr-i-Sa'īd, Sharaf-ud-Dīn, Abū Bikr, son of the Ṣadr-i-Shahīd, Niẓām [ud-Dīn ?] at Ghaznīn.

Ḳāẓī of the army[3] and other territory—Shams-ud-Dīn, Balkhī, and his son

Wazīrs

Ẓiyā-ul-Mulk, Durmashānī[4]; Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk, Muhammad-i-'Abd-ullah, Sanjarī, Shams-ul-Mulk, 'Abd-ul-Jabbār, Kīdānī

Standards.

On the right, Black, with the Turk Maliks and Amīrs

On the left, Red, with the Maliks and Amīrs of Ghūr

The Sultān's august motto.

"Victory through God[5]."

The Sultān's Dependents who attained unto Sovereignty

Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, at Ghaznīn

Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah in Multān and Ūchchah

Sultān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, at Lohor[6].

Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, the Khalj, over the territory of Lakhanawatī[7]

[2] Three years and three months exactly as an independent sovereign, from the 27th of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 599 H, to 3rd of Sha'bān, 602 H He was subordinate to his elder brother as shown by his coins, but as a dependent ruler he of course ruled over Ghaznīn from the time that sovereignty was bestowed upon him

[3] Our author's father does not figure here among the Ḳāẓīs See page 456, nor is mention made of the Ṣadr-i Ḳabīr, Kiwām ul-Mulk, Rukn ud-Dīn, Hamzah, who was sent to offer terms to Rāe Pithorā.

[4] In one copy Durmashī, in a second Durmanshī, and in a third Durshī or Dursī See page 392, note [6].

[5] One good copy of the text has, simply عدل Justice, or Rectitude

[6] Not Dihlī ! See the reign of Ḳuṭb ud-Dīn, next Section.

[7] Fourth Khalj ruler of Lakhanawatī It is strange that neither Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, nor his two immediate successors in the government of Lakhanawatī, are mentioned here It was Muhammad, son of Bakht yār, the Khalj, who reduced Bihār and Lakhanawatī during Sultān Mu'izz-ud Dīn's own lifetime, and their reduction is mentioned among the victories and successes of

The Sulṭān's Kinsmen and his Maliks.

Malik Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad[8], Durr-i-Ghur [The Pearl of Ghūr], in Ghūr

Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, in Bāmīān.

Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, in Fīrūz-koh

Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, of Kīdān[9].

Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Timrānī.

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Alb-i-Ghāzi, son of Ḳazil Arsalān Saljūkī.

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Ḥarab, of Sijistān.

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī[1], of Bāmīān

Malik Mubāriz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad 'Alī-i-Utsuz

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, [Ḥusain], Mādīnī.

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, of Timrān.

Malik Mu-ayyid-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd.

Malik Shihāb[2]-ud-Dīn, Mādīnī[3]

Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Kīdānī.

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, [of] Mukrān

Malik Shāh, of Wakhsh

Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz-i-Ḥusain

Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Alī-i-Kar-mākh

Malik Zahīr-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Kar-mākh.

Malik Zahīr-ud-Dīn, Fath-i-Kar-mākh.

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Khar-mīl

Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, son of Khar-mīl

Malik Naṣir[4]-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, Amīr-i-Shikār [Chief Huntsman]

the Sulṭān at page 491 Husām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, does not appear to have ever been in the immediate service of Mu'izz ud-Dīn, and did not acquire sovereignty until nearly *ten years* after Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's death, whilst Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, was assassinated towards the end of the same year in which the Sulṭān was himself assassinated See the account of the Khalj rulers farther on

Strange to say, some of the copies have Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish in this list also, but such is not correct He was the slave of the Sulṭān's slave, Ḳutb ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and did not acquire sovereignty until after Ī-bak's death, and long after the Sulṭān's decease

[8] Here again the author puzzles his readers After Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn became ruler of Ghūr, as our author himself says at page 393, his name was changed to 'Alā-ud Dīn

[9] Maternal grandfather of the two Sultāns

[1] This is the person referred to in note [2], page 425, and note [6], page 481.

[2] See pages 344 and 497

[3] He is the father of Malik Nāṣir ud-Dīn, Mādīnī, and was surnamed Khar nak

[4] In some copies Nāsi

Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Khar[5]-wār.
Malik Asad-ud-Dīn, Sher Malik, Wajīrī[6] [of Wajīristān?].
Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Sūr, of Kīdān[7]
Amīr Sulīmān-i-Shīṣ, Amīr-i-Dād [Chief Justice?].
Amīr-i-Ḥājib, Muhammad 'Alī, Ghāzī
Amīr-i-Ḥājib, Khān Malik [?].
Amīr-i-Ḥājib, Ḥusain-i-Muhammad Ḥasan [?][8].
Malik Mu-ayyid-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd
Amīr-i-Ḥājib, Ḥusain-i-Surkh[9].

Victories, Successes, and Holy-wars.

Gardaiz, Sankūran [now Shalūzān], holy-war against the Ḳarāmitah of Multān and Ūchchah, holy-war of Nahrwālah, Burshor [or Purshor], Sīāl-kot, Lohor, Tabarhindah[1], Pithorā [at] Tarā'īn, Ajmīr, Hānsī, Sursutī, Kuhrām, Mīrath, Kol, Dihlī, Thankīr, holy-war of Budā'ūn, Gwāliyūr, Bhīrah[2], Jai Chand of Banāras, Banāras, Ḳinnauj, Kālinjar, territory of Awadh, Mālwah, A-dwand[3] Bihār, Lakhanawatī, Marw[4]-ar-Rūd, Nīshāpūr, Ṭūs, Marw, Bāward, Nisā, Shāristānah, Sabzwār, Janābād, Khwārazm, Andkhūd, holy-war of Khitā, and Koh-i-Jūd [and] the Khokhars[5]

[5] This name is doubtful It *might* be Haz-wār, but the above is most probable, and may be a nick-name In modern copies of the text it is written حرولی—حردار—حردل—حرا ل and حرول

[6] In two copies, Aḥmadī, and in one copy Aḥmarī

[7] Very doubtful The best and oldest copy has مهور سیدان which is unintelligible

[8] In some Habashī, and in others Husainī

[9] In one Surkhī or Sarkhī, and in another Sarjī or Surjī, but these are doubtful Only five copies of the text contain these names at all, and three of these are very defective The Amīr-i-Hājib, Sarāj-ud Dīn, Abī Biki, and Bahā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, are likewise mentioned in Alfī

[1] One copy has Bathindah

[2] Very doubtful It is written عبد—عبره—and even مروان in the best Paris copy

[3] Probably अद्वन्द quiet, tranquil, &c See reign of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, next Section

[4] Mashriḳ-ar-Rūd in one copy

[5] It will be remarked that there is no reference made here to the expedition against Dīwal or Dībal, and the sea-coast of Sind I have endeavoured to put these "victories, conquests, and holy-wars" in chronological order as near as possible, but many are mentioned with which Mu'izz ud-Dīn, personally, had nothing to do, three in which he was defeated, one a complete overthrow, the loss of everything, and a narrow escape from captivity, and the "holy-war" of Khitā *was never undertaken* The successes in Awadh were gained by others, and A-dwand Bihār and Lakhanawatī were acquired by Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Khalj

III SULTĀN 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF BAHĀ-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, SĀM, OF BĀMĪĀN

When the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, was martyred at Dam-yak, and Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Sām, son of Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, died on his way to Ghaznīn[6], as has been previously recorded, the competitors for the dominion of Ghūr, Ghaznīn, Bāmīān, and Hind, of the race of the Shansabānīs, consisted of two lines—one, the [descendants of the] Sulṭāns of Ghūr, and the other, of the Sulṭāns of Bāmīān.

When they despatched the bier of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn from the halting-place of Dam-yak towards Ghaznīn, the Turk Maliks and Amīrs, who were the slaves of that Sultān-i-Ghāzī, deprived the Amīrs and Maliks of Ghūr, by force, of the bier of the late Sultān, together with precious treasures, and took possession of them[7]. When

[6] Within two days' journey of the capital See page 432

[7] One author says, that "the Maliks and Chiefs, on finding the Sulṭān lifeless, rallied round the Wazīr, Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk, and pledged themselves to defend the treasure and dominions until such time as a successor should be nominated to succeed him The Sulṭān's wounds were sewn up [after his death], and the body was placed in a sort of covered litter, and, pretending that he was ill, they escorted it to Ghaznah, and the fact of his death was kept a profound secret The treasures, amounting to 2000 khar-wārs [lit ass-loads, one kharwār = about 100 *mans* of Tabrīz] were conveyed to the capital at the same time "

The bier of the late Sulṭān having been taken up, and being conveyed towards Ghaznīn, on the way quarrels ensued between Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk, the Wazīr, and the Ghūrīān Amīrs The Wazīr wished to proceed by way of Karmān, in order that, through the assistance of Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal dūz, who held the government of that district, the late Sulṭān's treasures might be conveyed to Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, his nephew, who held the government of Bust and Zamīn i Dāwar, to whose succession he was inclined, while the Amīrs of Ghūr desired to proceed by the route of Gum-rahān [گمرهان] which was nearer to Bāmīān, in order that the sister's son of the late monarch, Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, Sultān of Bāmīān [who was advancing towards Ghaznīn when death overtook him] should obtain possession of these treasures As the Wazīr was supported by the Slaves of the late Sulṭān, he was more powerful and he separated from the Ghūrīān Amīrs, and, taking along with him the bier of the late Sulṭān and his treasures, proceeded by way of Shalūzān [In those days called Sankurān, and, subsequently, Shanūzān See note 7, p 498] towards Ghaznīn When they reached Karmān, Tāj-ud Dīn, I-yal-dūz, came forth to receive them and, when he beheld the bier, he dismounted from his horse, and received it with the utmost veneration, and he wept to such degree, that the others were quite overcome and wept also The bier was

they reached Karmān, the Wazīr, Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk, Muhammad-i-'Abd-ullah, the Sanjarī, with several other persons distinguished among the Turk Amīrs, were appointed to escort the late Sultān's bier to Ghaznīn, in company with other Turk Maliks, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, who was the Mihtar [or chief] of the Turk Maliks, and the greatest and most distinguished of the Sulṭān's Slaves, held post in Karmān

When the Sultān's bier reached Ghaznīn, two days after, the Sulṭāns of Bāmīān, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, and Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, sons of Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sam, of Bāmīān, in conformity with the solicitations of the Ghūrī Amīrs, such as the Sipah-sālār the [Commander of Troops], Sulīmān-i-Shīs[8], and the Sipah-sālār, Kharoshī, and other

then conveyed to Ghaznīn, and the corpse of the Sulṭān was interred in the Madrasah [college] which he had founded in the name of his daughter, and his only child Firishtah's account of this affair has not been correctly rendered by his translators

After the funeral, Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, set out from Bāmīān for Ghaznīn, and on the road was seized with a violent headache which was the messenger of his death There being no hopes of his recovery, he made his last request to his two sons, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, and Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, that they should proceed to Ghaznīn, and endeavour, by conciliation, to gain over the Wazīr, Mu-ayyid-ul Mulk, the Slaves, and the Amīrs of Ghūr, and take possession of Ghaznīn, after which, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, who was the eldest son, was to be sovereign of Ghaznīn, and Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the younger, sovereign of Bāmīān

The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh confirms this generally, but states that Bahā-ud-Dīn requested them to come to an accommodation with Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, if he would agree to content himself with Ghūr and Khurāsān, and leave Ghaznah and Hind to 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the eldest son

They came to Ghaznīn accordingly, and, although the Ghūrīān nobles were inclined to offer opposition to this, the Wazīr persuaded them that as Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, was then wholly occupied in Khurāsān, and had proceeded, at the head of an army, towards Hirāt against 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Khar-mīl, to oppose 'Alā-ud-Dīn's intentions would be useless and uncalled for, since they required a ruler over them, and, that, whenever Maḥmūd should have gained possession of Hirāt and subdued Khurāsān, it would be easy to get rid of 'Alā-ud-Dīn So he was allowed to assume the throne

When Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, became aware of this in Karmān, in compliance with the request of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, conveyed to him from Zamīn-i-Dāwar, he marched from Karmān with a large army upon Ghaznīn, wrested it by force of arms from 'Alā-ud-Dīn and his brother, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, who retired to Bāmīān Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, however proceeded to read the Khuṭbah for himself and to coin money in his own name, and, after some time, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and his brother, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, invaded Karmān and Shalūzān, and devastated the whole of those districts See page 398

[8] Styled Amīr-i-Dād in the list of Maliks

distinguished personages of the capital city of Ghaznīn, arrived there from Bāmīān, and entered the city. 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Bāmīānī, who was the eldest of the sons of [Sultān] Bahā-ūd-Dīn, Sām, ascended the throne, and brought the Amīrs present there, both Ghūrī and Turk, under fealty to him; and the Ghaznīn treasury, which, from the immensity of its wealth and precious treasures, would have [so to speak] considered the hoard of Ḳārūn but a tithe, was all divided into two equal portions. Trustworthy persons have related that the portion of Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, Bāmīānī, who was the youngest of the two brothers, amounted to two hundred and fifty camel loads of pure red gold, jewel-studded articles, and vessels of gold and silver, which was removed to Bāmīān.

After a period of some days had elapsed, Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk, the Wazīr, and the Turk Amīrs, who were at the capital, Ghaznīn, wrote letters to Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, soliciting him to come thither, and despatched them to Karmān. He determined to proceed from Karmān to Ghaznīn, and, when he arrived in the vicinity of the city, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, made ready to fight, and marched out to encounter him; and Jalāl-ud-Dīn [his brother], who also came out of the city, retired in the direction of Bāmīān.

When the ranks of 'Alā-ud-Dīn were marshalled against Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, the Turk Amīrs on either side united together, and Malik[9] 'Alā-ud-Dīn was vanquished, and he, along with all the Shansabānī Maliks who sided with him, was taken prisoner. Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, entered Ghaznīn, and gave permission to the Shansabānī-Maliks, so that they returned to Bāmīān again.

A second time Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, in order to aid his brother, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, assembled the forces of the territory of Bāmīān[1], and bodies of the troops of [the] Beghū[2] from Wakhsh and Badakhshān, and brought them,

[9] Styled Malik and Sultān indiscriminately.

[1] Two copies of the text have "the forces of the kingdom of Ghūr and of Bāmīān," but I do not think such can possibly have been meant. The whole of the Shansabānī Maliks were not subjects of the Bāmīān state. Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, the direct heir to the empire of his father and uncle, was still ruling over Ghūr, and he appears to have favoured Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, and not to have been particularly friendly towards his kinsmen of Bāmīān.

[2] One copy of the text, and also the printed text, have جوار instead of

and again appeared before Ghaznīn, and possessed himself of the Ghaznīn territory, and re-placed 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, upon the throne, after which, Jalāl-ud-Dīn returned again towards Bāmīān.

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, a second time, advanced with his troops from Karmān towards Ghaznīn, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn deputed the Ghūrī Maliks and Amīrs from Ghaznīn to repel them On the part of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, Aetkīn, the Tatār, was nominated to proceed in advance to meet them. He came upon them at the Ribāt[3] of Sankurān, and seized the whole of them drunk and out of their senses, and the Ghūrī Maliks and the great Amīrs were there put to death From thence Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, appeared before the walls of Ghaznīn, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, was invested within the citadel. For a period of four months Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, continued to invest it, until Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, arrived from the territory of Bāmīān to the assistance of his brother, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, and to drive away the Turk forces

When he reached the neighbourhood of Ghaznīn, the Turk Amīrs moved out to encounter him, and Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, was overthrown, and was taken prisoner He was brought to the foot of the walls of the fortress of Ghaznīn[4], and that fort was taken When the two brothers fell into his hands, after a short time Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, entered into a stipulation[5] with them, and caused them to return to Bāmīān After a little while, difference of interests arose between the two brothers[6] Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, was a lion-hearted monarch, an ascetic, and a firm ruler, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, did not agree with him, and he left Bāmīān, and proceeded to the presence of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh The assistance it was his object there to obtain was not advanced, and his good fortune did not again favour him, and luck did not aid

يغمر in eleven other copies. The latter is evidently the name of one of the Ghuzz tribes

[3] A Kārwān Sarāe, also a station on an enemy's frontier

[4] This was done to induce 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, to give up Ghaznīn

[5] This evidently refers to the occasion when I-yal-dūz gave one of his daughters in marriage to Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī See para second, note [7], page 433

[6] Our author says nothing of these disagreements in his account of Jalāl ud Dīn, 'Alī, at page 432

him; and, after Sulṯān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, took possession of the territory of Bāmīān, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, died[7].

He had the daughter of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, son of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain [Jahān-soz], to wife[8], and by that Princess he had a son. When the writer of these words, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, in the year 621 H., had to undertake a journey into the Ḳuhistān from the territory of Ghūr, on an embassy, it was intimated to him that that Princess and her son were then in the district of Khūsh-āb, on the borders of Tabas, into which part they had come during the misfortunes attending the irruption of the accursed ones of Chīn.

IV. SULṮĀN TĀJ-UD-DĪN, YAL-DUZ, AL-MU'IZZĪ US-SULṮĀNĪ[9].

Sulṯān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Sām, was a mighty monarch, just, a champion of the Faith, lion-hearted, and in valour a second 'Alī-i-Abū-Ṭālib—may God reward him!—but he was wanting in children[1], and one daughter was all he had by [his wife] the daughter of

[7] See page 266—267.

[8] See page 414.

[9] So called from having been one of the Slaves of Sulṯān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and who, if the latter had been so "renowned in history" as "Shahab-ood-Deen Mahomed Ghoory," we might have expected to have been styled Shihābī instead. Kuṯb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and others are called Mu'izzī for the same reason. It would be difficult to decide what is the real meaning here of the word Yal-duz. In the different copies of the text it is written as above, and in the three oldest copies the vowel points are also given; but in other works, including Yāfa'ī and Faṣīḥ-ī, the word is written more correctly I-yal-dūz, the first word of which is the same as occurs in I-yal Arsalān, I-yal-timish, &c. In one lexicographical work يلدز without any vowels being mentioned, is said to be Turkī [of which there is no doubt], and to be the *name of a man and* a star, not a star only. I-yal [ايل], among other meanings, signifies a mountain bull; Ī-l [ايل], which is not the word here meant, means friendly, obedient, tame, familiar, and Yal [يل], brave, valiant, intrepid. Dūz [دوز] means flat, level, smooth, even; and [دز] dijz and diz [دز] mean a fort, a hill, and also rough, austere; anger, fury, rage, and the like. Among the Turks, as with other Oriental people, the name of a child is often derived from some object or incident, trifling or otherwise, which may have struck the mother's fancy, or that of any of the women present at the child's birth; and the name I-yal dūz, Yal-duz, or Yal dūz is doubtless something of the same kind.

[1] From the accounts given by some other authors, it would appear that Sulṯān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn had had several children born to him, but only one daughter survived him. The others may have died in childhood. At page 344, which see, he is said to have married the daughter of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, son of his paternal uncle, Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Khar-nak, whose other son was named Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad [Husain].

his uncle, Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, Mādīnī; and he had a great fancy for purchasing Turkish slaves, and he bought a great number of slaves of that race. Every one of them acquired renown throughout the whole of the countries of the East for activity, warlike accomplishments, and expertness; and the names of his slaves became published in the four quarters of the world, and during the Sulṭān's lifetime every one of them became famous

Trustworthy persons have related on this wise, that one of the confidential favourites of the Sulṭān's Court made bold to represent to him, saying: "To a monarch like unto thee, the like of whom in height of dignity and grandeur the whole expanse of the empire of Islām does not contain, sons were necessary to thy empire, in order that every one of them might be the inheritor of a kingdom of the empire of the universe, so that, after the expiration of the period of this [present] reign, the sovereignty might continue permanent in this family" That victorious Sulṭān [in reply] uttered these august words.—"Other monarchs may have one son, or two sons: I have so many thousand sons, namely, my Turk slaves[2], who will be the heirs of my dominions, and who, after me, will take care to preserve my name in the Khuṭbah throughout those territories[3]." And so it happened as declared in the

[2] And yet the *very first* TURK slave who acquired the sovereignty after the Sulṭān's death is turned into a Pathán, i e an Afghān, and even the Sulṭān himself, and without any authority for such a statement.

[3] This *may* explain [for our author's statements, in different places, make the above one very doubtful] why Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, is supposed to have issued coins in the sole name of his deceased master and sovereign, and why he styles himself "the servant and slave" of the "martyred Sulṭān, Muḥammad-i-Sām" See the notice of his coins in Thomas, "PATHÁN KINGS OF DEHLI," pages 25—31 It is quite a mistake to suppose that I yal-dūz ever styled *himself* "Sulṭān-i-Mu'aẓẓam"—he is styled, at the head of this Chapter, *Mu'izzī*—and it is probable the titles on the different coins, especially those bearing "Sulṭān-ul-Mashriḳ," from our author's statement here, apply to the *late* Sulṭān, or, more probably, to his successor, Maḥmūd, who is styled b authors Sulṭān i-Mashriḳain wa Shahanshāh-i Maghrabain —

سلطان مشرقین و شهنشاه مغربین   محمود بن محمد بن سام بن حسین

Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn probably did the same, although we have no proof, but, whatever may have been done in our author's time, Shams-ud-Dīn, I yal timish, the Ḳuṭbī slave and son-in-law, does not appear to have followed the same example, from the evidence on the coins given by Thomas at pages 52 and 78 See however our author's statement at page 398, where he says the Khuṭbah

hallowed words of that victorious Sulṭān—on whom be the Almighty's mercy !—which, throughout the whole dominion of Hindūstān[4], up to the period when this book was written, namely, the year 657[5] H., they observed, and are still observing; and it is to be sincerely implored that, by the grace of Almighty God, these dominions may continue, in this same manner, under their sway to the uttermost end of the existence of the race of Adam.

I now reach my own discourse, which is the account of Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz.

He was a great monarch, of excellent faith, mild, beneficent, of good disposition, and very handsome. The Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, purchased him when he was young in years, and, from the outset of his career, appointed him to an office, and subsequently, step by step, advanced him to a high position, and made him head and chief over the other Turkish slaves[6]. When he grew up he attained authority and power, and the Sultān conferred upon him the government of the district of Sankurān and Karmān[7] in feudal fief; and every year that the Sulṭān

was read for Sulṭān MAHMŪD, and that the coin was stamped with *his name throughout the whole of the territories* of Ghūr, Ghaznīn, and Hindūstān.

[4] That portion of Hindūstān which our author's patron ruled over probably.

[5] In three copies 568 H.

[6] Jahān-Ārā, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, and others, state that the Sulṭān used to treat these Turkish Mamlūks like sons, and bestowed the government of provinces and countries upon them. He esteemed the most, and placed the greatest confidence in, Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal dūz, and showed him the greatest honour; and the Sulṭān's followers used to pay him great homage, and attention, and go in his train. During the lifetime of the Sulṭān, Tāj-ud-Dīn became Wālī of Kaṛmān; and, from the great honour and respect in which he was held, he subsequently acquired dominion over the kingdom of Ghaznīn. Compare this with FIRISHTAH's idle tales, both in his text and in DOW and BRIGGS.

[7] The province which Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, held, included the tract of country, containing several *darahs*—long valleys with hills on two sides, and rivers running through them—extending from the southern slopes of Spīn-ghar, the White Mountain, in Pu'shto, and the south-westerly slopes of the Salt Range, on the north; towards the Gumal on the south; from the range of hills separating the district of Gardaiz on the west; and to the Sind-Sāgar or Sind or Indus on the east,—a large tract of country watered by the *Kurmah* [vulg. Kurram] river and its tributaries, which province, in ancient times, must have been exceedingly populous and flourishing, to judge from the remains of several cities still to be seen in it, and which is still very fruitful. The upper portion of this tract is called the *darah* of KURMAH, and, lower down,-towards the Sind, are Banū and Marwat.

The KURMAH *darah* is about 40 *kuroh* in length [each *kuroh*, in this part,

would make a halt in Karmān, on his expeditions into Hindūstān*, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, used to feast the whole

being 2000 paces], and having little level ground On either side of this great *darah* are smaller ones, running in nearly transverse directions, but those I would more particularly refer to here, as forming an important portion of I-yal-dūz's fief, and giving name to the province, are those springing, so to speak, from Spīn-ghar

One of these is the *darah* of SHALŪZĀN [also written in the account of Amīr Tīmūr, *Shanūzān*], and which our author refers to [see page 450] as SANKURĀN, which name appears to have been derived from a tribe of the Ghuzz, so named, who held it before, and in the time of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and his brother, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn It is seven *kuroh* in length from north to south, and through it flows a stream which issues from Spīn-ghar, and joins the river from the Paiwar valley Its inhabitants are Ṭorīs, who are reckoned among the Afghāns, but they CLAIM other descent, and some Awān-kārs, a tribe of Jats, which appears to have been, for the most part, displaced by the easterly migrations of the Afghān tribes, and are now chiefly located on the other side of the Sind-Sāgar or Indus

KARMĀN is another *darah* somewhat smaller, with a stream running through it which also joins the Shalūzān and other streams which fall into the Kurmah I find no mention, in any author, of any ancient town of Karmān, but the governor of the province was located in the *darah*, and there may have been a considerable town so called, or, at least, a permanent encampment

East of Shalūzān is the ZIRĀN *darah*, running in a south-westerly direction from Spīn ghar, and eight *kuroh* in length A stream issuing from Spīn-ghar flows through it, which, having joined the Shalūzān river, enters the Kurmah west of the town or large village of Ūjī Khel The people are Dzāzīs [turned into Jajees by travellers], who also are reckoned among the Afghāns but CLAIM other descent, and some Awān kārs

Another large *darah*, and the most westerly one, is ĪRĪ-ĀB [vulg Harriab], twenty *kuroh* in length, running south-west from Spīn-ghar, very mountainous, but very fruitful Out of this *darah* likewise a stream issues, which, flowing east of Baghzan, the chief town of the Dzāzīs, enters the Kurmah district, and receives the name of Kurmah

Another *darah* is PAIWAR [not *Piwar*], which also has its river, which joins the others before mentioned, flowing from the northwards

The chief towns and large villages of this tract, at present, are Astiyā [this is not the place referred to at page 339], Paiwar, Balūt, Zūmisht, Saidā, Ūjī Khel, Buland Khel, Balīmīn [vulg Balameen], Irī-āb, Baghzan, and the cluster of villages called by the name of the *darah*, Shalūzān, with many of smaller size Kurmah, called by travellers Kuriam, where is a fort, and the residence of the local governor, is not situated in the Karmān *darah*, so is not to be confounded with any place of that name This name, Karmān, which is spelt as the natives spell it, has caused some absurd blunders among writers and translators, who have supposed it referred to the Persian province of Kirmān

The *daraks* south of the Kurmah *darah* include those of Khost, Dawar, Maidān, and Bakr Khel, each with its stream which falls into the Kurmah, but the whole of those mentioned, in the summer, decrease very much in volume

* It was through this province of Karmān—the government of which was a most important post—that the *lower* route from Ghaznīn to Lāhor lay, which is referred to in note [1], page 481 The route by Karmān was the "lower route" referred to in Alfī in the same note

of the Amīrs, the Maliks, and the suite, and was in the habit of presenting a thousand honorary head-dresses and quilted tunics, and would command liberal largess to be given to the whole retinue.

By command of the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, a daughter of Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, was given in marriage to Sulṭān Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, I-bak, and another daughter[9] was married to Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah[1] Sulṭān[1] Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, had likewise two sons, one of whom he had placed with a preceptor One day that preceptor, by way of chastisement and discipline, struck the boy over the head with an earthen water-flask[2] The decree of destiny had come, and the water-flask struck him in a mortal place, and the boy died Information was conveyed to Sulṭān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, who forthwith, out of his excessive clemency and exemplary piety, sent funds to the preceptor for his expenses, with directions that "he should get out of the way, and undertake a journey, before the boy's mother became aware of her son's fate, lest she might cause any injury to be done him, in anguish for the loss of her son." This anecdote is a proof of the goodness of disposition and the purity of faith of that amiable Sulṭān

In the last year of the reign of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, when that monarch [on his last expedition into Hind] came into Karmān and halted there, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, presented those yearly stipulated thousand tunics and head-dresses The Sultān, out of the whole of them, selected one tunic and one head-dress, and honoured his slave by presenting him with his own princely robe, and the Sultān conferred upon him a black banner, and it was the desire of his august mind that Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, after himself, should succeed to the throne of Ghaznīn[3] When the

[9] One daughter was given in marriage to Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, of Bāmīān, hence there must have been three, or more daughters See note [7], page 433.

[1] Our author styles him Malik and Sulṭān indiscriminately.

[2] Firishtah has كوز [كُوزَ], a whip, but all the copies of our author's text have كوزه The Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī too says "he took up a gugglet and struck him over the head with it," &c A whipping was not likely to cause death, but the other mode of chastisement was

[3] Here again is a specimen of the manner in which Firishtah has been translated, and whose *translated* work hitherto has furnished the sole materials for writers of Indian Histories for our Colleges and Schools —

Dow says that "Mahommed, in his last expedition, favoured Eldoze so

Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī attained martyrdom, it was the desire and disposition of the Turk Maliks and Amīrs that Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, son of [Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn] Muhammad, son of Sām, should come from the confines of Garmsīr to Ghaznīn, and ascend his uncle's throne, and that they all should gird up their loins in his service. To this effect they wrote to the Court of Fīrūz-koh, and represented, saying: "The Sulṭāns[4] of Bāmīān are acting oppressively, and are ambitious of obtaining possession of Ghaznīn. Thou art the heir to the dominion, and we are thy slaves[5]."

much that he bestowed upon him *the black standard* of the kingdom of Ghizni, by this intimating his will, that he should succeed to the throne," &c. BRIGGS has "Mahomed Ghoory, in his last expedition to India, conferred on Taj-ood-Deen the privilege of carrying *the black standard* of Ghizny, an honour which was usually confined to the heir-apparent." Any one reading this last version could only conclude that Tāj-ud-Dīn *carried* this "black standard" in the last expedition, but such was not the case. Firishtah copies almost the very words of our author: these are his words—"Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn [he calls him Mu'izz and Shihāb indiscriminately] in the latter part of his reign, when he came into Karmān, dignified him by presenting him with one of his own dresses, and specially conferred upon him *a* black banner [for his own use that is], and it was the Sulṭān's desire that, after his own decease, the Ghaznīn territory should be his."

[4] He refers to Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām's, sons here.

[5] Our author contradicts himself twice, and makes three different statements on this subject. At page 431 he says the general desire, both of the Turk and Ghūrī Amīrs, was that Bahā ud-Dīn, Sām, of Bāmīān, should succeed to the sovereignty, and at page 432 he contradicts himself, and states that they were all inclined to his sons obtaining it. Tāj ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, was the chief of them, and the principal mover in this matter. From this statement of our author, and his accounts given elsewhere, as well as from the statements of other authors, it is clear that Tāj ud-Dīn, I-yal dūz, *up to this time*, had not been removed from the government of this province, and therefore did not shut his sovereign and master out of Ghaznīn after his defeat at Andkhūd, and further, that it was not until he and the other Mamlūks of the late Sulṭān had called upon his nephew, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, to assume the sovereignty over Ghaznīn and Hind that he, I-yal dūz, left Karmān, on being nominated to the sovereignty of the kingdom of Ghaznīn, and receiving his freedom from Maḥmūd himself.

Alfī says, however, that, "when Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, gained a firm hold of the authority at Ghaznīn, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, sent him a message from Fīrūz-koh, requesting him to coin the money in his name, and read the Khuṭbah for him. Tāj-ud-Dīn sent a reply, saying, that, when Maḥmūd should send him a deed of manumission, he would do so, otherwise he would give his allegiance to whomsoever he chose. As Maḥmūd was not safe from being assailed by Khwārazm Shāh, and fearing lest Tāj-ud-Dīn should go over to him [as 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of Khar-mīl, had done], he sent the required deed of manumission to Tāj-ud-Dīn, and another to Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, together with deeds of investiture for the governments of Ghaznīn and Hindūstān respectively. Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, at this time was at Purshor,

Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, replied, saying: "To me the throne of my father, which is the capital, Fīrūz-koh, and the kingdom of Ghūr, is the most desirable. I confer the territory [of Ghaznīn] on you," and he despatched a robe of honour to Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, and presented him with a letter of manumission, and assigned the throne of Ghaznīn unto him.

By virtue of this mandate Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, came to Ghaznīn, and seized the Maliks of Bāmīān[6], and ascended the throne of Ghaznīn, and brought that territory under his jurisdiction. After a time he was excluded from Ghaznīn, and again returned to it, and again brought it

whither he had come to guard one of the routes into Hind, and was well pleased with what was conferred upon him."

Other writers state that I-yal-dūz sent an agent to Maḥmūd and tendered his allegiance, and confirm what our author states, but they probably copied their account from his.

[6] Called "Sulṭāns" in the preceding paragraph, and in his previous account of them. Alfī says I-yal-dūz, subsequent to sending Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, back to Bāmīān, as stated in note [7], page 433, assembled his forces, and carried his inroads as far as Bust, and that, when Abī-Dakur [Zakur?] reached Kābul, after his desertion of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, an emissary reached him on the part of Ḳuṭb ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, which emissary he had first despatched to Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal dūz, reproaching him for his conduct towards his benefactor, Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ ud Dīn, Maḥmūd, and exhorting him to discontinue it. This emissary was directed to ask Abī-Dakur to co-operate with him [Ī-bak], and, in case I yal-dūz did not hold his hand and repent of his acts, that Abī-Dakur should assemble his troops and assail Ghaznīn, and wrest it from I yal-dūz, who appears to have been then absent in Bust, and, in case he [Abī-Dakur] did not find himself powerful enough for the purpose of taking it, not to be deterred, as he was following to support him. Abī-Dakur complied with the request, and invested Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk, the Wazīr, whom I yal dūz had left there as his lieutenant, and a portion of the suburbs of Ghaznīn was taken and occupied by his men. On becoming aware of this movement, I-yal dūz returned from Bust by forced marches, and reached Ghaznīn, on which Abī-Dakur precipitately withdrew, and joined Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, who gave him his man mission, and conferred upon him the title of Malik-ul-Umrā [Chief of Nobles].

At this time Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, advanced from Hirāt [on his way to Hirāt?], and took the town and fortress of Tāl-ḳān from the Ghūrīs, and then marched to Kāl-yūsh [Kāl-yūn?] and Fīwāi, and encountered several times Amīr Ḥusām ud-Dīn, the governor of those parts, for Maḥmūd, but he did not succeed in his design, as they were very strong places, and Sulṭān Muhammad retired to Hirāt again. Arrived there, he acquainted the ruler of Sijistān of it, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn i-Harab acknowledged his suzerainty, and read the Khutbah and coined money in Khwārazm Shāh's name. These are the events of the year 594 from the Prophet's death [604 H.]. The difference between the two eras H. and RIHLAT is ten years less twenty or twenty-one days.

under his sway. A second time the same thing happened, until, after some time, a battle took place between him and Sultān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, on the confines of the Panj-āb[7], and Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, was defeated, and Sulṭān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn advanced to Ghaznīn[8], and remained there for a period of forty days, during which time he gave himself up to pleasure and revelry. A third time Sultān Tāj-ud Dīn, Yal-duz, marched from Karmān towards Ghaznīn, and Sultān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, retired again towards Hindūstān by the route of Sang-i-Surākh, and once more Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, brought Ghaznīn under his rule[9].

He sent armies upon several occasions towards Ghūr, Khurāsān, and Sijistān, and nominated Maliks [to command them]. On one occasion he despatched a force to aid Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, as far as the gates of Hirāt, on account of the treason of 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Khar-mīl, who was the Malik of Hirāt, and who had conspired with Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and had gone over to him, and who fled before the forces of Ghūr and Ghaznīn[1].

On another occasion Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, led an army towards Sijistān, and remained away on that expedition for a considerable time, and advanced as far as

[7] Some copies have "on the confines of the Panj-āb-i-Sind"—the five rivers of Sind.

[8] "I-yal-dūz having sent the Wazīr of Ghaznīn against Ḳabā-jah and ousted him from Lāhor [see reign of Ḳabā jah, next Section], Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, advanced into the Panj āb against I-yal-dūz in 603 H., and, I-yal dūz having encountered him, was defeated, and retreated to Karmān and Shalūzān, which districts had been his charge in Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's reign. Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, pushed on to Ghaznīn [by another route], and drove out the governor, on the part of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh's son, and then gave himself up to wine and debauchery. The people of Ghaznīn sent to I-yal-dūz and solicited him to return, and, when he arrived in the neighbourhood, at the head of a numerous force, Ḳuṭb ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, was quite unprepared to resist him, and he made the best of his way towards Hind by the route of Sang i-Sūrākh, and reached Lohor." On this occasion 'Izz-ud-Dīn, 'Alī-i-Mardān, the Khalj, who assassinated Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, ruler of Lakhanawatī, and afterwards obtained from Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the government of that territory, was taken prisoner. See his reign, next Section. "As Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn did not consider himself safe from the designs of I yal-dūz, he continued at Lohor until 607 H., when he met with the accident which caused his death."

[9] On the death of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, and dethronement of Ārām Shāh, his adopted son, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Ī-yal-dūz, sent a canopy of state and other insignia of royalty to Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal timish. See his reign, Section XXI.

[1] See note [2], page 257, and note [8], page 400.

the gates of the city of Sīstān[2] At length peace was concluded between him and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Ḥarab, who was the king of Sijistān. When Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, set out on his return [to Ghaznīn], on his way thither, Malik Nāṣir[3]-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, the Amīr-i-Shikār [Chief Huntsman] showed disaffection towards him, and engagements took place between them Malik Naṣir-ud-Din was overthrown, and retired towards Khwārazm [the Khwārazm territory ?], and after a time returned, until, on the expedition [of Tāj-ud-Dīn] into Hindūstān[4], the Turkish Maliks and Amīrs of

[2] Other authors do not mention any cause why I-yal dūz should have marched against Sīstān, and do not give any details respecting this affair It may have been caused through the ruler of Sijistān proposing to acknowledge the suzerainty of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, but our author does not say a word about any expedition of this kind in his account of the rulers of Sijistān

Here, again, is a specimen of history writing Dow says "*Eldoze*, in conjunction with the *Emperor Mamood of Ghor*, *sent* an army to Herat, *which they conquered*, as also a *great part* of Seistan, but, making a peace with the prince of that country, *they returned*" Then Briggs says "At length, in conjunction with the King, Mahmood of Ghoor, he (*Yeldooz*) *sent* an army to *Herat*, *which he reduced*, as *also great part of Seestan*," &c Firishtah, however, says "Once, to support Sulṭān Maḥmūd, he despatched an army against Hirāt, and *overcame* the Malik of Hirāt, 'Izz ud Dīn, Ḥusain i-Khar mīl On another occasion he marched an army against Sīstān, and invested it, and [then] made a peace with the Malik of Sīstān, and returned" Firishtah, however, is no authority whatever for Western affairs, and as to overcoming 'Izz-ud-Dīn, son of Husain i-Khar mīl, see last para. to note [2], page 258 For further details respecting the reign of I-yal dūz not mentioned here, see pages 417 and 420

[3] Nāṣir-ud Dīn in two copies, and Naṣr in another He held the office of Chief Huntsman under the late Sulṭān

[4] *Among the events of the year Riḥlat 603, according to Alfī [Hijrah 613]*, Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, acquired possession of Ghaznīn After that monarch had possessed himself of the territory of Bāmīān and Khurāsān from the Ghūrīān nobles, he despatched an agent to Tāj ud-Dīn, I yal dūz, intimating that if he, Tāj ud-Dīn, would acknowledge his suzerainty, and stamp the coin with his name, and pay him a yearly tribute, he should be left in quiet possession of Ghaznīn, otherwise he must be prepared to see his troops speedily appear before it Tāj ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, called a council of his Amīrs, and Kutlagh Tigīn, his Amīr-ul-Umrā [Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says his Nāyab or Lieutenant at Ghaznīn], who was another of the late Sulṭān Mu'izz ud-Dīn's slaves, advised that the Sulṭān's demands should be acceded to, as it was impossible for them to resist Khwārazm Shāh Tāj-ud-Dīn, I yal-dūz, complied, and despatched befitting offerings and presents, and accepted the Sulṭān's etrms

Not long after these events, Tāj ud-Dīn went out on a hunting excursion, and Kutlagh Tigīn sent information to the Sulṭān [who was then on the northern frontier of I yal-dūz's territory], saying, that Ghaznīn was now freed from Tāj ud-Dīn's presence, and urged him to come thither that he might deliver up the place to him Khwārazm Shāh acceded to the request, and

Ghaznīn conspired together and put to death the Khwājah, Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk, Muḥammad-i-'Abd-ullah, Sanjarī, who held the office of Wazīr, and likewise Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, the Amīr-i-Shikār

After a period of forty days Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, marched an army from the side of Ṭukhāristān, and advanced towards Ghaznīn; and his troops suddenly and unexpectedly seized the frontier route leading into Hindūstān, towards Gardaiz and the Karāhah[4] Darah [Pass]. Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, took the route towards Hindūstān, by way of Sang-i-Surākh[6], and reached Lohor. An engagement took place between him [Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz] and the august Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish[7], in the vicinity of Tarā'īn[8], and Sultān

obtained possession of Ghaznīn, and Tāj-ud-Dīn, finding what had happened [Tāj ul-Ma'āṣir says in 612 H], retired towards Hind. The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh states that this took place in 611 H, and that all the dominions of the Ghūrīs fell under his sway

Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, having obtained possession of Ghaznīn, as above related, Tāj ud Dīn, I yal dūz, continued his retreat towards Hind. On reaching the neighbourhood of Lāhor, he fought a battle with Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā jah, who was governor of that province on the part of Ḳuṭb ud-Dīn, Ī bak, defeated him, took possession of Lāhor for himself, and soon appropriated the whole of the Panjāb [See the account of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā jah, page 532]

Khwārazm Shah, according to the statement of Alfī, on taking possession of Ghaznīn, put to death all the Ghūrīān nobles and chiefs [which is very improbable], made over the city and territory to his son, Jalāl-ud-Dīn [he *nominated* him to the rulership of those parts, but left an officer there as his son's deputy], and returned to Khwārazm

[4] In some copies Karāsah [كراسه], but the best have كراهه as above. It is one of the Passes on the route from Ghaznīn towards Lāhor, the name of which has been changed with the change in the inhabitants of those parts

[6] There are three or four places so called, signifying the "Perforated Stone." The route here seems to refer to a more southerly route than that by the Pass above mentioned. It is a totally different route to that mentioned at page 441

[7] Four good copies, two of which are old ones, write this name here, and in some other places, with two ts—I-yal-titmish, and some other writers do the same

[8] The engagement between Sulṭān Tāj-ud Dīn, I-yal-dūz, and this "august Sulṭān"—the slave of the slave, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, his own son-in-law—took place, by some accounts, on Saturday, the 20th of Shawwāl, 611 H, and, according to others, on Monday, the 3rd of Shawwal, 612 H, at Tarā'īn, now Talāwaṛī, near Pānīpaṭ, in the neighbourhood of which the fate of India has so often been decided. Tāj-ud-Dīn was put to death soon after, in the citadel of Budā'ūn, by his rival, I-yal-timish, on whom he had himself conferred the insignia of royalty after I yal-timish's usurpation of the sovereignty

Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, was [defeated and] taken prisoner, and sent to the district of Budā'ūn, and there he was martyred, and there his mausoleum is situated, and has become a place of pilgrimage, and is visited by suppliants His reign extended over a period of nine years The Almighty's mercy be upon him! God alone is immortal and eternal!

V SULṬĀN-UL-KARĪM [THE BENEFICENT], ḲUṬB UD-DĪN, Ī-BAK, AL-MU'IZZĪ US SULṬĀNĪ

The beneficent and just Sultān, Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, who was a second Ḥātim, seized the throne of Ghaznīn, and took it out of the hands of Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, who was his father-in-law He occupied the throne for a period of forty days, and, during this space of time, he was wholly engaged in revelry, and in bestowing largess, and the affairs of the country through this constant festivity were neglected The Turks of Ghaznīn, and the Maliks of the Mu'izzī [dynasty], wrote letters secretly to Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, and entreated him to return Sulṭān Tāj-ud-Dīn determined to march thither from Karmān, and, as the distance was short, he reached Ghaznīn unexpectedly Sultān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, when he became aware of this, retired from Ghaznīn towards Hindūstān again, by the way of Sang-i-Surākh[9], and, as both of them, in the position of father-in-law and son-in-law, were in the relation of father and son, they did not cause any injury to be done to each other Subsequently to that, the territory of Ghaznīn came into the possession of Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and under the authority of the Khwārazmī Maliks, as has been previously recorded

This Section, on the Shansabānīs and their Slaves, is

of Dihlī, and dethronement of Ḳutb-ud-Dīn's son [according to our author, but his adopted son, according to others], and putting him to death

[9] A very stable government, certainly—forty days! Our author has made Kuṭb ud Dīn, Ī-bak, one of the Sultāns of Ghaznīn, as though he wanted to make up the number as much as possible, and he is introduced here without any cause whatever Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, took Lāhor, and ousted its governor, and held it a much longer time, and he, under the same system, should have been entered among the Sultāns of Hindūstān

concluded; and, after this, I come to the Section on the Sulṭāns of Hindūstan, the first of whom to be mentioned is Sulṭān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī bak, and his illustrious actions[1], which, please God, will be recorded as fully as the limits of this book will permit

[1] The more modern copies of the text differ here somewhat

SECTION XX.

ACCOUNT OF THE MU'IZZĪAH SULṬĀNS OF HIND

THUS saith the feeble servant of the Almighty, Abū 'Umr-i-'Usmān, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Jūrjānī—the Almighty God preserve him from indiscretion!—that this TABAKĀT is devoted to the mention of those Sultāns, who were the Slaves of the Court, and servants of the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of Sām[1]—on whom be peace!—and

[1] English writers on Indian History, with scarcely an exception, begin, from this point, their—I say their, because no native historian does so for obvious reasons—"AFGHAN or PATAN *Dynasty of Dehli*," with the first *Turkish* slave king, Kutb-ud-Dīn, of the Powerless Finger,—although one or two of them commence with his Tājik master, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad son of Sām, Ghūrī,—as its founder

This monstrous error, which has been handed down from one writer to another for more than a century, no doubt, originated with Dow, who, in 1768, published a version of FIRISHTAH'S HISTORY, the commonest Persian historical work that is to be met with in India, and the one which is generally known to most educated Musalmāns The work, in itself, which is a compilation from other works, and largely copies the histories composed in the reign of Akbar, is not very often incorrect, but, consequently, Firishtah is not a *very great* authority, and, as regards non-Indian history, no authority at all

Dow professes, in his Preface [which teems with monstrous errors, but which I must pass over here, as I have referred to it in another place See JOURNAL OF THE BENGAL ASIATIC SOCIETY for the present year, 1875], to have entered into "*more detail*"—to have "*clipped the wings of Firishta's turgid expressions, and rendered his metaphors into common language*," and further states [p ix] that he has "given as few as possible of the faults [!] of the author, but has been cautious enough, not wittingly at least, to *substitute any of his own* in their place" [!!]

Notwithstanding all this, the work was so translated, that Gibbon suspected "that, through some odd fatality, the style of Firishtah had been improved by that of Ossian," and, as it caused the late Sir H Elliot, in his BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX [p 317], to say "his [Dow's] own remarks are so interwoven as to convey *an entirely different meaning from that which Firishtah intended*," and "some of the commonest sentences are misunderstood, and the florid diction was occasionally used to *gloss* and *embellish an imperfect comprehension* of the original"

This is, by no means, an exaggerated picture of the translation, but, on the

who, in the empire of Hindūstān, sat upon the throne of sovereignty, to whom the throne of the kingdom of that

contrary, a very sober one, as I shall show in as brief a manner as possible, with regard to those passages only which have led some conscientious writers to turn Turkish slaves, Khalj Turks, the descendants of Jats, low caste Hindūs, and Sayyids, into Afghāns or Patāns

Passing over the numerous errors in the Preface of Dow's translation to save space, I begin with his Introduction, which is taken from Firishtah's, but a vast deal of the original is left out, for obvious reasons, and what has been retained is full of ridiculous mistakes In the account of a Hindū king styled Kid Rāj [page 8], he has "The mountaineers of Cabul and Candahar, *who are called Afgans* [sic] *or Patans*, advanced against Keda-raja" The words in italics are NOT in Firishtah

At page 50, vol I Dow has "In the following year, Mamood [Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn is meant, but the translator ignores the letter ح—h—in his name] led his army towards Ghor One native prince of that country, Mahommed *of the Soor tribe of Afgans* [sic], *a principality in the mountains famous for giving birth to the Ghorian dynasty*," &c BRIGGS, too, follows Dow closely, and often verbatim, in his version of Firishtah This identical passage in his translation (vol I. page 49) runs thus —"In the following year Mahmood led an army into Ghoor The native prince of that country, Mahomed *of the Afghan tribe of Soor* (*the same race which gave birth to the dynasty that eventually succeeded in subverting the family of Subooktugeen*)," &c

There is NOT A WORD in Firishtah about "the Afghan tribe of Soor" the whole of the passages in italics, in both translations, are NOT in Firishtah From this particular passage it is, I suspect, that the monstrous error of making Patāns or Afghāns of *all* the rulers of Dihlī, Turk, Khalj, Jat, or Sayyid, has arisen Compilers of Indian History, no doubt, felt assured that this statement, from its being repeated by both translators, must be in Firishtah, and, being in Firishtah, that it must be true, but it is NOT in Firishtah, neither is such a statement *correct*, nor is such to be *found in any Muhammadan history*

A few lines under the passage in question, thus incorrectly translated, added to, and altered from the original, Firishtah refers to the Kitāb-i Yamīnī, and *quotes our author's work* as his authority with reference to the conversion of the Ghūrīāns to Islām, and says "but the author of the Ṭabakāt-i-Nāṣirī, and Fakhr ud-Dīn, Mubārak Shāh, *Marw ar-Rūdī*—i e of the town of Marw-ar Rūd—who composed a history," &c [which Firishtah never saw, but learnt of it from our author See page 300] Dow *leaves this passage out entirely* but Briggs, who appears to have been equally smitten with "Afgan or Patan" monomania, translates [page 50], the last part of the sentence, "Fakhr ood Deen Mubarick *Lody* who wrote a history," &c He read مرو الرودی - Marw-ar Rūdī—as لودی *Lody* [Lūdī], and so made a "Patan" of him too!!

At page 132, Dow has "The generality of the kings of Ghor, *according to the most authentic historians, could be traced up, by the names, for three-and-twenty, and* DOWNWARDS *nine generations, from* ALI *to* MAMOOD, *the son of Subuctagi*," &c

There is NOT one word of this in Firishtah He gives the names of their ancestors as our author [from whose work he copied them] and a few others give them, name by name down to Ẓuḥak the Tazī, but not understanding apparently, what followed in the original, Dow *concoctor*—drew on his own

monarch passed—in the same manner as his own august

fertile imagination—the "*nine generations* DOWN TO MAMOOD" of Ghaznīn, to whom the Ghūrīs were no more related than they were to Dow himself.

I have not a copy of Briggs's version by me now, that I might compare it with Dow's, but I should not be surprised if, in this instance also, he had drawn his inspiration from Dow. It was from this identical passage, probably, that the author of a "*Student's Manual of Indian History*" was led to imagine that Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn was "the great ancestor of *Shahab-ood-Deen*."

As Sīm was the name of Rustam's family, the Tāzīk Ghūrīs might have been, with equal plausibility, made descendants of Rustam, son of Zāl, the Sigizī, and moreover Sigistān or Sijistān is close to Ghūr, and several of the Ghūrī chiefs were called SĀM.

I now pass from the "Ghuzni Patans" and the Turkish slave "Patans" to the Tughlaḳ dynasty or "Tuglick Patans."

Dow has, at page 295, vol. i.: "We have no true account of the pedigree of *Tuglick*. It is generally believed that his father, whose name was Tuglick, had been, in his youth, brought up as an imperial slave, by *Balin*. His mother was one of the tribe of Jits. *But indeed the pedigrees of the Kings of the Patan empire make such a wretched figure in history*," &c.

NOT ONE of the words in italics is in Firishtah: the whole sentence is his own concoction. Compare Briggs also.

Under the reign of the Afghān ruler whom Dow styles "Shere" [vol. i. page 159], being more correct in his translation, he consequently contradicts some of his former assertions. He then describes Roh from Firishtah [" *The Student's Manual of Indian History*" however assures us that it is only "*a town*, in the province of Peshawur" ! ! !], but makes several mistakes in doing so; but Firishtah himself blundered greatly when he said that the son of the Ghūrī chief who took up his abode among the Afghāns was called Muhammad-i-Sūrī, and that his posterity are known as the Sūr Afghāns. The Afghān tradition is very different. According to it, the chief's son was named Shāh Husain, he was said to have been descended from the *younger* branch of the Ghūrīān race, while Muhammad-i-Sūrī, *said to be* the great-great grandfather of the two Sultāns, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, was descended from the *elder branch* with whom the sovereignty lay. This Shāh Husain, by *one* of his Afghān wives, had three sons, Ghalzī, Ibrāhīm, surnamed Lodī and Lūdī—but properly, Loe-daey—and Sarwānī. Lūdī had two sons, *one* of whom was named Siānī, who had two sons, Prānkī and Ismā'īl. Prānkī is the ancestor in the eighth degree of the FIRST Afghān or Patān that attained the sovereignty of Dihlī, namely, Sulṭān Bah-lūl, of the Shāhū Khel tribe of Lūdī, and founder of the Lūdīah dynasty. He is the *thirtieth* ruler of Dihlī counting from Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, the Turkish slave of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, Ghūrī, but, according to Mr. E. Thomas' "*Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*," he, under the name of "Buhlūl Lodi," is the thirty-second PATĀN ruler.

The other sons, of whom Shāh Ḥusain is said to have been the father, formed separate tribes, one of which, the Ghalzīs, I shall have to make a few remarks about, shortly.

Ismā'īl, brother of Prānkī, and *son* of Siānī, *son of Lūdī*, had two sons, one of whom was named Sūr, who is the founder,—*not* Muhammad, son of *Sūrī*, the Ghūrīān—of the Afghān tribe, not of *Sūrī*, which here is a *proper* name, but of Sūr. Sūr, *great-grandson of* Lūdī, had four sons, from one of whom,

›rds had pronounced, and which have been previously

the ninth degree, sprung Farid, afterwards Sher Shāh, and therefore, ording to the Afghān mode of describing their peoples' descent, he would styled, Sher Khān, of the Sherā Khel, of the Sūr subdivision of the dī tribe of the Batanī Afghāns or Paṭāns. The name of Sūrī occurring ong the Ghūrī Tāzīks, and Sūr among the Afghāns, immediately struck ishtah probably, and he, at once, jumped at the conclusion that they were • and the same, and that the Ghūrīs were Afghāns, and Afghāns Ghūrīs. t, although Firishtah made this mistake—for he is the *first* who made it—*never* turns Turkish slaves, Khalj Turks, Sayyids, and others into PAṬĀNS, , according to Firishtah's statements also, Bah-lūl, Lūdī, is *the first* PAṬĀN *reign of Dihli*, as stated by other authors who preceded him.

Jnder the reign of Salīm [Islām] Shāh, Sūr, Dow has [at page 191, . ii], when mentioning his death, "In this same year, Mahmood, *the tan* King of Guzerat, and the Niẓām of the Decan, *who was of the same 'ion, died*"

Here we have the descendant of a converted *Rājpūt* of the Tāk sept, on one hand, and the descendant of a *Brahman* of Bija nagar [Bi-jayā-;ar], on the other, turned into AFGHĀNS, but I need scarcely add that words in italics ARE NOT contained in Firishtah. Compare Briggs also e

One example more and I have done with these monstrous blunders, but there scores unnoticed still. At page 197, vol ii Dow, under the reign of āhīm, Sūr, has "In the meantime, Mahommed *of the Afghan family of or*, governour of Bengal, rebelled against Mahommed" The words in lics ARE NOT contained in Firishtah's text, and what that author does te is perfectly correct. What Briggs has I am not aware

The *last* of the eight Afghān or Paṭān sovereigns of Dihlī, as Bah-lūl was *first*, was Aḥmad Khān, who, on ascending the throne, adopted the e of Sulṭān Sikandar

The renowned Afghān chief, the warrior and poet, Khush-ḥāl Khān of Khatak tribe, who was well versed in the history of his people, mentions only two Paṭān dynasties—Lūdīah and Sūr, in one of his poems [See my Poetry of the Afghāns," page 197] in these words —

The whole of the deeds of the Paṭāns are better than those of the Mughals,
But they have no unity among them, and a great pity it is
The fame of BAH-LŪL, and SHER SHĀH too, resoundeth in my ears—
Afghān emperors of India who swayed the sceptre effectually and well
For *six or seven generations* did they govern so wisely,
That all their people were filled with admiration of them."

He does not claim the Tāzīk Ghūrīs, Turks, Parānchahs, and Sayyids however. I must mention before finishing this, I fear, tiresome note, that ELPHIN-ONE does not perpetrate the monstrous blunder I have been dilating on ' very properly calls the Turkish slaves, the "Slave Dynasty," and the ters under their proper designations. I do not say slaves in a contemptuous ise, far from it, for they were most able rulers, and many of them were of good descent as their master; but they were NOT Paṭāns NOR did they long to a Paṭān dynasty It was however left for the President of the chæological Section, at the late Oriental Congress [on the authority Major-Gen. A Cunningham probably] to crown this edifice of errors th "Ghori Pathans," "Khilji Pathans," "Tughlak Pathans," *and* "Afghans"

recorded[2]—who became the heirs of his dominion, and the august brows of whom became encircled with the imperial diadem of that sovereign, and through whose sway the signs of the lights of the Muhammadan faith remained on the records of the different parts and tracts of the territories of Hindūstān and may such evermore continue! The Almighty's mercy be on those passed away, and may He prolong the empire of the remainder!

I. SULṬĀN ḲUṬB-UD-DĪN, Ī-BAK, AL-MU'IZZĪ US-SULṬĀNĪ[3].

The beneficent Sultān Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the second Ḥātim, was a high-spirited and open-handed monarch. The Almighty God had endowed him with intrepidity and beneficence, the like of which, in his day, no sovereign of the world, either in the east or west, possessed, and, when the Most High God desireth to make manifest a servant of His in magnificence and glory in the hearts of mankind, He endows him with these attributes of intrepidity and beneficence, and makes him especially distinguished, both by friend and foe, for bounteousness of generosity and the display of martial prowess, like as this beneficent and victorious monarch was, so that, by the liberality and the enterprise of him, the region of Hindūstān became full of friends and empty of enemies His gifts were bestowed by hundreds of thousands[4], and his slaughters likewise were by hundreds of thousands, like as that master of eloquence, the Imām, Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ūs͟hī[5], observes in praise of this beneficent sovereign:—

"Truly, the bestowal of *laks* thou in the world didst bring:
Thy hand brought the mine's affairs to a desperate state.
The blood-filled mine's heart, through envy of thy hand,
Therefore produced the ruby as a pretext [within it][6]."

[Afghans are not "Pathans" here!], "Bengali Pathans," and "Juanpuri Pathans" After this we may shortly expect Hindū Pathans and Pārsī Pathans, or even English, Irish and Scotch Pathans.

[2] See page 497

[3] That is the slave of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn.

[4] Hence he is also called "Lak Bak͟hsh"—the giver of *laks* See page 555, where Rāe Lakhmanīah, his contemporary, is also said to have been a Lak Bak͟hsh

[5] He passed the greater part of his life in Hindūstān, and was one of the most distinguished men of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn's assembly.

[6] The liberality of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn became a proverb in Hindūstān, and still

At the outset of his career, when they brought him from Turkistān, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn reached the city of Nīshāpūr. The Ḳāẓī-ul-Ḳuẓāt [Chief Ḳāẓī], Fakhr-ud-Dīn, 'Abd-ul-'Azīz-i-Kūfī, who was a descendant of the Imām-i-A'ẓam, Abū Ḥanīfah of Kūfā [7], the governor of the province of Nīshāpūr and its dependencies, purchased him; and, in attendance on, and along with his sons, he read the Word of God, and acquired instruction in horsemanship, and shooting with the bow and arrow, so that, in a short time, he became commended and favourably spoken of for his manly bearing When he attained unto the period of adolescence [8], certain merchants brought him to the Court of Ghaznīn; and the Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of Sām, purchased him from those traders He was endowed with all laudable qualities and admirable impressions, but he possessed no outward comeliness, and the little finger [of one hand ?] had a fracture [9], and on that account he used to be styled Ī-bak-i-Shil [The powerless-fingered] [1].

continues to be so. "The people of Hind, when they praise any one for liberality and generosity, say he is the 'Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn-i-kal,' that is, the Kuṭb ud Dīn of the age, *kal* signifying the age, the time, &c" Blood is a play on the ruby's colour

[7] See page 384, and note [5]

[8] Some say the Ḳāẓī sold Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn to a merchant, but others, that, after the Ḳāẓī's death, a merchant purchased Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn from his sons, and took him, as something choice, to Ghaznīn, hearing of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's [*then* styled Shihāb-ud-Dīn] predilection for the purchase of slaves, and that he purchased Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn of the merchant at a very high price Another work states, that the merchant presented him to Mu'izz-ud-Dīn as an offering, but received a large sum of money in return

Firishtah quotes from our author here correctly, but his translators manage to distort his statements, and Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn is made out a proficient in Arabic and Persian, indeed, a ripe scholar "He made a wonderful progress in the Persian and Arabic languages, *and all the polite arts and sciences*" says Dow, and Briggs repeats it, but Firishtah's statement was respecting his talent for government, and his accomplishments in the art of war Elphinstone and others, led astray by the translators, copy *their* incorrect statements.

[9] The printed text here has the words ار دست which are not correct, and spoil the sense.

[1] I-bak—ایبك—*alone* is clearly not the real name of Ḳuṭb-ud-dīn, for, if it were, then the word *shal*—شل—added to it would make it Ī-bak of the withered or paralyzed *hand* or *limb*, and, even if the word *shil* were used for *shal*, it would make no material difference. Now we know that Ḳuṭb-ud-dīn was a very active and energetic man, and not at all paralyzed in his limbs; but, in every work in which he is mentioned, it is distinctly stated that he was called Ī-bak because one of his *little fingers* was broken or

At that period, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, now and then was wont to give himself up to pleasure and jollity. One night he had given directions for an entertainment and conviviality, and, during the entertainment, he commanded a gift to be bestowed upon each of the slaves present, consisting of sums of ready money, and gold and silver, both wrought and unwrought As to the portion of these gifts which came to Ḳuṭb-ub-Dīn's share, he came forth [with] from the jovial party, and bestowed the whole of the wealth upon the Turks[2], and janitors, and other attendants, so that nothing whatever, little or much, remained to him.

Next day, this story was conveyed to the royal hearing, and the Sulṭān distinguished Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn by his favour and intimacy, and assigned to him an honourable post among the important offices before the throne and the royal audience hall[3], and he became the leader of a body of men, and a great official Every day his affairs attained a high degree of importance, and, under the shadow of the patronage of the Sulṭān, used to go on increasing, until he became Amīr-i-Ākhūr [Lord of the Stables]. In that office, when the Sultāns of Ghūr, Ghaznīn, and Bāmiān, advanced towards Khurāsān to repel and contend against Sultān Shāh, the Khwārazmī, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn was at the head of the escort of the foragers of the stable [department], and used, every day, to move out in quest of forage[4].

injured, and one author distinctly states that on this account the nick-name of Ī bak-i-Shil was given to him Some even state that Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn gave him the name of Ḳuṭb-ud-dīn, while another author states that it was the Sulṭān who gave him the by-name of Ī bak-i-Shil It may also be remarked that there are a great many others mentioned in this work who are also styled Ī bak Fanākatī, and the author of the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, both style him Ī bak-i-Lang—and *lang* means maimed, injured, defective, &c., as well as *lame*

Ī-bak, in the Turkish language, means *finger* only, and شل according to the vowel points, may be 'Arabic or Persian, but the 'Arabic *shal*, which means having the hand (*or* part) *withered*, is not meant here, but Persian *shil*, signifying, "soft, limp, weak, powerless, impotent, paralyzed," thus Ī-bak-i-Shil—*the weak fingered* See Thomas PATHĀN KINGS OF DEHLĪ, page 32.

[2] Turkish guards, the slaves of the household.

[3] The text is defective here in nearly every copy, but comparison makes the passage correct The idiom also varies considerably for several lines, as in numerous other places, already referred to

[4] Others say Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn, with the patrol under his command, had pushed up the river bank of the Murgh-āb, towards Marw, when he unexpectedly fell in with the army of Sulṭān Shāh All his endeavours to effect his retreat,

Unexpectedly [upon one occasion], the horsemen of Sulṭān Shāh came upon them and attacked them[5]. Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn displayed great energy; but, as the horsemen [with him] were few in numbers, he was taken prisoner; and, by Sulṭān Shāh's commands, was put under restraint.

When a battle took place between Sulṭān Shāh and the Sulṭāns of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, and the former was put to the rout, the Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's men brought Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, placed on a camel, in gyves of iron, as they found him, into the victorious Sulṭān's presence. The Sulṭān commended and encouraged him[6]; and, after he returned to the seat of government, Ghaznīn, the fief of Kuhrām was committed to Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn's charge[7]. From thence he advanced towards Mīraṭh, and took possession of that place in the year 587 H[8] From Mīrath likewise he issued forth in the year 588 H. and captured Dihlī; and, in the

and all the intrepidity he displayed, were futile, as his party was small. He was taken prisoner, and conducted to Sulṭān Shāh's presence, and, by that prince's orders, was put in durance. Firishtah, copying from our author, and from others who also agree, states, that, when Mu'izz ud Dīn's men found Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, in his place of confinement in Sulṭān Shāh's camp, they placed him on a camel, with his feet still in fetters [as they had no means then of unfastening them], just as he was, and conducted him to the presence of his master, the Sulṭān. Dow and Briggs however improve upon it, and assert that "*Eibuk was discovered sitting on a camel on the field*," and carried to his "*old master*," &c. Such is not contained in Firishtah Both translators fall into the same error of calling Sulṭān Shāh—this is his name, not his title [see page 245]—"*king* of Charizm and Khwarazm," and into this error Elphinstone likewise falls. See page 248, and note [8], page 456.

[5] As a specimen of difference of idiom in the different copies of the text collated I may mention that one set—the oldest—has بدیشان دست و جلادت اظهار نهاد whilst the more modern set has برایشان زد میان قتال قایم شد

This important expedition, in which three sovereigns were engaged, is what Elphinstone [page 319, third edition] refers to as "some border warfare with the Kharizmians," in which "he was taken prisoner"

[6] He was treated with great honour and much favour, and gifts were conferred upon him

[7] As the Sulṭān's deputy or lieutenant: but this, by his own account, could not have been immediately on returning from that campaign, for as yet the battle of Tarā'īn was not gained See page 469 Both Dow and Briggs state that, at this time, the title of Ḳuṭb ud-Dīn—which the former correctly translates "the pole-star of religion," and the latter incorrectly, "pole-star of the faith*ful*," was conferred upon him, but Firishtah *does not say so*, nor any other writer that I am aware of He had been so named long before this period

[8] This is the year in which Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn, as Lord of the Stables only was taken prisoner in Khurāsān, and is impossible. Our author constantly contradicts his own dates See pages 379 and 469.

year 590 H., Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn proceeded, at the august stirrup of the victorious Sultān, along with the Sipah-Sālār, 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Khar-mil, both of them being the leaders of the van of the army, and fell upon the Rāe of Banāras, Jai-Chand, on the confines of Chand-wāl[9] and overthrew him.

Subsequently, in the year 591 H., Thankīr was taken; and, in 593 H., Ḳutb-ud-Dīn marched towards Nahrwālah, and attacked Rāe Bhīm Dīw[1], and took vengeance upon that tribe [of people] for the Sultān-i-Ghāzī['s previous defeat]. He likewise subdued other territories of Hindūstān[2], as far [south ?] east as the frontier of the territory of

[9] See following note [2], last para. page 518.

[1] The best St. Petersburgh MS. has Thīnūr Dīw [تهنوردیو] here, but the majority, including the two other oldest copies of the text, are as above.

[2] Our author omits mentioning many important events which are not touched upon in Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's reign, although, at page 507, he says he intends giving a detailed account of the Ḳuṭbī victories under Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn's reign. As this is one of the most important periods of Indian history, I am obliged, in order to give some connexion to the events of the Muḥammadan conquest, to burden this translation with an abstract of them, more particularly as they are not given, in any detail, except in two histories, and, even in them, the chronological order of events has not been strictly observed. The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir states that, after taking Ajmīr, subsequent to the overthrow and death of Rāe Pithorā and the installation of his son as tributary ruler of that state, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn proceeded towards Dihlī, which was then held by a kinsman of Khāndī [Gobind of our author] Rāe, the brother of Rāe Pithorā, but, on his tendering submission, and payment of a large sum as tribute, he was left unmolested, under the same terms as Ajmīr had been left in possession of Rāe Pithorā's son, but some say his brother. Kuhṛām and Samānah were left in Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn's charge, and he was left at the former place as the Sulṭān's deputy or lieutenant, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn himself returned to Ghaznīn. ELPHINSTONE says, page 314, on the authority of Firishtah's translators, I suppose, that, when "Shahab u din" returned to Ghaznīn, he left "*his former slave*, Kutb u din Eibak," as *his representative in India*, and yet "*his former* slave" did not get his manumission until upwards of *twelve years afterwards*, as *all* native authors, including Firishtah himself, state: and such is history!

Another account is, that, after being installed at Kuhṛām, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn marched from thence against Mīrath, and gained possession of it, after which he moved against Dihlī and invested it. The kinsman of Khāndī Rāe appealed to his Rājpūt countrymen for aid, and an army of Rājpūts, in concert with the garrison, endeavoured to raise the investment by attacking Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn and his forces in the plain before the city. The Hindūs, however, were overthrown, and the defenders, being reduced to straits, called for quarter, and surrendered the place.

In Ramaẓān, 588 H., according to the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir [Firishtah, who often quotes it, says Ramaẓān, 589 H.], news reached Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn that an army of Jats [Firishtah says "under a leader named Jatwān, a dependent of the Rāe of

Ujjain[3]; and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn[4], Muḥammad, son of Bakht-

[3] Ujjain is as plainly written as it is possible to write, and the ج has the tashdīd mark over it in the two oldest and best copies of the text. Other copies have چین but it is evidently owing, in the first place, to a copyist or copyists dropping the ا that the error arose—thus چين and چين for اجين Ujjain is the more probable, and certainly the *more correct*, if the map of India be consulted, and the account of his campaigns, in the abstract I have given, read. It is confirmed also by some other authors, but the generality of histories, which are comparatively modern, with the exception of Mir'āt-i Jahān-Numā, which has Ujjain, have Chīn. The only reason that will account for such an idea having arisen respecting Chīn must have been the raid of Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, the Khalj, into Tibbat, mentioned at page 564, which ended so disastrously

[4] Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, is his correct name, as our author himself states in his account of him See page 548

Nahrwālah"] had appeared before Hānsī The governor of that tract, Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Sālārī, had been obliged to shut himself up within the walls, and to send to Kuṭb-ud Dīn for aid He flew to his assistance, marching the same night the news reached him twelve leagues The enemy, hearing of his approach, decamped, but, being closely pursued, faced about, and were overthrown Their leader was slain [Firishtah says he retired to Nahrwālah of Gujarāt], and Kuṭb ud Dīn, having again placed Hānsī in an efficient state, returned to Kuhṛām, and soon after made Dihlī his head-quarters and the seat of government, but some authors state that he did not make it the capital until the following year, *after taking* Kol

Kuṭb-ud-Dīn had soon to take the field again to support the son of Rāe Pithorā, who had been installed tributary ruler of Ajmīr The Ṣadr-i 'Alā, Kiwām-ul-Mulk, Rukn-ud Dīn, Hamzah, who held the fief of Rantabhūr, sent information that Bhurāj [بهراج], also written Bhūrāj [بهوراج], who is called Hirāj [هراج] in some imperfect copies of the Tāj-ul Ma'āṣir, Hemrāj by Firishtah, and Hamīr by some others, brother of the late Rāe Pithorā, had broken out into rebellion, that the son of Rāe Pithorā, who is sometimes called [the?] *Golah*, but generally styled merely "the son," was in great danger, and that the rebel was advancing against Rantabhūr itself Kuṭb-ud Dīn marched from Dihlī against him; but Bhirāj [or Hamīr], on hearing of his coming, made off and took to the hills Rāe Pithorā's son [see Tod, who says his only son, Rainsi, did not survive him! He further states that Dow, mistaking the appellation of Pirt'hwiraja's natural brother for a proper name, calls him *Golah* The error is Firishtah's, however, not Dow's, in this instance], ruler of Ajmīr, was, upon this occasion, invested with an honorary robe, in return he presented valuable offerings, among which were *three golden melons* [kettle-drums, in the shape of melons], and, in all probability, the very same as mentioned at page 404.

About this time, also, while Kuṭb ud Dīn was still absent from Dihlī, its former Rāe raised an army to make an effort against the Musalmāns. He was pursued and defeated by Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, taken prisoner, and his head struck off and sent to Dihlī

According to the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, Kuṭb-ud Dīn, at this time, sent an account of his proceedings to his master, and was summoned to Ghaznīn. As it was then the hot season, he waited until the beginning of the rains to set out for the capital. Having reached Ghaznīn, and having been received with great honour

yār, the Khalj, in his [Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn's] time, and

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and favour by the Sulṭān, he fell dangerously sick, but subsequently recovered, and "*was permitted to return* to Hindūstān again, *and the government was again conferred upon him*"

Our author, under the reign of I-yal-timish [see next Section], also refers to this journey, but he says it took place after the expedition against Nahrwālah. It must have occupied some months, but, in the meantime, who acted as the Sulṭān's lieutenant at Dihlī? It would almost seem as though Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn had been suspected of being too powerful, and that this summons to Ghaznīn was to test his obedience and loyalty. One thing, however, is certain, from the account of Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril [page 544], and the mention of Malik Husam-ud-Dīn, Aghūl-Bak, and others [page 549], that there were powerful chiefs left by the Sulṭān in Hindūstān who held fiefs independent of Kuṭb-ud-Dīn. It was on this occasion, on his return to Dihlī by way of Gar-daiz and Kirmān [which Dow, translating Firishtah, who is perfectly correct, renders "Persian Kirman," and adds, in a note, that it is "the ancient Car-mania"], that Kuṭb-ud-Dīn espoused the daughter of Tāj-ud Dīn, I-yal-dūz. This journey Firishtah, who constantly quotes the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, mentions as taking place in 592 H.

After remaining a short time at Dihlī, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn marched from it in 590 H., crossed the Jūn, and took the strong fortress of Kol after an obstinate resistance, and acquired great booty. It was *after this*, according to some histories, including the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī,—a work compiled from the best authorities,—that Kuṭb-ud-Dīn made Dihlī the seat of his government; but the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir seems to imply, but not exactly expressing it, that Dihlī was made the seat of government in 588 H., although, by its own account, the Hindū ruler "was allowed [in that year] to hold it upon the same terms as Ajmīr was held," already mentioned.

Kuṭb-ud-Dīn now [590 H., but some say in 589 H., the same year in which Dihlī was made the seat of government] received intimation of the Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's having marched from Ghaznīn on an expedition against Jai Chand [Jai Chandra], Rājah of Kinnauj and Banāras, his former ally, against Rāe Pithorā, according to the Hindū Chroniclers, who, it is said, meditated an attack upon Kuṭb-ud-Dīn. On hearing of the Sulṭān's having crossed the Sutlaj, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn proceeded some stages in advance to receive him and do him honour, bearing along with him rich offerings. [Firishtah, who gives an account of this matter, uses the word peshwā'ī — پیشوای — which signifies *meeting and conducting a superior or a guest*, but his translators, Dow and Briggs, mistaking, say respectively that Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn "proceeded as far as *Peshawr*" and "*Peshawur*" to meet him!! Where Dihlī? where Peshāwar? where Kinnauj? Fancy his marching from Dihlī with 50,000 horse at his heels, and crossing the *five great rivers* of the Panjāb, merely to meet his master marching to Ḳinnauj!!]

Kuṭb-ud-Dīn's following, upon this occasion, amounted to 50,000 horse [the Muḥammadan forces of Hindūstān], and, having joined the Sulṭān's army, he, in concert with 'Izz-ud Dīn, Husain, son of Khar-mil [the same who afterwards turned traitor, and played such a false part towards Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, mentioned in note [2], page 257], led the vanguard [the principal division unencumbered with heavy baggage, not "a small detachment of 1000 horse"] of the Sulṭān's army. The Musalmāns came in contact with Jai Chand's forces in the environs of Chand-wār and Iṭāwah [another author says Chandā-war. It is probably Chand-wāl of Iṭāwah, a place a few miles S.E.

during his government, subdued the cities of Bihār and

of the latter town See page 470], and compelled them to give way Jai Chand, in person, then led on his forces to renew the action, in the heat of which an arrow struck him in one of his eyes, and he fell dead from his elephant See also note ², page 470, and compare the absurd statement of the Kāmil-ut-Tawārīkh in Elliot: INDIA, vol. ii, page 250-251

It is truly amusing to compare Firishtah's account of this affair with the versions of his translators. He, quoting the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, says—I give his own words—"At last Jai Chand, in person, appeared in the field against Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, and, during the very heat of the fight, *a life-taking arrow* [تیر جانکاه] *entered* the pupil of the Rājah's eye, and he fell from his elephant into the dust of contempt." Dow renders this · "*But Cuttub, who excelled in archery, sunk an arrow in the ball of his eye;*" and BRIGGS has: "*Kootb ood Deen, who excelled in archery, came in contact with Raja Jye Chund, and with his own hand shot the arrow which, piercing his eye, cost the Rajah his life*" ! ! !

The Musalmān troops, having overthrown Jai Chand's army, and taken possession of the fortress of Āsī, where his treasures were kept, pushed on to Banāras, "one of the most central and considerable cities of Hind," and scores of idol temples were destroyed, and a vast amount of booty acquired, including a large number of elephants, among which was a *white* one [Firishtah says this white elephant, a most rare animal, was presented by the Sultān to Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, who used to ride it up to the time of his death, and that it died of grief the day after This, however, is mere supposition, for it appears that this same white elephant was taken to Ghaznīn, and from thence to Ghūr, to Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's elder brother and sovereign, and it was afterwards presented by Maḥmūd, the former's son, to Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, when he became subject to that monarch See note ³, para. 9, page 402] Elphinstone says this victory over Jai Chand "extended the Mussulman dominion *unto* Behár!" but this is not correct Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, it was who, shortly after these events, took the city of that name by surprise

After these successes Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud Dīn returned to Ghaznīn, and Malik Husām ud Dīn, Aghūl Bak [the same who took Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, the Khalj, into his service, see page 549], was installed at Kol [Firishtah, in his work, gives *his* account of the expedition against Bhirāj —para 4 of this note—in this place.]

Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn soon had to take the field again against Bhirāj [or Hamīr], who had issued from the hills of Alwur, whither he had fled, first fought an engagement with his nephew of Ajmīr, defeated him, compelled him to fly for shelter to Rantabhūr, and took possession of Ajmīr, and despatched a force under a leader named Jhat Rāe towards Dihlī, but Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, having speedily selected a force of 20,000 horse, marched to encounter him Jhat Rāe faced about, and was pursued by the Musalmāns to Ajmīr. Bhirāj [or Hamīr] then drew out his forces to give battle, but he was defeated, and retired within the walls, and then, finding resistance fruitless, ascended a funeral pyre and perished After this a Muḥammadan governor was left in charge of Ajmīr, but what became of Rāe Pithorā's son has not transpired.

After this, on disposing of the affairs of Ajmīr, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn is said to have led his forces, in 591 H, towards Nahrwalah of Gujarāt, and encountered the general of Bhīm Dīw [according to TOD, Komar-pāl was his name], Rāe of Nahrwālah, who is styled by the name of Jatwān, and who was encamped with

Nūdiah, and that country [Bihār], as will be hereafter recorded.

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his army under the walls of the place. On the appearance of Ḳutb-ud-Dīn he retired, but was pursued, and, being hard pressed, faced about, made a stand, was defeated and slain. Bhīm Dīw fled from his capital to the farthest quarter of his dominions, and, Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, having acquired enormous booty in that territory, returned by way of Hānsī to Dihlī.

In the year 592 H., the Jāmi' Masjid [*now* known as the Kutbī Masjid] at Dihlī, which Ḳutb-ud-Dīn is *said* to have founded in 589 H., and on which the most skilful Musalmān artizans had been employed [not Hindus *solely*, Mr. Grant Duff and General Cunningham notwithstanding], and no expense spared, is said to have been completed. [See note on the Minar, styled the Minār of Ḳutb Ṣāḥib, under the reign of I-yal-timish.] The date of its foundation, as given by Thomas, "PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI," page 22, c, note [1], is erroneous, as Dehlī was not acquired, as I have shown [note [9], page 469], until subsequent to that date, in 589 H. It is evident that سبع—*seven*—has been read instead of تسع—*nine*, the two words, without the points, on which all depends, being exactly alike, and, in writing such as the inscription is in, may be easily mistaken.

In this same year, 592 H., according to the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, but 591 H., *according to our author*, and 590 H., according to Alfī, Ḳutb-ud-Dīn was preparing an expedition against Thankir or Thangir—also written Thankīr or Thangīr—the modern Bhīānah [a further notice of which will be found at page 545], when intimation reached him of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's moving from Ghaznīn for the same purpose. He went as far as Hānsī to meet his sovereign, and they marched in concert thither, and Ḳutb-ud-Dīn brought about the surrender of that stronghold, which was made over to Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril. After this the royal forces advanced to Gwālīyūr, the Rājah of which agreed to pay tribute, and he was left unmolested. For further particulars, see page 546, and note [7]. After this event, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn returned again to Ghaznīn.

While Ḳutb-ud-Dīn was at Ajmīr, according to the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir [Firishtah has, at Dihlī, in 592 H. The former work has 591 H., which *cannot* be correct, from the date it subsequently gives], information was brought to him that a body of rebel Mers or Mairs [not *Mhers*, for there is no *h* in the word. Firishtah says—رجهای تران—probably ترانی "the Tunur Rājahs"—and adds, "*that is to say*, Rājpūts." Dow translates the passage, "many Indian independent princes," which is pretty near Firishtah's meaning; but BRIGGS has "The Rāja of *Nagoor* and *many other* Hindoo Rājas"], having gathered together, sent emissaries to the Rāe of Nahrwālah, asking him to aid them in attacking the Musalmāns, who were but few in number. On becoming aware of this intention, Ḳutb-ud-Dīn resolved to be beforehand with them; and, although it was the height of the hot season, early one morning fell upon the rebels, and kept up a conflict with them the whole of that day. Next morning the army of Nahrwālah appeared upon the scene, and handled the Musalmāns very roughly. Ḳutb-ud-Dīn's *horse* received a wound which brought *it* to the ground, and his troops, greatly disheartened, with much difficulty managed to mount him upon another horse, and carried him off to Ajmīr.

TOD, referring to this affair, in his Rajasthan, vol. i., page 259, remarks, that "Samarsi [Prince of Cheetore] had several sons; but Kurna was his heir, and, during his minority, his mother, Korumdevi, a princess of Putun, nobly

maintained what his father left. She headed her Rajpoots, and gave battle to Kootub-o-din, near Amber where the viceroy was *wounded*." In a note he adds: "This *must be* [of course!] *the battle* referred to by Ferishta. See Dow, p 169, vol ii." The "*wound* or *wounds*" *must* also have come from Dow or Briggs, for it is *not in* Firishtah. This statement of the translators, not Firishtah's, must have led Elphinstone astray, when he says [page 315 of third ed.] "Kutb u Dīn was overpowered on this occasion, and had difficulty in making his way, *covered with wounds*, to Ajmír," &c. The statement of Firishtah's is this:—"But *his horse, having received a wound*, came to the ground. The army of Islām became heart-broken, and they, having *by main force*—[بزور تمام]—*placed him on another horse, took him to Ajmir*." This is all, but his translators certainly display much fertility of imagination in their rendering of Firishtah's words. Dow has: "But he was defeated, received *six wounds*, and was *often dismounted*, yet he fought like a man who had made death his companion. Forced, at last, by his own friends, to abandon the field, he was carried *in a litter* to Ajmere." Briggs has: "But he was defeated. After being *frequently dismounted* in the action, and having received *six wounds*, he still fought with his wonted courage, till, being forced at length by his attendants off the field, he was carried *in a litter* to Ajmeer."!!!

Emboldened by this success, the rebel Hindūs [the گبرها of Firishtah], with the troops of Nahrwālah, followed Kuṭb-ud-Dīn and his force, pursued them to Ajmīr, and took up a position a short distance from it, and for *several months* they shut up Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn within the walls, and carried on hostilities against the place. On intimation of the state of affairs having reached Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, he despatched a large force from Ghaznīn, under several of the great Amīrs, to succour Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, but the infidels thought fit to retire before it arrived.

From 591 H. the Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir jumps at once to 593 H., although *immediately before* giving an account of the expedition against Thankīr or Thangīr and Gwaliyūr in 592 H., thus showing that 591 H. cannot be correct. The correct date of this reverse must be the ninth or tenth month of 592 H., as Firishtah states. To return, however, to the narrative. Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, finding himself thus supported, resolved upon taking vengeance on the Rāe of Gujarāt, and, in the middle of Ṣafar—the second month of the year—593 H., which year is confirmed by our author and several others, he began his march towards Nahrwālah. When he reached the bounds of Palī and Nadūl [these names are not certain, but such they appear in the Tāj ul-Ma'āṣir. In proceeding from Ajmīr to Nahrwalah, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn had the choice of two routes, that on the eastern slopes of the Arawalī mountains, by Udipūr and Idur, or that on the western or Mārwār side, clear of the mountains, and this last he would in all probability have chosen by the direct route of Palī and Sirhoī, keeping Abū on his left. Nadūl, where, as at Palī, are the remains of ancient forts, lies about twenty five miles or more south of Palī, but off the direct line of route by Sirhoī, but it must also be mentioned that there are places named Palrī and Birgonī *close to the hills* nearer to Sirhoī, and a Kunā still nearer Ābū. Firishtah does not appear to have taken his account from the Tāj-ul Ma'āṣir in this instance, as the two names he gives may be either Hūtalī or Dhūtalī and Bazūl or Barūl, or Rahī and Bartukī and Nuzūl or Nadūl, as above] he found those places abandoned—thus tending to show that they were in the lower and less tenable parts—and the enemy under two leaders, one of whom is styled Rāe Karan [Kurnah, probably] in the Tāj-ūl-Ma'āṣir, and Ursī [ارسی]

Sām, attained martyrdom[6], Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥ-

[6] Fanākatī makes a nice hash of this event He says "after Shihāb-ud-Dīn, his slave, Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn, I-bak, became the great Sulṭān [سلطان اجل], and paid homage to Shihāb-ud Dīn's *son*, Maḥmūd by name, who was Wālī of Ghaznīn," and that writer makes out that Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn was the *younger* [خرد] brother, and Shihāb ud Dīn the elder He has substituted Shihāb for Ghiyāṣ, and the same is stated in several copies of his work

The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir states, "when the mournful news reached Ḳuṭb ud-Dīn, and the period of mourning had expired, he sent out notifications to all parts of Hind and Sind, intimating his *assumption of the sovereignty*, which notifications were attended to by the *chief rulers* [feudatories?] in those territories, and, after the defeat of I-yal-dūz, the whole tract, from Ghaznīn [he should have added, as far as concerns Ghaznīn and its territory, *for forty days and nights only*] to the extremity of Hindūstān, came under his jurisdiction," and a great deal of such like exaggeration

With respect to this matter, and the date, there is very great discrepancy

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in Firishtah, and the other, Rārābars or Dārābars in the former, and Wālan [والن] in the latter, were posted at the base of the hills of Abū-gaḍh [this word is written without points [ابو كده], and may be either Ālū-gaḍh [الو گده] or Abū-gadh [ابو گده] Elphinstone has "Two great feudatories of Guzerát strongly posted *on* the mountain of A'bu." If he had ever seen Ābū, he would have understood that they might as well have been *posted on* the Himālayah as there, since the Musalmāns would not pass *over* or through it. Firishtah says "At the foot of the fort of Ābū or Ālū-gadh"], at the entrance to a pass where the Musalmāns did not dare to attack them, as it was the very spot where Sulṭān Muḥammad-i Sām, Ghūrī, had been previously wounded, and it was deemed unpropitious to bring on an action there lest the same might happen [Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud Dīn is here referred to, and this statement does not tend to increase our confidence in what the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir says, and it is quite certain that Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was never wounded but once, and then not near Ajmīr Tod asserts [vol 1, page 696], upon Rājpūt authority, no doubt, and therefore we must make *every allowance*, that it was at this very place [Nadole] that "*Mahmoud's* [Mahmūd's?] *arms were disgraced, the invader wounded, and forced to relinquish his enterprise*" But in another place [page 249] he says "Nadole is mentioned in Ferishtah as *falling a prey to one* of Mahmood's invasions, who destroyed its ancient temples" Both the statements are much of a piece] "Seeing their hesitation," says the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, "the Hindūs advanced to encounter them [Firishtah, on the other hand, says "Kuṭb-ud Dīn *entered those* defiles, and broken ground, and defeated them "], and, after facing them for some time, on Sunday, 13th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal 593 H [about the 5th of January, 1197 A D, the year 593 H having commenced on the 23rd of November, 1196], a battle took place, which was obstinately contested from dawn to mid-day, and ended in the complete overthrow of the infidels, who are said to have lost nearly 50,000[!] killed [Firishtah says "nearly 15,000 killed and 20,000 captives, thus avenging his former defeat "] Rāe Karan escaped, leaving twenty elephants, and 20,000 captives, besides booty to a great amount Nahrwālah was taken possession of, and a Musalmān Amīr was located there[?], after which Kuṭb-ud-Dīn returned to Dihlī by way of Ajmīr, and offerings of jewels, and handsome male and female captives, were despatched to Ghūr [to Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn] and to Ghaznīn [Gujarāt *could not* have been retained for any time, as it was not

mūd, son of [Ghiyās-ud-Dīn] Muḥammad, son of Sām,

among historians. In the first place, however, I must mention, that our author himself states, at page 398, that, "when Kuṭb-ud-Dīn came to Ghaznīn [for the *forty days* after which he ran away See note [8], page 503], he despatched Niẓām-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, to Fīrūz-koh to the presence of Sulṭān Maḥmūd," and in 605 H [much the most probable date, for reasons to be mentioned subsequently] he, Maḥmūd, sent him a canopy of state, &c, thus contradicting his own statement here. See also page 398, and note [2], page 500, para 2.

Several histories and authors, including Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī, Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh-i-Hind, Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk, Budā'ūnī, &c, state that Kuṭb-ud-Dīn assumed sovereignty, at Lāhor, on Tuesday [one has Sunday, the 17th, another Wednesday], the 18th of Zī-Ḳa'dah, 602 H, which is much the same as our author says here, and just two months and a half from the date of the Sulṭān's decease One of these works states that "Kuṭb-ud-Dīn had gone to Lāhor in order to receive the canopy of state, a standard, the deed of manumission, the title of Sulṭān—as he was styled Malik mostly up to this time and

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permanently acquired by the Musalmāns until long after] Promotions and favours were conferred upon the Muḥammadan chiefs, and even the poor and needy [Musalmāns] of Dihlī shared in Kuṭb-ud Dīn's bounty and munificence.

No other operation is mentioned from this time to the year 599 H, a period of nearly six years, and it is somewhat surprising to find the Musalmāns in India so quiet for such a length of time It may be partly accounted for, especially the last three years, through the Sulṭāns—Ghiyās-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn—being occupied with the affairs of Khurāsān since the accession of their powerful rival, Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, the events of whose reign will throw some light upon this period

In the year 599 H, the same in which Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn died, and his brother, Mu'izz ud-Dīn, became supreme sovereign, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn undertook an expedition against Kālinjar The Rāe of Kālinjar of the Pramārah race made a desperate resistance in the field, according to the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, before retiring within the walls, but Firishtah asserts that, in "the twinkling of an eye, he faced about and fled for shelter to the fortress" He was invested therein, and shortly after he made terms, and agreed to submit to Kuṭb-ud-Dīn on terms the same as those upon which his ancestors had paid obedience to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Ghaznawīd, and stipulated for the presentation of a large amount in jewels and other precious things, and a number of horses and elephants It so happened that, next day, while engaged in collecting together this tribute, he was cut off by the hand of death His Wakīl or minister, Ajah Dīw [in Firishtah, Jadah Dīw], bethinking himself of a never-failing spring of water in the upper part of the place, determined to resist the Musalmāns instead of agreeing to the terms, but, as fortune had turned its face from him, and adversity had come, the spring within a few days dried up, and the people within the walls, being helpless, were compelled to call for quarter, and they came out, and gave up the place Vast booty in jewels, arms, elephants, and other property fell into the hands of the Musalmāns, who became rich from the spoils, and 50,000 captives, male and female, were taken, and were, according to Firishtah, "exalted to the excellence of Islām," and the idol temples were converted into masjids

It is amusing here also to find how Firishtah, whose account is substantially the same as the preceding, has been translated Dow says "In the year 599 he mustered his forces, and marched to the *siege* of Calinger where he was

who was Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's brother's son, despatched

was still a slave—and the government of Hindūstān, which Maḥmūd had conferred upon him, or rather, confirmed him in, and was greatly exalted and honoured thereby." Our author, and some who copy him, state, that Kuṭb-ud-Dīn returned to Dihlī *after* the expedition against the Khokhars; but it must be remembered that Kutb-ud-Dīn accompanied his master, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, to Lāhor after that affair, and, as only two months and sixteen days elapsed between the assassination of the Sulṭān and Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn's assumption of the sovereignty at Lāhor, it is therefore probable that, on hearing of the assassination of the Sultān, which took place only *fifteen days after* the latter left Lāhor, he returned to it at once, and *possibly* had not even left it when the news reached him. After a time, he returned to Dihlī again. The Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir says he made Luhāwar his capital, "the place where the throne of Sultāns had been established," but the reason, why he eventually returned to Lāhor, and continued there to the day of his death, has been stated already in another place. See note [8], page 503.

It is stated in another work, the Khulāsat ut Tawārīkh, that Kuṭb-ud-Dīn

met by *Gola*, the tributary prince of that country, whom he defeated; and, *dismounting his cavalry* [!], began to besiege him in the fort." All this is *pure invention*: there is nothing of the kind in Firishtah. BRIGGS has "In the year 599 he mustered his forces, and marched against Kalunjur, where he was opposed by the *Rāja* of that country, whom he defeated; then, *dismounting his cavalry*, he laid *siege* to the fort." A *siege* and an *investment* are far different things. All about "*the Hindoo flag being again hoisted on the fort*" is also purely imaginary, and is not contained in Firishtah's text.

Here is another choice specimen of how Indian history is written. Its source, of course, is DOW and BRIGGS, not Firishtah. In MARSHMAN'S "History of India," vol. i., page 197, is the following: "In the year 599 he mustered his forces, and marched against Kalanjur, where he was opposed by the Rāja of that country, whom he defeated; then, *dismounting his cavalry*, he laid siege to the fort. The Rāja, seeing himself hard pressed, offered Kooth-ood Deen Eibuk the same tribute and presents which his ancestors had formerly paid to Sooltan Mahmood. The proposal was accepted; but the Rāja's minister, who resolved to hold out without coming to terms, *caused his master to be assassinated*, while the presents were preparing. The Hindoo *flag was again hoisted* on the fort, the siege recommenced, but the place was eventually reduced, owing to the drying up of a spring upon the hill which supplied the garrison with water."

From Kālinjar Kuṭb-ud-Dīn marched to the city of Mahobah, the capital of the territory of Kālbī, which he took possession of, and returned to Dihlī by way of Budā'ūn, one of the chief cities of Hind, which he also occupied. [It is *not* Firishtah who places "Bada'ūn *between* the Ganges and the Jamna" (see Elliot, INDIA, vol. ii., page 232, note [1]), but DOW and BRIGGS, who misinterpret him.] It was whilst in this part that Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, the Khalj, is said to have presented himself in Kuṭb-ud-Dīn's presence,—not from Awadh *and* Bihār, but from *Lakhanawaṭī and Bihār*, noticed in the account of that chief farther on—bearing rich presents in jewels and coin of various descriptions; but this certainly took place ten years before 599 H. He was received with great distinction, as his fame had extended over Hind and Sind. When he was admitted to an audience to take leave, he received a robe of honour, a standard, and other insignia, as will be found mentioned in the account of him at page 548.

a canopy of state to Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, and conferred on him the title of Sultān[6]; and, in the year 602 H., he determined to proceed from Dihlī to the royal presence in Lohor[7], and, on Tuesday, the 17th of the month, Ẕī-

ascended the throne, at Lāhor, on the 11th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 603 H., and that he read the Khutbah for himself, and coined money in *his own* name, and yet, although the coins of others are, comparatively, so plentiful, it is stated that not one bearing the name of Kuṭb-ud-Dīn has ever been found. A work in my possession, however, which contains specimens of the different coins of the Sulṭāns of Hind, with the inscriptions they are said to have borne, gives the following as a specimen of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn's coins:—

سکهٔ وارث ملك و نگین سلطان قطب الدین ایبك فی سنه ۶۰۳

ضرب دار الخلافه دهلی جلوس ۱

which may be thus rendered:—"Coin of the inheritor of the kingdom and signet of Sulṭān, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, in the year 603 H.," and on the reverse:—"Struck at the Dār-ul-Khilāfat, Dihlī, in the first [year] of [his] accession."

I rather doubt the possibility of Malik [which was his only title up to his ascending the throne at Lāhor] Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn's having received the title of Sulṭan and the investiture of the sovereignty of Hindūstān as early as Ẕī-Ḳa'dah, 602 H., because Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, did not at once obtain the supreme [nominal only] authority after the assassination of his uncle. His kinsman, 'Ala-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, previously called by the name of Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn [See page 394] was, at that time, ruler of Ghūr and Fīrūz-koh, and Mahmūd was at Bust, and it must have taken him some few months, at the very least, to dispossess 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, and acquire possession of the sovereignty, and this would bring us to 603 H., as on the coin given above. One author, in fact, states, and it is not improbable, that 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN, MUHAMMAD, who then held Ghur, after the Sulṭān's assassination—in which case, 602 H. would be correct—sent Kuṭb-ud-Dīn a canopy of state, and conferred on him the sovereignty of Hind, and that MAHMŪD, subsequently, did the same; and one of the authors previously referred to says Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn was at Pūrshor, when Mahmūd's communication, conferring this dignity, reached him, and further states that he had gone there to guard the route into India.

Another thing to be remembered is, that, by our author's account, the statements of the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, and the greater number of other histories, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn died in 607—although some say in 609, and 610 H.—in what month is not stated, after a reign of little over *four* years; but, if we consider a little, four years from Ẕī-Ḳa'dah, 602 H., only brings us *to* the same month of 606 H. Strange to say, Faṣiḥ-ī, although mentioning the assassination of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn in 602 H., does not mention Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn's acquirement of power as Sulṭān until 605 H.—"when the title of Sulṭān was conferred and he was manumitted"—one year before Maḥmūd's assassination, which he says occurred in 609 H., and states that Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn was killed by a fall from his horse in 610 H. See note [4], page 528.

[6] See note [3], page 500.

[7] The text in most copies, including the printed text, is slightly defective here, causing a meaning contrary to what our author would convey. It is evident, from various events, that Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn did not "determine to go to the

Ḳa'dah, of that same year, he ascended the throne in the royal Ḳaṣr of Lohor.

After some time, hostility arose between him and Sulṭān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, respecting Lohor, so much so, that that hostility led to an engagement; and, in that affair, the victory was with Sulṭān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn. Sulṭān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, was defeated, and retreated before him,[8] and

capital, Lohor," as the words عزیمت حضرت لوهور کرد alone mean, and, farther, Lāhor was not the capital. The correct reading is as above, namely—عزیمت بارگاه حضرت لوهور کرد and this refers, not to his going to the *city* of Lāhor merely, but into the Lāhor *territory* to join his master the Sulṭān against the Khokhars; he only relates it in the wrong place. After their overthrow, the Sulṭān came to Lāhor, accompanied by Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn; and, subsequently, after the Sulṭān's assassination, the latter assumed sovereignty there. Zī Ḳa'dah is the eleventh month. This is evidently our author's meaning. Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn had no reason to "*attack* Lohor," as in Elliot, INDIA, vol. ii. page 300, and the imperfect passage in the printed text even will not bear such a rendering.

[8] I have, in a previous place [see page 502, note [6]], referred to the proceedings of Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, towards Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, and Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn's jealousy of I-yal-dūz, and his offer of aid to Abī Bakr against him.

In the year 603 H., shortly after Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn is said, by some, to have received his freedom, and the title of Sulṭān from Sulṭān Maḥmūd, I-yal-dūz, who considered the Panjāb part of the dominion of Ghaznīn to which he had succeeded, and which had neither been assigned, by Maḥmūd, to Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, nor to the other slave, Kabā-jah, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn's son-in-law, despatched the Khwājah, the Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk, Sanjarī, the Wazīr of Ghaznīn, against Lāhor [but a few authors say he went himself], and ousted Kabā-jah, who held it, nominally, for Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn. Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, soon after, marched against I-yal-dūz with all the available troops of Hindūstān, and a battle took place between them, in the Panjāb, and I-yal-dūz was worsted, and retreated into the strong country of Karmān and Shalūzān. Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn now pushed on to Ghaznīn, which having obtained possession of, he gave himself up to wine and riot; and this, according to our author, at page 398, happened in 605 H., which is a more probable date than 603 H.

There are great discrepancies, however, in several works of authority, which are difficult to reconcile with the above in many respects, in Alfī, Yāfa-ī, and the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, which must be briefly alluded to.

It is said in the first-mentioned work that, soon after the death of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz had to abandon the Ghaznīn territory, because, through the treachery of Kutlagh-Tigīn, a former slave of the late Sulṭān [can this be the slave who shut the gates upon his master mentioned in note [2], page 475?], and who, since his death, had been in Sulṭān Maḥmūd's service, but was now one of I-yal-dūz's principal Amīrs and held Ghaznīn for him, during a short absence, seized this opportunity of instigating Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, to seize it. I-yal-dūz, previous to this, had agreed to acknowledge the suzerainty of that monarch, and had despatched befitting presents; but the Sulṭān at once acted on the suggestion of Kutlagh-Tigīn, and seized Ghaznīn.

This event, according to Alfī, took place in 603 of the *Riḥlat*, and Yafa-ī, Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, and some others say in 611 H., and according to those

Sulṭān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn proceeded towards the seat of government, the city of Ghaznīn, and possessed himself of that kingdom likewise, and, during a period of forty days that he sat upon the throne of Ghaznīn, he bestowed upon God's

works, Sulṭān Maḥmūd did not die until 609 H. [see also last para. of note [8], page 400], and Faṣiḥ-ī states that Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn obtained sovereignty over Hindūstān in 608 H., and places his death as late as 610 H. These dates do not agree with those given by the Muḥammadan Historians of India, but *they* are not the most reliable authorities for events which happened out of that country.

In the state of affairs in which I-yal-dūz found himself, for Sulṭān Mahmūd was now but a mere vassal of the Khwārazmīs [See note [3], page 400], he was under the necessity of retiring towards Hind [the Panjāb], which he considered a portion of his own dominions. He reached Lāhor, encountered Kabā-jah, and took possession of that capital and the whole Panjāb. See our author's account of Kabā-jah, page 531, and early part of the reign of I-yal-timish.

On Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, getting possession of Ghaznīn, he put to death several of the Ghūriān Amīrs, and made over his new acquisition to his son, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, and a Khwārazmī noble was installed at Ghaznīn as his deputy [This accounts, no doubt, for the reference made by Jalāl-ud-Dīn, when soliciting a temporary asylum from I-yal-timish some years subsequently, to their having been "good neighbours previously." See note [4], para. 7, page 290], and the Sulṭān returned to Khwārazm. Kuṭb-ud-Dīn now marched into the Panjāb against I-yal-dūz [603 *Rihlat*, 612 H.], who was defeated by him, and retired into Karmān and Shalūzān. Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn marched to Ghaznīn, *drove out the governor on Jalāl-ud-Dīn's part*, and gave himself up to wine and pleasure.

Now we come to that part of the subject in which all agree, but it is amusing to notice how our author slurs over these doings. Kuṭb-ud-Dīn now giving himself up to amusement and debauchery, the people of Ghaznīn, disgusted with his remissness and laxity, and the disordered state of affairs, sent a person, secretly, to I-yal-duz, to whom they seem to have been much attached, and solicited him to return to the capital. He did so with promptness, and, as his appearance on the scene was quite unexpected by Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, he was unable to resist him, and he abandoned Ghaznīn precipitately, and fled by way of Sang-i-Surākh [one of the routes between Ghaznīn and the Panjāb, for he did not dare to take that through Karmān], to Lāhor. This was the occasion of his "filling the throne of Ghaznīn for forty days," for which our author considered it to be necessary to mention him [page 506], not only among the Sulṭāns of Hindūstān, but, *separately*, of Ghaznīn likewise.

I cannot refrain from inserting here a specimen of history writing, which will only be found in the writer's imagination. Mr. Marshman, in his "*History of India*," written for the University of Calcutta, states at page 47, vol. I., that "*Kootub followed up the victory* [over "Eldoze"] *and* RECOVERED *Ghuzni* [which *he* never before possessed], *where he assumed the crown* [not at Lāhor then?], but was soon after expelled by his rival, and driven back to India. The establishment of the Mahomedan empire in India is, therefore, considered to date from this event," &c. This is rich indeed.

Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn does not appear to have returned to Dihlī any more, and, through fear of I-yal-dūz, continued at Lāhor until he met with the accident which ended his days.

people abundant benefactions, and innumerable favours, and returned again to Hindūstān, the account of which has been previously related. As the decree of fate supervened, in the year 607 H., he fell from his horse whilst engaged in playing ball[9] on the course, and the horse came down upon him, in such wise that the prominent part[1] of the front of the saddle came upon his blessed breast, and he died.[2]

The period of his rule, from the first taking of Dihlī up to this time, was twenty years, and the stretch of his sovereignty, with a canopy of state, the Khuṭbah, and coin [in his own name and titles], was four years and a little over.[3]

II. SULṬĀN ĀRĀM SHĀH, SON OF SULṬĀN ḲUṬB-UD-DĪN, Ī-BAK.

When Sulṭān Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, died, the Amīrs and Maliks of Hindūstān at once considered it advisable for

[9] Chaugān, something similar to modern Polo.

[1] The eastern saddle is vastly different from ours, and those who have seen it in use in the East will easily conceive the effect of the high-pointed front coming in contact with the breast.

[2] The generality of authors place his death in the year 607 H., but the month and date is not mentioned, and some place his death much later. One work, the Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī, however, gives a little more detail than others, and enables us to fix the month, at least, tolerably correctly. It is stated in that work that, having ascended the throne at Lāhor, in Zī-Ḳa'dah, 602 H., he died in 607 H., having ruled *nineteen* years, *fourteen* as the Sulṭān's [Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's] lieutenant, and *five and a half years* as absolute sovereign. From 588 H., the year in which he was first made the Sulṭān's lieutenant, to the 2nd of Sha'bān, 602 H., the date of the Sulṭān's death, is *fourteen years and a month*, calculating from about the middle of the former year, if Mu'izz-ud-Dīn returned to Ghaznīn before the rainy season of 588 H., which, in all probability, he did; and *five years and six months* from the middle of Zī-Ḳa'dah, 602 H., would bring us to the middle of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, the fifth month of 607 H., which will therefore be about the period at which Kuṭb-ud-Dīn is said to have died, and a little more than *three* months, by this calculation, after the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, *if* 607 H. be the correct year of the latter's assassination. Faṣīḥ-ī says Kuṭb-ud-Dīn died in 610 H., and the Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā and Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh say in 609 H. He was buried at Lāhor, and, for centuries after, his tomb continued to be a place of pilgrimage. It may now possibly be turned into a reading room, a residence, or even a place of Christian worship, purposes for which many buildings of this kind are now used at Lāhor, without its being known whose dust they were built to cover.

[3] It seems strange that our author should give detailed lists of the offspring, kinsmen, Ḳāẓīs, nobles, and victories of his former slave and son-in-law, Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, and not of Sulṭān Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, himself, the *pseudo*-founder of the "*Patān* or *Afghan*" dynasty.

the sake of restraining tumult, for the tranquillity of the commonalty, and the content of the hearts of the soldiery, to place Ārām Shāh upon the throne[4].

Sulṭān Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn had three daughters, of whom two,

[4] Although a number of authors agree in the statement that Ārām Shāh was Ḳuṭb ud-Dīn's *son*, it nevertheless appears, from the statements of others, that Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn *had no son*, and it is stated, more than once, by our author likewise, that three daughters were *his only offspring*. Some of these authors, moreover, who call Ārām Shāh his son, afterwards add, "than whom he had *no other heir*," but, if *he* was really his son, what better heir could be desired? Abū-l-Faẓl makes the astonishing statement that Ārām Shāh was Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn's *brother*!

On the sudden removal of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn from the scene, at Lāhor, the nobles and chief men, who were with him there, in order to preserve tranquillity, set up, at Lāhor, Ārām Bakhsh, the *adopted son* of Ḳuṭb ud-Dīn, and hailed him by the title of Sulṭān Ārām Shāh. What his real pedigree was is not mentioned, and he *may* have been a Turk. Mandates and decrees were now issued in his name, and the good news of justice and glad tidings of impartiality towards the people reached them. This was, it is said, in 607 H.

At this juncture, Amīr 'Alī-i Ismā'īl, the Sipah Sālār, and governor of the city and province of Dihlī, the Amīr-i Dād [called Āmīr Dā'ūd, by some], and other chief men in that part, conspired together, and sent off to Budā'ūn and invited Malik I-yal-timish, the feoffee of that part, Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn's former slave and son-in-law, and invited him to come thither and assume the sovereignty. He came with all his followers, and possessed himself of the city and fort and country round. At the same time, Nāṣir ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, who had married two daughters of Ḳuṭb ud Dīn [in succession], appropriated Sind and Multān, Bhakar and Sīwastān, and, subsequently, the territory to the N. E., as far as Sursutī and Kuhṛām, the Khalj chiefs in Bangālah assumed independency there, and the Rājahs and Rāes on the frontiers [of the Musalmān dominions] began to show a rebellious and contumacious spirit.

Ārām Shāh, on first becoming aware of these acts of I-yal-timish, at the advice of his supporters, summoned to his aid the old Amīrs and soldiers of his adopted father, and they, having rallied round him in considerable numbers from Amrohah, and other parts, and he having inspirited them, advanced with a strong force towards Dihlī. Malik I-yal-timish, having gained possession of the capital, issued from it with his forces, and, in the plain of Jūd before Dihlī, the rival forces encountered each other. After a feeble effort on the part of Ārām Shāh's troops, he was defeated and disappeared, and what became of him is not quite certain, but our author is probably correct in saying that he was put to death by his rival. After this, Malik I-yal-timish became independent ruler of Dihlī, and the other great chiefs were left, for a while, in the possession of the territories they before held or had since appropriated. The reign of Ārām Shāh, if such can be properly so called, is said by some to have terminated within the year, but others contend that it continued for *three* years. The work I have before alluded to gives the following inscriptions on a coin of Ārām Shāh, and the date on another, given as I-yal-timish's, corroborates the statement of those who say Ārām Shāh's reign extended over three years.

one after the [death of the] other, were wedded to Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, and the third was married[5] to Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish At this time that Sultān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn died, and Ārām Shāh was raised to the throne, Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Kabā-jah proceeded[6] to Ūchchah and Multān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn had contemplated Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn's acquiring dominion, and he had called him son, and had conferred upon him the fief of Budā'ūn The Maliks, in concert, brought him from Budā'ūn, and raised him to the throne of Dihlī, and the daughter of Sultān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn was espoused by him, and they martyred Ārām Shāh[7]

Hindūstān became subdivided into four portions the territory of Sind Malik [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah took possession of, the dominion of Dihlī pertained to Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, the territory of Lakhanawatī was appropriated by the Khalj Maliks and Sultāns, and the state of Lohor, according to alteration of circumstances, used to be seized upon, sometimes by Malik [Sultān] Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, sometimes by Mālik [Sultān]

The following are the inscriptions on this coin —

هذ الدرهم مسکوك باسم الملك ظل الله آرام شاه في سنه سبع وستمايه
ضرب دار السلطنة بلده لاهور

which may be thus rendered —"This diram [is] stamped with the name of the Malik, the shadow of the Almighty, Ārām Shāh, in the year 607," and on the reverse — "Struck in the Dār us Salṭanat, the city of Lāhor" The date given on the coin of I-yal-timish, which see farther on, Section XXI, is "612, the first of his reign"

Those authors, who say Ārām Shāh was Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn's *son*, for the most part make a great blunder in stating that he was raised to the throne *at Dihlī*, and that those, who had set him up, repenting of having done so, through his incapacity—his incapacity seems to have been his incapacity *to enforce obedience*—invited I yal timish to assume authority, and that Ārām Shāh, becoming aware of their sedition, *came out of Dihlī*, and called on his father's old followers to aid him, after which I yal timish secured it, and subsequently defeated Ārām Shāh

[5] From what our author states, a few lines under, it would appear that I yal timish only espoused Ḳuṭb ud-Dīn's daughter when he assumed the throne, at Dihlī

[6] In other words, he appropriated those places and their dependencies in the confusion consequent on I-yal timish's usurpation, and assumed the title of Sulṭān

[7] The idiom varies here All the modern copies of the text, and one of the oldest also, have, instead of this sentence the words—"and the decree of destiny reached Aram Shah," and the sentence ends Compare Elliot INDIA, vol ii page 301

Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, and sometimes by Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, Ī-yal-timish, as will, subsequently, be recorded, please God! in the account of each of those personages.

III. MALIK [SULṬĀN] NĀṢIR-UD-DĪN, ḲABĀ-JAH, AL-MU'IZZĪ-US-SULṬĀNĪ [*]

Malik [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, was a great monarch, and the slave of the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām

He was endowed with very great intellect, sagacity, discretion, skill, wisdom, and experience, and had served Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn many years in various departments of every sort of political employment, both important and subordinate, about the Court, in military affairs, and the administration of civil duties, and had acquired great influence.

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn-i-Actamur, the feudatory of Ūch-

[*] Sulṭān, on his coins, the title he assumed, and to which he was equally as much entitled as the "august" Sulṭān I-yal timish

Some authors—but they are mostly those either natives of or resident in India, and of comparatively modern days—write this name Ḳubā-chah, with ch The Rauẓat uṣ-Ṣafā writes it Ḳabāj merely Our author, however, invariably writes it Ḳabā-jah, and I have therefore followed him The letter چ in writing, is constantly used for ج sometimes from ignorance, sometimes by mistake, and the two letters are very often interchangable, and ر ز and ش are substituted for them, but, in this particular case, the name of this ruler occurs time after time in the same line with Ūchchah, but the ج of Ḳabā-jah and the ch of Ūchchah are distinctly marked in the oldest copies of the text, and, in one, the vowel points are also given Ūchchah will be found constantly written with ج which is intended for ch, in several copies of the text as well as in many other works, but we never find Ḳabā-jah written with ch in the text

The idea appears to have prevailed that this probable nickname is derived from قبا—ḳabā, an *'Arabic* word signifying a quilted jacket with short sleeves, or a tunic open in front, and that چه—chah is the *Persian* affixed particle of diminution = ḳabā-chah, a short jacket or tunic, and thus his name would be Nāṣir ud-Dīn *of the short tunic* or *jacket*, but, in this case, Ḳubā-chah with *u* is impossible, because there is no *u* in the 'Arabic word *kabā*

The letter ق never occurs in a purely *Persian* word, nor does it ever occur in *Hindī*, and ع is often substituted for it, and *vice versa* There are other meanings attached to a precisely similar word used in Persian, which is probably *Turkish*, like the nick names, I-bak, I-yal-dūz, I yal-timish, and the like This ḳabā means, rending, tearing, cutting, paring, scraping, shaving, &c while, in another form of it, the *b* is doubled = ḳabbā signifying slender about the middle To this last the Persian diminutive particle, chah, is of course applicable, but, besides this, chah signifies, much, great, abundance, and the like, and also fifteen, or, literally, three fives Under these circumstances this nickname might mean "very slender waisted" See also Elliot INDIA, vol i, page 131

chah, in the engagement at Andkhūd[9]—which took place between the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and the forces of Khitā, and the Maliks of Turkistān—displayed great valour before the stirrup of the Sultān, and fought against the infidels as by orthodox law enjoined, and despatched great numbers of them to hell. The Maliks of the army of Khitā became dejected through the amount of slaughter inflicted [upon them] by Nāṣir-ud-Dīn-i-Aetamur, and they simultaneously came upon him, and he attained martyrdom. The Sultān-i-Ghāzī reached his capital and the throne of Ghaznīn in safety, from that disaster, and the government of Ūchchah[1] was entrusted to Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah.

He was son-in-law to Sultān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, I-bak, through two daughters[2], and, by the elder daughter, he had a son—Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh. He [Bahrām Shāh] was of handsome exterior and of good disposition, but addicted to pleasure, and, according to the way of youth, he had an excessive predilection for vice.

In short, when Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, after the catastrophe of Sultān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, I-bak, proceeded to Ūchchah, he possessed himself of the city of Multān, and Sindūstān[3], and Dīwal, as far as the sea coast. The whole he brought under his sway, and subjected the fortresses, cities, and towns of the territory of Sind, assumed two canopies of state, and annexed [the country to the eastward] as far as the limits of Tabarhindah, Kuhṛām, and Sursutī[4]. He also took Lohor several times, and

[9] This word is written, in one of the oldest copies of the text, with the vowel points Inda-khūd—اِنْدَخُوْد—and, from further research, I find it is the proper mode of spelling the name of this place. In the present day the people of that part call it Ind khud and Ind-khu. I have retained the modern mode of spelling.

[1] The printed text and two *MS.* copies of the text have Ūchchah *and* Multān, but the ten best copies omit Multān.

[2] One having previously died. Kabā-jah was likewise son-in-law of Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, and, consequently, by the alliance with Kuṭb-ud-Dīn's daughters, he married the daughters of his wife's sister's husband.

The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir calls him 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, but I look upon our author as a better authority than the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir for the events of this reign. What became of Kabā-jah's son our author and others do not state.

[3] That is, Sīwastān, also called Shīwastān, by some Hindū writers. The remarks which follow seem to indicate that all these were separate provinces or territories. Sīwastān is turned into *Hindūstān* in Elliot's INDIA, page 302.

[4] Yāfa'ī says each of the slaves seized upon the territory he held the govern

fought an engagement with the troops of Ghaznîn which used to come [into the Panjāb] on the part of Sulṭān Tāj-

ment of at the time of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dîn's assassination, and that Ḳabā-jah appropriated Ūchchah, Multān, Luhāwar, and Purshāwar, which territories, for the most part, Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn afterwards subjected

Immediately after the decease of Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn, the so-called establisher of "the Pathán or Afghán dynasty," Nāṣir ud Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, foreseeing a struggle for power, or, at least, a weak government, appropriated all the forts and towns in the territories of Lāhor, Tabarhindah [some authors say Bathindah, some Sirhind], and Kuhrām as far as Sursutī, he holding, at the time of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dîn's death, the fiefs of Ūchchah and Multān, having previously held Lāhor for him He was subsequently ousted from Lāhor, Multān, and Ūchchah by the forces of Sulṭān Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, as our author mentions, but, after the defeat of I yal-dūz, and he had been put to death in captivity by I-yal-timish, Ḳabā-jah got possession of these territories again, and apparently as a tributary of I yal timish, or in some way subject

Our author leaves out here, but mentions in two lines, and under a wrong date, the first hostilities which arose between Kabā-jah and I yal-timish under the latter's reign These hostilities arose in 613 H, many years before the defeat of Sulṭān Jalāl ud-Dīn, Khwārazm Shāh, by the Mughals According to the Tāj-ul Ma'āṣir, Ḳabā jah was tributary to I-yal timish, and the tribute was in arrears. At the advice of his Wazīr, I-yal timish marched from Dihlî towards Lāhor to enforce payment, others say, and more probably, that it was for the possession of the province of Lāhor—in Jumādī ul-Awwal, 613 H [The Ṭabaḳāt i-Akbarī, Budā'ūnī, and some others, make a great blunder here They state correctly enough that war arose between these two rulers about Lāhor, and that Shams-ud Dīn, I-yal timish, was always victorious, but add that, on the last occasion, in 614 H, Shams-ud Dīn moved against him in person, and invested Ūchchah, and then proceed to mention Ḳabā-jah's death, which happened *ten years or more after*, thus confounding or mixing up the two events Firishtah is completely at sea about these events in Kabā-jah's life]

Kabā-jah with his forces was encamped on the Biāh [the Bias of Europeans] to defend its passage Arrived on its banks, I yal timish, on the 14th of Shawwāl, began to cross with his army, without the aid of boats [this in ELLIOT, vol II page 571, is called crossing the Indus !], at the ford near a village named Chambah [?], but we must remember that the *present* course of the Biāh is not *what it was* then In those days it separated into two branches at a village named Lowah-wāl, one branch flowing by Kusūr, Kabūlah, Khā-e, and Hujrah-i Shāh Muḳîm, passed about a mile and a half N W of the fort of Dībāl pūr, and fell into the river Ghārā This branch was called Biāh and Nālah i-Biāh, whilst the other branch, flowing southwards, fell into the Sutlaj, as the Ghārā, above its present confluence with the Biāh, is called One author, copied by Firishtah, states that this affair between Kabā jah and I-yal-timish took place between Mansūriah and the banks of the Chināb, which seems very unlikely, being too far west Kabā-jah, on witnessing this daring deed, according to the Tāj ul-Ma'āṣir, abandoned his position and fled towards "Luhāwar," whither he was pursued His standard, kettle-drums, war material, and other booty to a vast amount, fell into the hands of his rival. After this disaster, Kabā jah fled towards Ūchchah, whither I yal timish appears not to have been then prepared to follow him

I-yal-timish remained some time at Lāhor to arrange its affairs, and, having published the news of his success in all parts, conferred the government of that

ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, and was overthrown by the Khwājah, the Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk, Muhammad-i-'Abd-ullah, the Sanjarī, who was the Wazīr of the kingdom of Ghaznīn[5].

When [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, became quietly established in the territory of Sind[6], during the calamities [attending the inroads] of the infidels of Chīn, a great number of the chief men of Khurāsān, Ghūr, and Ghaznīn presented themselves before him, and he bestowed upon the whole of them ample presents, and provided liberally for them[7]. There used to be constant contention[8] between him and the august[9] Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, up to the time of the battle on the banks of the Sind, which was fought between Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, son of Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and Chingiz Khān, after which, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Khwārazm Shāh, came into the land of Sind, and proceeded towards Dīwal and Mukrān.

After the taking of Nandanah[1] by the forces of the infidel

territory upon his eldest son, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, and then returned to Dihlī. It was after these events that Ḳabā-jah's territory was invaded by Sultān Jalāl-ud Dīn, Khwārazm Shāh, as already mentioned in note [4], page 293. The extent of the province of Lāhor may be judged of from what is mentioned in that note, and note [1], below.

[5] This happened in 612 H., according to the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, but it cannot be correct. That is the year in which I-yal-duz in person overthrew him: the Wazīr of Ghaznīn defeated Ḳabā-jah soon after the death of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn. The Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā states that engagements were fought between I-yal-dūz and Kabā-jah several times in the neighbourhood of Lāhor for the possession of that province. See under the reign of I-yal-dūz, pages 496—506.

[6] Having been deprived of the province of Lāhor, Ḳabā-jah retired into Sind, and, devoting his energies to the consolidation of his rule therein, acquired great power.

[7] See page 200.

[8] Truly, and at page 294 he says that Kabā-jah was defeated by I-yal-timish in person in 614 H., which refers to the same events as related in the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir in note [4], page 532.

[9] Sa'īd here means *august*, and not that his name was "Sa'īd," which it was not, nor was it "Sultan Sa'id Shams."

[1] Sulṭān Jalāl-ud Dīn's defeat happened in the seventh month of the year 618 H. Compare Elliot's INDIA here, and throughout this Section, as the Calcutta printed text happens to be pretty correct in this identical portion of it. In the translation in Elliot, vol. ii., page 303, this passage is thus rendered:— "When the battle between Jalalu-d din Khwarizm Shah and Changiz Khan was fought on the banks of the Indus, Jalalu din came into Sind, and went towards Dewal and Makran. *After the victory of* NANDUA-TARI *the Moghal prince came with a large army*, &c." Here it will be perceived that NANDANAH, the name of the fort which was taken and the district in which it lay, and TURTĪ, the name of the Mughal who led the troops engaged in it, have been very

Mughals, Turtī, the Mughal Nū-īn, with a large army, appeared at the foot [of the walls] of the city of Multān,

cleverly made into *one name*, and Chingiz Khān is brought to Multān, who was never east of the Indus in his life!

This passage cannot fail to be unintelligible to the reader without giving some explanation, and some details respecting the events to which it refers. Our author, no doubt, could have given more particulars, but here, as elsewhere, he has, for reasons of his own, concealed a great deal.

There are many discrepancies likewise in the generality of Muḥammadan authors about the investment of Multān. Some works, including Jahān-Kushā, and Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, agree with our author, and some others state that Multān *was* taken by the Mughals, while Faṣiḥ-ī, and others, which give such detailed accounts of the Mughal invasions and Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn's career, say nothing about NANDANAH, and do not refer to this expedition against Multān; and Faṣiḥ-ī farther states, what is *rather* improbable, that Chingiz Khān himself gave Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn to understand, that, "as long as he did not re-cross the Sind, he would not interfere with him." The Ā'īn-i-Akbarī says the Mughals *subdued* Multān, and that Ḳabā-jah again repulsed them, but the first statement is not correct.

European writers also differ considerably—I need not quote the absurd nonsense contained in D'Ohsson [iii p. 4] and in Rampoldi, in his "*Annali Musalmani*"—in their accounts, extracted from the Muḥammadan writers, respecting the advance of the Mughals upon Multān. In the "*History of the Tartars*," translated from the work of Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, it is stated that Chingiz "despatched *Dubay*, *Noyan*, and *Bala*, *Noyan*, in pursuit of the Sulṭān, but they, having followed him in vain as far as the frontiers of India, were obliged to return without being able to give any tidings respecting him." Petit de la Croix, on the other hand, quoting Faẓl-ullah, says, "*Bela, Noyan*, with 20,000 men," was sent "to resist" the Sulṭān, "if he appeared in the country of Multān," and again, quoting Abū-l-Fidā, says "Multān fell into the hands of the Mughals." Jahān Kushā, Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh and Alfī are, however, greater authorities than those quoted by Petit de la Croix for these events.

After his defeat of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn on the west bank of the Sind or Indus, Changiz Khān, with the main body of his forces, halted in the country near the Kābul river and the Sind—in the plain of Peshāwar, or the Hasht-nagar Do-ābah, probably—pending negotiations with Sulṭān I-yal-timish—as stated by our author also farther on, only the negotiations of Chingiz were usually conducted upon quite a different plan: with the sword, not the pen—for permission to pass through upper Hindūstān and enter Chīn by way of Lakhanawaṭī and Kāmrūd. Whilst there encamped, Chingiz, hearing of the progress of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and the strength he was acquiring, detached the Nū-īn, Turtī or Turtāe—both names are correct, and he is by some writers called Tūrmatī [not "Tuli," as stated in Thomas, "PATHÁN KINGS OF DEHLÍ" —Tūlī was the *son* of Changiz, and was elsewhere employed at this time. Firishtah, on the other hand, says it was Chaghatāe, another of the sons, which is equally incorrect]—with two *tumans*—20,000 men—in pursuit of him.

Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, then in the western part of the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah, being much too weak in point of numbers to face this Mughal army sent after him, retired farther into the Panjāb, after he had, with 150 men, attacked and routed some 2000 or 3000 of the troops of Hindūstān stationed in that part, beyond the river Bihat, Wihat, or Jhilam, into the Chinhatah Do-ābah [The

and, for a period of forty-two days, closely invested that strong fortress

name of this Do-ābah is derived by combining the two first letters of the word چناب—Chināb—with the three last letters of بهت—Bihatah or وهت—Wihatah, *b* and *w* being interchangable—the Do-ābah of Chinhatah lying between those two rivers] where there were numbers of Khokhars at that period, and one writer states that the Sulṭān did actually invest Lāhor itself.

Turtī, having crossed the Sind, "pushed on until he reached the boundary of the district or tract of country belonging to Hindūstān which Ḳamr-ud-Dīn, Karmānī, had held, but had been dispossessed of it by one of the Sulṭān's [Jalāl-ud-Dīn's] Amīrs. This evidently refers to the tract of country which will be subsequently referred to in several places—Banbān or Banīān. In it was the strong fort of NANDANAH [نندنه—in two copies of Alfī it is written ببده and تبده, clerical errors probably, but the locality cannot be mistaken, and NANDANAH is evidently meant] which he took, and inflicted great slaughter upon its inhabitants." From whom this fort was taken is not mentioned, but it could scarcely have been then in the possession of Jalāl ud Dīn's vassals. After this feat, Turtī set out towards Multān, keeping along the western bank of the Jhilam. "On arriving opposite Multān he found the river unfordable, and directed his followers to construct a bridge, which they did by means of rafts of wood—a floating bridge." He then crossed, and invested the place; but, after he had placed his catapults, and had discharged them a great number of times with much effect, and the fortress was about to fall, he had to abandon the siege on account of the excessive heat [It was the height of the hot season, and the heat of Multān is truly excessive]. He plundered the provinces of Multān and Lohāwar, re-crossed the Sind, and proceeded towards Ghaznīn." Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh and Alfī say he plundered the ملك پور—the country of Fūr or Porus—which is the same probably as the Malik pūr and Malka pūr of other writers, the meaning of the former not having been recognized, perhaps, from the two words being written as one—ملكپور and ملكپور. See also Elliot, INDIA, vol. ii., page 559.

Our author, however, makes the matter of the investment of Multān by Turtī very confused, for, in a previous page [297], he states that "Turtī, the Mughal, who had invested Multān, left Chingiz Khān, and *came and joined* Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and *became converted* to the Muhammadan faith."

To return, however, to NANDANAH. This name is first mentioned in the reign of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn by 'Utba' in the Kitāb-i-Yamīnī, and then by Abū-Sā'id, son of Haiyah, a native of Gardaiz in the Ghaznīn territory [probably an earlier writer even than Abū-l-Fazl-i-Baihaḳī, though not much], in his Zain-ul-Akhbār, who says that Maḥmūd, towards the end of 404 H., determined to attack that fort, and that Naro Jai-pāl, on becoming aware of it, placed a strong garrison therein and retired himself towards the valley of Kashmīr. Mines were sprung, and the Turks kept up such a fire of arrows against those who showed themselves upon the walls that the place surrendered in 405 H. This very rare and important work I have commenced translating.

The next mention of NANDANAH occurs in Abū-l-Fazl-i-Baihaḳī's work, wherein it is said it was "impossible to leave that saghar—سغر—a narrow pass between hills bordering upon a hostile country—where was the fort of NANDANAH, without being properly taken care of." Our author also mentions it in several places, and it is mentioned in some other works, including the Tabaḳat-i-Akbarī [It appears to have been copied from Zain ul Akhbar],

During that contest Malik [Sulṭān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabājah, opened the door of his treasury, and conferred nume-

Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh, and Firishtah, both under Maḥmūd's reign, and in many other places, as well as by 'Abbās, Sarwāṇī, the Afghān historian, and other writers, yet, by some means or other, it has been turned into "*Nárdín*" by a *few* Muḥammadan writers—or rather copyists—and by almost *all* European translators, after the same fashion as Tarā'īn—the present Talāwaṛī—has been turned into "*Náráín*" No such places as "Náidín" and "Naráin" ever existed. See also Elliot, INDIA vol ii, pages 448 to 450 Firishtah's mode of spelling it is Nandūnah, and, in this instance, Dow spells it tolerably correct, and is followed by Briggs.

Although it is declared [Elliot, INDIA vol ii, page 451] that "the name of *Ninduna* cannot be restored," I shall make an effort to restore that of NANDANAH, and, I think, not unsuccessfully.

NANDANAH, as late as the latter part of the last century at least, was the name of a district, and formerly of a considerable tract of country, and a fortress, in the Sind Sāgar Do-ābah of the Panjāb—but the name, to judge from the Panjāb Survey Maps, appears to have been dropped in recent times—lying on the west bank of the Bihat, Wihat, or Jhilam It contained within it part of the hill country, including the *tallah* or hill of the Jogī, Bāla nāth, a sacred place of the Hindūs, which hill country was known to the Muḥammadan writers as the Koh i-Jūd, Koh-i Bāla-nāth, and to the people dwelling therein as the Makhiālah, Janjhūī, or Jūd Mountains, which we style the Salt Range, from the number of mines of rock salt contained within them, and lay between Pinḍ-i-Dādan Khān [so called after a former Khokhar chief named Dādan Khān] and Khush āb, and *now* composes part of the Shāh-pūr [Pūr or Fūr i e Porus] District of the present Rāwal Pindī Division under the Panjāb Government There was also another separate and smaller district named *Nandanpūr*, a little farther north, and there is a small river named *Nandanah* in the present district of Fatḥ i-Jang, in the Rāwal Pindī District, also to the north There is also, in this district, a Malik-pūr, in ancient days, the residence of the provincial governors, which lies in the direct line of route from the NANDANAH district on the Jhilam to the locality in which Chingiz Khān had pitched his camp, previously alluded to

It is not impossible that the name of NANDANAH was, previous to the reign of Akbar, applied to the eastern half of the hill tract between Khush-āb, Rāwal-Pinḍī, and the Jhilam, including the northern part of the Chūl-i Jalālī—so called after Jalāl-ud Dīn—in the midst of the Sind-Sāgar Do ābah, which formed, during the rule of the Ghūrīs and the Turkish Slave Kings of Dihlī, the north-western province of Hind and Sind The authority of the last-named rulers does not seem to have extended to the eastern bank of the Sind, except on the advance of an army to enforce it, nor northwards over the mountain tracts, and the Khokhars, along with the Awān-kārs, Kathars, Ghakars, and other less numerous tribes, and, like them, still inhabiting that strong country—the ancient Gāndhārah of the Hindūs—were not reduced to the subjection of the rulers of Hindūstān till the time of Akbar

In the reign of Sulṭān Mu'izz ud-Dīn, Muḥammad i-Sām, his rule, which extended from Ghaznīn to Lāhor and Dihlī, did not extend, save very nominally, over this hilly country, and it was because the Khokhars, and others, in alliance with them, closed the route between Ghaznīn and Lāhor, as referred to in note [1], page 481, that he had to march into this very frontier district of NANDANAH to coerce them The fortress of that name seems to have been

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rous benefits upon the people, and showed such proofs of boldness, ability, expertness, and courage that the men-

for the same object as that for which Sher Shāh, Afghān, founded the fort of Ruhtās in after years Whether it was founded on the site of the fort of NANDANAH it is difficult to say, but is more than probable, for Abū-l-Faẓl does not mention it in the list of forts in that *sarkār*, which may account for the name being less used in later times, but, at a place on the route between Khush-āb and Makhad on the Sind, named at present Pakkā-kot, there are the remains of a very strong fortress of ancient times, which *may* be those of NANDANAH.

In the tract south of the Makhīālah Mountains or Koh-i-Jūd, as far as the *Sind*, and to the north among the hills likewise, and beyond the Sind towards Karmān and Ghaznīn, are the remains of several large towns or cities, and substantial buildings, including the ruins of a considerable city, on the east side of the river, named Kahlūr [کہلور], which were noticed in the latter part of the last century, built in the strongest and most substantial manner, and still to be seen, and which would be delightfully interesting to explore The country between the Jhilam and the Sind, in the direction I have been referring to, teems with ruins of this kind, and the remains of numerous great wells, with stone steps to descend into them, named *wān*—the present termination of many village names—in the Panjābī dialect, *baolī* in Hindī, and *sard-ābah* in Persian There are also the extensive ruins of the ancient city of Akarrah, and some others, in the Banū district, the whole of which give undoubted evidence of this tract south of the Makhīālah or Jūd Mountains having been the chief route between *Hind* and *Ghaznīn* by Karmān and Gardaiz The more northern route by Jhilam, Rāwal Pindī, Aṭak, and Peshāwar was seldom, if ever used, for the Khaibar route was not under the control of the Dihlī kings, nor was it so good and practicable as the other [I notice that the periodical ravings about the "*only two routes*" from Afghānistān into India have not yet ceased] This may be gathered from the account of Sulṭān Nāṣir ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd's reign farther on, where he marches his forces as far as the Sūdharah and then sends Ulugh Khān with his best troops to endeavour to expel the Mughals from this very tract, and also from the account of Ulugh Khān in the following Section The country on the west of the Sind and on the Kābul river nearest to it, on the decline of the Ghūrīān, Khwārazmī, and Mughal powers, was occupied by confederacies of powerful tribes, among whom were Afghāns, and on the east side, in the hills, by the tribes before alluded to, some of whom, the Awān kārs and a few others, also held lands on the west side near the river Sind, and some even farther west

It was from this frontier province of NANDANAH that Sulṭān Jalāl-ud Dīn sent an envoy to I yal timish—who was made away with by him—with whom Chingiz is said by our author to have been at the same time negotiating [?] I-yal-timish had, at this time, ousted his rival Kabā jah from this portion of the Lāhor territory, and had compelled him to content himself with Multān, Uchchah, and Sind, although, from what subsequently occurred, the hold of either of the rivals upon the frontier district of NANDANAH could not have been very firm or very secure At page 293, our author says, that I-yal-timish, on hearing of Sulṭān Jalāl ud Dīn's overthrow by the Mughals on the Sind and retreat towards the frontiers of the Dihlī kingdom, "*despatched*"—in his account of I yal timish farther on, he says he "*marched*"—"the troops of Dihlī towards Lāhor [into the province of Lāhor ?] against the Sulṭān, who thereupon "turned aside, and proceeded towards Sind and Sīwastān" They were in great terror of the Khwārazmīs' at Dihlī, but Sulṭān Jalāl-ud Dīn,

tion thereof will endure upon the pages of time until the judgment day.

This affair of the fortress [of Multān] happened in the year 621 H., and, one year and a half subsequently, the Maliks of Ghūr[2], through the ravages of the Mughal infidels, joined Malik [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, and, in the latter part of the year 623 H, a body of [the tribe of] Khalj, a part[3] of the Khwārazmī forces, acquired supremacy over the district of Manṣūrah[4], which is [one] of the cities of Sīwastān, and their head was Malik Khān, the Khalj[5].

who had no more than about 10,000 men with him, was unable to face the immense forces of the Dihlī kingdom, and therefore he contented himself, for the time, with the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah and part of Sind. Had he appeared on the scene a few years earlier, before the Turk chiefs of the Mu'izzī and Kuṭbī dynasties had been overpowered and slaughtered by I-yal-timish, he might easily have maintained a permanent footing in India.

From the fact of NANDANAH being contained in the List of I-yal-timish's victories, although no mention even of such an expedition is given under his reign, he may have endeavoured to gain possession of it, and he certainly was advancing towards that part when attacked by the illness which compelled him to return, and which shortly after caused his death. This frontier tract must have been held by the Mughals after taking the fort of NANDANAH, for the very first act of his son Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, when he came to the throne, eleven years after, was to march into the Panjāb and despatch Ulugh Khān from the banks of the Sūdharah with his forces "to ravage the Koh-i-Jūd and the parts about NANDANAH," and to check the inroads of the Mughals, who, in the preceding reign of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, had taken Lāhor and attacked Ūchchah.

[2] Who the "Maliks" of Ghūr were at this period will be found in the account of the Mughal invasion in the last Section. The ravages of the Mughal here referred to have nothing whatever to do with "this invasion" or irruption of Turtī the Mughal. See ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 303.

[3] Not even the printed text will admit of this sentence being rendered "*The army of Khalj, consisting of* ALL *the forces of Khwarism*," &c. ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 303.

[4] The word used is ارض of Manṣūrah, and signifies literally depressed or low land, also a portion of land, country, region, tract, &c. With Sīwastān the word بلاد is used, which is the plural of بلد—a district, province, country, as well as town, city, inhabited place.

[5] It is possible that this may be our author's version of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud Dīn's operations against Ḳabā-jah, but it is evident, from the fact that neither here nor in his account of Jalāl-ud Dīn, Mang-barnī, does our author, any more than Ḥasan, Niẓāmī, the author of the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, give a correct account of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud Dīn's subjugation of the Khokhars, and the defeat and reduction of Ḳabā-jah, and occupation of Sīwastān, that both writers studiously conceal as much as possible what must have been perfectly well known to both of them. Other Indian writers who came after them, probably considering that contemporary writers might be depended upon, have been led into the

Malik [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, moved on to repel them, and a battle took place between the two

error of not mentioning those matters, *if* they were aware of them The Khwārazmī Sultāns were very obnoxious to the Ghūrīs and their parasites, and, as the Khwārazmī sovereigns were not on good terms with the Khalīfahs of that day, our author's bigotry doubtless led him, as well as Ḥasan, Niẓāmī, to conceal all that might tend to the honour and glory of those whom our author and his sect considered no better than heretics, as well as to pander to the anity of his patrons See page 609

Eighteen months after the appearance of the Mughals on the Sind or Indus, and the investment of Multān by Tūrtī or Tūrtāe some time in 623 H, a chief, named Malik Khān by several writers, and styled "of Hirāt," with his followers and the Khalj tribe, or rather the remnant of the Khalj tribe [a portion of this great tribe was settled in Garmsīr, and some held lands in Nangrahār, north of the Karmān district, centuries before the Afghāns came into it It is included by some in Shanūzān or Sankurān or rather the latter is included in Nangrahār], the remnant of the Khwārazmī forces in these parts, pressed by the Mughal invaders, arrived on the N W frontier of Sind This person, however, *cannot* be the great chief referred to at pages 287, 409, &c.—nor does our author *say* he is, but styles him "the Khalj," but some other writers endeavour to make out that he is—for, according to Yāfa'ī, Jahān Kushā, and other works, he was slain when endeavouring to reach Parshor or Barshāwar, when the right wing of Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn's small force which he commanded was defeated on the banks of the Indus He was the son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn's maternal uncle, and is styled by different names and titles in different histories In Alfī he is called, Yamīn Malik, in Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, Amīn Malik, and in Rauzat-us Ṣafā, and Ḥabīb us-Siyar, Yamīn-ul Mulk It is apparent, however, that his correct name and titles were Malik Khān, Yamīn ul Mulk See page 287

Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, in his history styles the person last referred to Khān Malik, Saif ud-Dīn, 'Ighrāk, Malik of the hills of Karmān—the Sankurān or Shanūzān hills This however is not correct, for that chief, together with others, 'Aẓam Malik and Nūh, the Jān dār, after their desertion of Sultān Jalāl ud Dīn, began to fall out and fight among themselves, so that within three months of their desertion all three were killed, and their followers dispersed, and, what with those killed by each other and those slain by Changiz Khān's forces, after a short time no traces of them were left

A Malik Khān commanded the *left* wing of Jalāl-ud-Dīn's force in the battle on the Indus, and his fate is not recorded. He probably is the person meant by our author, and the remains of the deserters from Jalāl ud Dīn's army after the victory at Barwān may have been his followers

Our author does not appear to have known much more about the situation of Manṣūrah and the district of which it was the chief place than Abū-l Faẓl did It was on the *east* side of the Indus, and nearly fifty miles from the present main stream, and was situated between forty-five and fifty miles N E of Ḥaidarābād The Khalj fugitives appeared on the N W frontier of Sind, of which Sīwastān [which gave name to the province] or Sadūsān, the present Sihwān, was the chief city, and included that district and what we at present call Upper Sind Kabā-jah moved against them and defeated them, and Malik Khān is said to have been killed in the engagement The remaining Khalj and others of his followers sought the protection of Shams ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, Ḳabā

armies, and the Khalj force was overthrown, and the Khān [Chief] of the Khalj was slain, and Malik [Sulṭān] Nāṣir ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, returned again to Ūchchah and Multān.

In this same year likewise, the writer of this work, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, reached the city of Ūchchah[6] from Khurāsān by way of Ghaznīn and Baniān[7], by boat, on Tuesday, the 27th of the month Jamādi-ul-Awwal, in the year 624 H. In the month of Ẕī-Ḥijjah of the same year, the Fīrūzī College of Ūchchah was committed to the charge of the author, together with the office of Ḳāẓī of the forces[8] of

jah's rival and enemy, who took them under his protection, and subsequently marched against Ḳabā-jah, *supported* by these fugitives

Firishtah, copying some other modern author, places this event in 615 H., but it is totally incorrect. He says they came from the outskirts of Ghaznīn. The Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī copies from our author

[6] Ūchchah, also called Ūchchah-i-Jalālī, the Europeanized Uch, Ooch, and Ouche, on the Ghārā, consisted—I refer to it as it *was* a century ago—of seven villages of large size. That in which is the tomb of Sayyid Jamāl, Bukhārī, is called Ūchchah-i-Sharīf, or the Holy, and that in which another Muḥammadan saint—Makhdūm-i-Jahānān-i-Jahān—is buried is styled Ūchchah-i-Makhdūm. The part in which the Mughal governors used to dwell is named Ūchchah-i-Mughal, and so on, all seven villages having separate names, but they may be considered as portions, although somewhat apart from each other, of one large town. Six or seven *kuroh* [each *kuroh* 1000 paces] to the northward of Ūchchah, the rivers Ghārā, Chināb, and their tributaries fall into the Sind, Ab-i-Sind, or Sind Sāgar

[7] The Calcutta text has Mathān or Mithān—متهان—here, but there is *no such word* in any copy of the text collated. The editor or editors, knowing probably that there was a place somewhere on the Indus called Mithan kot—not Mithān with long *a*—jumped at the conclusion that that must be the place referred to. The name contained in every copy of the text is written generally بنيان—Baniān, but occasionally بنبان—Banbān. See note [1], page 536, and note [8], page 623. The same name occurs in the reign of I-yal-timish, and in many other places, and, in the printed text, the name is, generally, *correctly* written. In a note, however, it is turned into دوهان, but in two of the most modern copies of the text it is turned into سيانه and برن respectively! In Elliot's INDIA the printed text is implicitly followed. There is no doubt whatever that Multān is *not* meant, and that it refers to some place *between* Ghaznīn, Karmān, and the tract north *or* west of the Salt Range, perhaps Banū or near it, and further mention of it in the following pages of this work tends to confirm this supposition, but its precise position is difficult to fix. Miṭhan-koṭ is a long distance *below* Ūchchah, and would have taken our author much out of his way in coming from Ghaznīn to that city

[8] Compare Elliot, INDIA, vol. ii. page 304, where the Ḳāẓī ship, or office of Ḳāẓī, is turned into "*provocation*"! The passage is thus rendered:—"In the month of Zí-l hijja of the same year the Fírozí college at Uch was consigned to the care of the author. *On the provocation of the army* of 'Aláu-d dín Bahram Sháh, in the month of Rabí'u-l awwal, A.H. 624, Sultán Sa'íd Shamsu-d dín encamped in sight of Uch"!

'Alā-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh [the son of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah], and, in the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal of the same year[9], 624 H., the august Sultān, Shams-ud-

[9] There are numerous discrepancies among authors with respect to these events, and our author himself, who was present at Ūchchah, makes a different statement here from that given by him under the reign of I-yal-timish, page 611, and there says these events happened in 625 H.

The Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir, after stating that the fortress of "Ūchchah-i-Multān" was "taken,"—i. e. Ūchchah *of* Multān, or belonging *to* Multān, not "Ūch Multán,"—and without mentioning that I-yal-timish was at Ūchchah in person, says that I-yal-timish, hearing of Ḳabā-jah's pride and arrogance, and that he had strongly fortified himself within the fort of Bhakar, despatched his Wazīr against him with a large army. See also Elliot, INDIA, vol. ii. page 242.

Other writers again state that, on the flight of Ḳabā-jah from Ūchchah, I-yal-timish "left his Wazīr to carry on the investment of Ūchchah, and returned himself to Dihlī," and that "the Wazīr took that place after two months, and then marched against Bhakar."

Another work has that "I-yal-timish's Wazīr marched an army against Ḳabā-jah, and invested him *within the walls* of Ūchchah in 624 H." that "it was taken after two months, on the 22nd of Jamādī ul-Ākhir," and that, "*after it was taken*, Kabā-jah got on board a boat—not what we call boats in this country, but vessels of considerable size, with flat bottoms—in order to get to Bhakar, and was drowned."

The favourite author of Indian History writers [because translated probably], Firishtah [not his translators], places this event "*between* 618 H. and 623 H.," but, as he gives no authority for so doing, and no dates between, there is no knowing what year he means. He places it *before* the expedition against Rantabhūr, whereas it took place *after*, and in the lithographed text "revised" by BRIGGS, and also in the Calcutta text of our author, Bhakar is turned into Thankīr, which is Bhīānah. The Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī also places these events in 614 H. some ten years too soon: that was Ḳabā-jah's *first* defeat by I-yal-timish. See page 294.

The real events appear to be as follow. Soon after the Khalj and Khwārazmī fugitives threw themselves on the protection of I-yal-timish, he, jealous of the power of Ḳabā-jah, and his overthrow of that remnant of the Khwārazmī forces, moved with an army from Dihlī, by way of Tabarhindah towards Ūchchah, whilst the governor of the Lāhor province, with another force, to create a diversion, marched against Multān. I-yal-timish reached Ūchchah on the 1st of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 625 H. [February, 1227 A.D.], having sent on the principal part of his army, under the Wazīr, the Niẓām-ul-Mulk, the Khwājah, Muḥammad, son of Abū Sa'īd, Junaidī, a few days in advance. He, I-yal-timish, sat down before the place and invested it, and detached his Wazīr, with a large force, against the fortress of Bhakar, whither Kabā-jah, on becoming aware of I-yal-timish's coming against him, had withdrawn with most of his forces and his treasures. These events happened during the hot season of 625 H., and part of the Wazīr's force dropped down to Bhakar by water, and part went by land, and had to march through dense *jangal*.

It is remarkable that neither Lhurī [now often pronounced Rohṛī] nor Sakar are mentioned here where we might naturally have expected to have heard something about them, especially of Luhṛī, for on the plain immediately north of it the troops of I-yal-timish probably encamped. I say probably,

Dunyā wa ud-Dīn [I-yal-timish] pitched his camp in sight

because there can be no doubt but that the course of the Indus, at this part, has greatly altered during the lapse of upward of six centuries, and with respect to the fortress of Bhakar in particular, and its connexion with Sakar.

To return to Ūchchah however some say it held out vigorously for a period of two months and twenty days, but, as it capitulated—some say it was taken—on Tuesday, the 29th—one author says the 22nd—of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir—this must be incorrect, as, between the two dates given for the arrival of I-yal-timish and the fall of Ūchchah, is a period of exactly *four* months Our author, although present, can scarcely be depended upon, for here he says it occurred in 624 H, and under I-yal-timish's reign says 625 H

The author of the Tārīkh i-Sind, Mīr Ma'ṣūm, says that I-yal timish marched an army against Ḳabā jah in 624 H, but that the Wazīr was left to carry out the investment, and I-yal-timish returned to Dihlī, and that the place capitulated 28th of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 625 H

On becoming aware of the fall of Ūchchah, Ḳabā-jah despatched his son, 'Alā-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, Bahrām Shāh, to treat for an accommodation; but, although he was received with all outward marks of kindness, and matters had been discussed, he was not permitted to depart As the Wazīr was close at hand to invest Bhakar, Kabā jah was alarmed, and, with the fate of Tāj ud-Dīn, I yal-dūz, before his eyes, threw himself on board a boat in order to escape, and was drowned by the sinking of the vessel on the 22nd of Jamādī-ul Ākhir, 625 H

According to the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, Ḳabā-jah, having been invested in Bhakar by the Wazīr, and the place reduced to extremity, *then* despatched his son to I yal timish, with an offering of 100 *laks* of Dihlī-wāls [a coin so called], and 1000 dresses of different kinds, but, being alarmed at the detention of his son, shortly after, *died* of grief! He left treasures to the amount of 500 *laks* of Dihlī wāls, 1000 large river boats, jewels and valuable pearls, inlaid vessels of silver and gold, costly garments and other valuable property, the whole of which was appropriated by I yal timish What became of Muḥammad, Bahrām Shāh, Ḳabā jah's son, is not known

The Jāmi ul Ḥikāyat, a book of anecdotes, written about this period, and dedicated to the Wazīr of I-yal timish, states—but the statements contained in such works must be received with due caution—that "I-yal-timish *sent* an army to repress the encroachments of Kaba-jah," but does not mention Ūchchah expressly, and adds, that "he, being unable to cope with this army, sent his forces to Bhakar in boats The troops of Dihlī reached Bhakar on the 10th of Rabī'-ul Awwal, 625 H, and preparations for attack were made It was, however, not made until near *seven weeks* after, on 1st of Jamādī ul Awwal, but Kabā-jah, driven from the outer walls, lost the town and had to retire to the fort." This description, however, is not applicable to the island of Bhakar *in its present extent* Ḳabā-jah is then said to have offered to capitulate, if he were allowed to send away his sons and his treasure This was refused, and he, placing no faith in his conqueror [rival?], preferring death to surrender and captivity, cast himself from the walls into the water, on the night of Thursday, the 19th of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir—one month and nineteen days after the first investment of the place

As a specimen of the random manner in which history is often written, Budā'ūnī says that the Mughals invested Multān in 611 H, and that, in 624 H, Ḳabā-jah was made captive by Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, "and took the road of the other world"

of Ūchchah. Malik [Sulṭān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, discomfited, embarked on boats [with his troops and followers ?] and retired towards Bhakar; and [a body of ?] the Sulṭān's forces, along with the Wazīr of the State, the Nizām-ul-Mulk, set out in pursuit of him, and invested him within the fortress of Bhakar[1].

Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, remained encamped before the gate of the fortress of Ūchchah for a period of two months and twenty-seven days. On Saturday, the 27th of the month, Jamādī ul-Awwal[2], the citadel of Ūchchah was given up. When the news of the capture of the place reached Malik [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, he sent his son, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, to the presence of the Sulṭān. Subsequent to his reaching the camp of the Sultān, on the 22nd of the month, Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, information arrived of the taking of Bhakar, and that Malik [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, had drowned himself in the river Sind, and the term of his existence was severed[3].

The period of his rule in the land of Sind, and Ūchchah, and Multān, was twenty-two years.

IV. MALIK BAHĀ-UD-DĪN, TUGHRIL[4], UL-MU'IZZĪ US-SULṬĀNĪ.

Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril, was a Malik of excellent disposition, scrupulously impartial, just, kind to the poor and strangers, and adorned with humility. He was one of the slaves of the early part of the reign of the Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, and the latter had raised him likewise to a high degree of rank, and,

[1] The printed text [and Firishtah in his work] turns this name into Thankīr, which is Bhīānah, although Bhakar is mentioned correctly immediately after!

[2] Impossible, considering that Ẕī-Ḥijjah is the *last* month of the year, and Rabī' ul-Awwal the *third*. He must either mean that he reached Ūchchah in 623 H., or that it was surrendered in 625 H. See page 296, where he contradicts both the date of his own arrival at Ūchchah and also the year in which it was taken.

[3] Compare ELLIOT here, vol. ii. page 304.

[4] Ṭughrul, with short *u* before the final *l*, is the name of a bird, but the name of this chief, like that of several of the Saljūḳ rulers, is spelt Ṭughril. All writers agree that Bahā-ud-Dīn, Tughril, was one of the greatest, most amiable, and most accomplished of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's mamlūks.

when the fortress of Thangír*, [or Thankír], which is [in i the territory of Bhíānah, with the Rāe of which warfar was being carried on, was taken, it was made over to Bahā ud-Dín, Ṭughril's charge, and that part became flourishin and prosperous through his means From different part of Hindūstān and Khurāsān merchants and men of reput had joined him, and to the whole of them he was in th habit of presenting houses and goods which used to becom their property, so that, on this account, they would dwe near him

As the fortress of Thankír was not suitable as a place c residence for him and his following, Malik Bahā-ud-Dír Ṭughril, founded, in the territory of Bhíānah, the city c Sultān-kot, and therein took up his abode, and used con tinually to despatch [bodies of] cavalry towards Gwāliyū When the Sultān-i-Ghāzí [Mu'izz-ud-Dín] retired from th foot [of the walls] of the fort of Gwāliyūr, he said to Bahā

* The discrepancies of authors with regard to the taking of this fortress, an the operations against Gwāliyūr are great

Our author himself, under the reign of Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dín, states tha Ḳuṭb ud-Dín subdued Nahrwālah, Thangír, Gwāliyūr, and Budā'ūn, and her contradicts himself

The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir says Thangír was taken in 592 H, and that Ḳuṭb-ud Dín, having joined the Sulṭān's forces, the royal army moved against Gwāliyū and invested it in that same year Rāe Solānkh Pāl sued for peace, becam tributary, and was allowed to retain his possessions

The Ṭabaḳāt i Akbarí says Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dín made the expedition t Ḳinnauj and Banāras in 589 H, and, leaving Ḳuṭb ud Dín as his repre sentative in Hind, returned to Ghaznín Immediately after, that work state "Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín *subdued* Thangír, Gwaliyūr, and Budā'ūn, and then invade Nahrwālah," but gives no dates, and then adds, without mentioning any othe event between, that, "when between Ṭūs and Sarakhs, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dí heard of the death of his brother," which happened in 599 H, according to ou author

The Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā also says that Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dín, after th conquest of Ḳinnauj and Banāras, left Ḳuṭb-ud Dín, as his deputy in India and that the latter *took* Gwāliyūr, Budā'ūn, and other places, but Thangír i not mentioned, and, in this statement, Haft Iḳlím and Budā'ūní agree

Alfí, which is the most correct apparently, has, "Sulṭān Mu izz-ud-Dín Muḥammad-i-Sām, again entered Hind in 590 H, and took Thangír [o Thankír], which was an exceedingly strong place, and then marched agains Gwāliyūr," about which more will be mentioned in the following note

It is amusing to compare Firishtah here—the text I mean—his account o these events, first, under the reign of Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dín, and, subsequently in his account of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, and Bahā-ud-Dín, Ṭughril They ar related in three different ways, and neither in details nor in dates do the agree !

-ud-Dīn, Ṯughril. "I must leave this stronghold to thee [to take]." In concurrence with this hint, Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṯughril, stationed a body of forces from his own troops at the foot of the fort of Gwāliyūr, and near by, at the distance of one league, he erected a fortification, in order that the Musalmān horsemen might remain within it at night, and, when the day should break, push on to the foot of the fort[6] [walls].

They were occupied in this manner for the period of a year, and, when the defenders of Gwāliyūr became reduced to straits, they sent emissaries to the Sultān- [Malik at that period] i-Karīm, Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and gave up the fort to him[7], and [consequently] between Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn,

[6] The more recent copies of the text differ somewhat from this, but the oldest and best copies are as above.

[7] Neither here, nor under the reign of Sulṯān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, does our author give us the details in consecutive order, his constant failing. The Sulṯān, having gained possession of Thangīr, moved against Gwāliyūr. Arrived there, he found it would be impossible to take it by a *coup de main*, and that the only way to reduce it would be by a regular investment, and reduction of the defenders to straits, which would occupy a considerable time. The Rāe of Gwāliyur, becoming aware of the Sultān's deliberations on the matter, hastened to present himself before him, with rich presents and offerings, and conciliated him, and, for a time, he was enabled to preserve his territory.

ELPHINSTONE, led away by the *translations* of Firishtah—Briggs's version of which he constantly *quotes*—and other histories probably, *easily*, but *incorrectly*, disposes of these affairs. He says, page 315, "next year, Shaháb-u-din came back to India, took Biana, west of Agra, and laid siege [!] to the strong fort of Gwalior, in Bundelkand. It is probable [!] that he was recalled by some attack or alarm in Khorasan, for he left *the conduct of the siege of Gwalior to his generals*, and returned, without having performed anything of consequence [!], to Ghazni."

At the time of withdrawing from before the fort, the Sulṯān remarked to Tughril, that, if the fort should be taken [hereafter by his means], it should be made over to him. On this account, after the Sulṯan's departure, Ṯughril founded the strong fortress of Sulṯān kot in the Bhīānah territory and there took up his residence, and from thence made constant raids into the Gwāliyūr territory; but, finding this of no avail, he founded a strong fortification within two leagues [some say much nearer] of it, and made it his headquarters, and virtually blockaded Gwāliyūr. By making incessant raids upon the country round, he sought to reduce the place to extremity. After about a year, the defenders, being reduced to great straits, sent agents, with presents and rarities, not to Tughril, but to his rival, Malik Ḳuṯb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and delivered up the fortress of Gwāliyūr to him. Ḳuṯb-ud-Dīn's having accepted this offer was the cause of enmity between the two Turk mamlūks, and, had not Tughril been suddenly removed from the scene by the hand of death, hostilities would have arisen between them. The Taẕkirat-ul-Mulūk says Tughril died whilst the operations were being carried on.

Ṭughril, and [Malik] Kutb-ud-Dīn, I-bak, there used t
exist a little of the leaven of vexation.

Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril, was a man of exemplar faith, and, in the district of Bhiānah, numerous proofs o his goodness remained, and he died, and was received int the Almighty's mercy.

After this, an account will likewise be given in thi ṬABAKĀT of the Khalj Maliks who were [among] those o the reign of the beneficent Sultān[8] Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, an accounted among the servants of the Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, in order that, when the reader [of this work] acquire knowledge respecting all the Malik and Amīrs of Hindūstān, they may utter a benedictio upon the author, and pray unto the Omnipotent for th eternal dominion and perpetual sovereignty of Sultā NĀSIR-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN, ABŪ-L-MUZAFFAR-I MAHMŪD, the son of the Sultān, the Kasim [co-sharer] o the Lord of the Faithful[9] and may Almighty God per petuate the dynasty, Amīn!

There is no date given of the surrender of Gwāliyūr to Kuṭb-ud Dīn, but from what our author states about the "leaven of vexation" betwee Kuṭb ud-Dīn and Ṭughril, and what other writers say respecting Tughril' determination of appealing to arms on account of Kuṭb-ud Dīn's interferenc with respect to this fortress, we may conclude that its surrender must hav taken place just before or immediately after the death of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud Dīn, who would probably, had he lived longer, have interfered in thi matter out of his great regard for Ṭughril, his ancient slave Kuṭb-ud Dīn, *after* the Sulṭān's death, would scarcely have kept himself entirely a Lāhor out of fear of Tāj ud-Dīn, I yal-dūz, with another rival like Bahā-ud Dīn, Ṭughril, in his *rear*, lest they might act in concert

Firishtah mentions these events in his account of Tughril as though the had happened in 607 H. See also note [2], page 516

Gwāliyūr did not long remain in Musalmān possession however, and i was recovered shortly after by the Hindūs, during the confusion which arose on the death of Kuṭb-ud Dīn, Ī-bak, and the accession of his adopte son, and, it was not until many years after—in 630 H—that I-yal-timish could gain possession of it See under his reign farther on

[8] Not so *Malik* Kuṭb ud Dīn was a slave at this time, and continued a slave till after Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's assassination, and the first of the Khalj rulers of Lakhanawatī *died before Kutb-ud-Dīn received his manu mission*

[9] See note [4], pages 310, 315, and 388, and note [7] On his later coin the title is Nāṣir i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn, and as our author himself states in hi account of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd's reign farther on

V. MALIK-UL-GHĀZĪ, IKHTIYĀR-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF BAKHT-YAR[1], KHALJĪ, IN THE TERRITORY OF LAKHANAWATĪ[2]

Trustworthy persons have related on this wise, that this Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār, belonged to the Khalj [tribe] of Ghūr, and the territory of Garmsīr[3]; and that he was a man impetuous, enterprising, intrepid, bold, sagacious, and expert. He came from his tribes to the court of Ghaznīn, and [to] the Audience Hall of dominion of the Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām. In the Dīwān-i-'Āriz

[1] In the more recent copies of the text, the word بن—"son of" has been left out, but the iẓāfat—the *kasrah* or *i*, governing the genitive, even in them is understood, if not written, and thus, with European and some local Indian Muḥammadan writers, the *father* has had the credit for what the *son* performed. The same error, of omitting the *kasrah* or not understanding the grammatical structure, has caused the ancestor of the Ghūrīān Sulṭāns, Muhammad, *son* of Sūrī, noticed at page 320, to be made Muḥammad Sūrī—*one* person—instead of *two*. The father's name it appears was Bakht-yār [i. e. the Fortunate or Lucky], the son of Maḥmūd.

At page 517, in every copy of the text, our author styles him 'Izz-ud-Dīn, instead of Ikhtiyār ud-Dīn.

[2] My oldest copy of the text gives the vowel points as above. There is no doubt but that the correct name is LAKHMANA-WATĪ, or LAKSHMANA-WATĪ from Lakhmana or Lakshmana, the son of Dasaratha, and half brother of Rām Chandra, and watī, the contraction of watī—habitation, dwelling, home—the country of Lakhmana.

[3] The most absurd statements have been made with respect to the people named Khalj, the plural of which, according to the 'Arab mode of writing, is Akhlāj. It is also written, but rarely, Khalaj, but some few Muḥammadan Indian authors write it Khilj and Khiljī, and most European writers have followed them [Dow, however, makes "*Chilligies*" of them, although Firishtah writes the word خلج like other Muḥammadan authors], but, according to the fertile imaginations of Europeans, the Khalj—خلج—tribe and Ghalzī—غلزي—tribe are one people—in fact, some roundly assert that the Khalj *are* one and the same race as the Afghān tribe of Ghalzī, without there being *a shadow of authority* for such an assertion in any Muḥammadan writer whatever. Because the Khalj happened, in the days of the Ghūrīan Sulṭāns [and long prior], to have been located in that part of Khurāsān now included in what in the present day is styled by the general name of Afghānistān—a comparatively modern designation—such writers, in their innocency, jumped at the conclusion that they were Afghāns, and, more than that, that the Khalj and Ghalzī *must be* one and the same people.

The Khalj are a TURKISH tribe, an account of whom will be found in all the histories of that race—the Shajirah ul Atrāk, Jāmi'-ut Tawārīkh, Introduction to the Zafar Nāmah, &c., and a portion of them had settled in Garmsīr long prior to the period under discussion, from whence they came into Hindūstān and entered the service of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn. See also note [6], page 550.

[department of the Muster-Master], because, in the sight of the head of that office, his outward appearance was humble and unprepossessing, but a small stipend was assigned him. This he rejected, and he left Ghaznîn and came into Hindûstân Arrived at the capital, Dihlî [there likewise], by reason of his humble condition, not finding favour in the sight of the [head of the] Muster-Master's department, he was also rejected.

Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yâr then left Dihlî and proceeded to Budâ'ûn, to the presence of the holder of that fief, the Sipah-Sâlâr [Commander or Leader of troops], Hizabr-ud-Dîn, Ḥasan-i-Adîb, and he fixed a certain salary for him.

The paternal uncle of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yâr—Muḥammad, son of Mahmûd—was in [*the army of*] Ghaznîn [*and his nephew joined him*], and, when the battle was fought at Târâ'în in which the Golah [Râe Pithorâ] was defeated, 'Alî, [styled] Nâg-awrî, entertained Muhammad-i-Maḥmûd [*the uncle*] in his own service When he ['Alî] became feudatory of Nâg-awr, he stood up among his brethren [*sic*], and conferred a kettle-drum and banner upon Muhammad-i-Mahmûd, and made over to him the fief of Kashmandî [or Kashtmandî], and, after his [Muhammad-i-Maḥmûd's] death, Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yâr became feudatory in his place[4]

After some time he proceeded into Awadh to the presence of Malik Ḥusâm-ud-Dîn, Âghûl-Bak As he had acquired a horse and efficient arms, and in several places had shown activity and gallantry, Bhagwat or Bhugwat

[4] This passage is defective more or less in every copy of the text collated, and most of them are—the most modern copies—hopelessly so To make sense of it I have been obliged to add a few words, but they are those only which are in *italics within brackets* The greater part of what is stated there, however, is corroborated by others, and the only parts which are doubtful are those respecting the nephew joining the uncle, and 'Alî, Nâg-awrî's "standing up among his brethren" The latter was probably a Khalj

The three chiefs here mentioned appear to have been quite independent, or very nearly so, of Malik Ḳuṭb ud-Dîn, Î-bak's authority, and this, seemingly, was why Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yâr, entered their service The very fact of these Khalj rulers being put in the same Section *with* Ḳuṭb-ud-Dîn, Î-bak, Nâṣir-ud Dîn, Kabâ-jah, and Bahâ-ud-Dîn, Tughril, and numbered consecutively, shows that Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yâr, was not an officer of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dîn, but only partially dependent on him as the Sulṭân's representative at Dihlî, and, in the same manner, his successors were to all intents independent until the last was overcome by I-yal-timish

[بهكوت], and Bhīūlī or Bhīwalī [بهيولي*] were conferred upon him in fief, and, being a man of valour and intrepidity, he was in the habit of making incursions into the territory of Muner and Bihār[6], and used to obtain booty

[5] These names are thus written in the oldest copies and are confirmed by the best of the modern copies of the text, and, as they are important, I give the original Persian These fiefs were situated between the Ganges and the Karmah nasah, to the eastward of and adjoining Chūnār-gaṛh, and two *par-ganahs* still bear the same names The town of Bhīūlī [anglicized *Bhoelee*] is still the chief town of the latter, but there is a difficulty with respect to the name of the principal place of the Bhagwat or Bhugwat *parganah* in those days, and it is most probable that the hill and fortress of Chūnār-gaṛh was included in it See Indian Atlas, sheet 88 That the places mentioned in the text were in the part named is singularly corroborated by what others say were the names of Muhammad, son of Bakht yār's fiefs, mentioned in the following note, for the places referred to are evidently the modern anglicized *Pateetah* and *Kuntil* [Kuntilah?] the former being only two miles north and nine west, and the latter one mile north, and twenty-eight miles west of Bhūīlī All these three places moreover are immediately west of the Karmah-nasah, which river was the boundary of the Bihār territory In the printed text these places are turned into Sāhlat [سهلت] or Sahlast [سهلست] and Sahilī [سهلي] or Sihwalī [سهولي]—in fact, anything but what is correct See Elliot INDIA, vol ii, page 305

[6] There is considerable difference between our author and some other writers here and also in other places, and, as I proceed I will give a short abstract of what they say

Ikhtiyār ud Dīn, Muhammad i-Bakht yār—as I shall in future style him—that is son of Bakht yār, the Khalj, who was *never a slave* [the "History of India" written for the Calcutta University notwithstanding], was one of the headmen of the Khalj tribe dwelling in and on the south-west border of Ghūr He was endowed with great valour, wisdom, and liberality, was of robust and powerful form, with immensely long arms—as described by our author During the reign of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn he came to Ghaznīn in search of service during those stirring times, and, subsequently, not obtaining employment such as he desired, he came into Hind, and proceeded to Lāhor There he did not get on with Kuṭb ud Dīn, it is said, so he proceeded farther eastward, and joined the Malik-ul-Mu'aẕẕam [the great Malik], Husām-ud-Dīn, Ūghūl-Bak [see note [2], page 516, para 11], who held in fief a considerable tract of country in the Do āb, and on the east side of the river Gang, independent of Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn's authority According to another author, Sulṭān Mu'izz ud-Dīn conferred on Ūghūl Bak the fortress of Kol and its dependencies, which is in the Do-āb Muhammad-i-Bakht yār was taken into that Malik's service, and, soon after, was despatched with some forces into Awadh [Compare Thomas, "PATHĀN KINGS OF DEHLĪ," page 110, who makes him "*Sipah-sálár* of Oude" and note [7], page 558, farther on], and, on several occasions, he gave proofs of his valour and prowess against his Hindū opponents.

After this, Husām-ud-Dīn, Ūghūl-Bak, conferred upon him the fiefs of PATĪTAH—پتيه [Lat 25°, Long 82° 54'], and KUNTILAH—كنتله [Laṭ 25° 7', Long 82° 35'], the *Kuntil* of the Indian Atlas

[From a similarity in the names, some comparatively modern Muḥammadan

from it, until he acquired ample resources in the shap horses, arms, and men, and the fame of his alertness bravery, and the booty [he had acquired], became no abroad Bodies of Akhlāj[7], from different parts of I dūstān, turned their faces towards him, and his reputa reached Sultān [Malik] Kutb-ud-Dīn, who despatch robe of distinction to him, and showed him honour. Ha been honoured with such notice and favour, he led a f towards Bihār, and ravaged that territory

He used to carry his depredations into those parts that country until he organized an attack upon the fort city of Bihār Trustworthy persons have related on wise, that he advanced to the gateway of the fortress of E

authors of Akbar's time, and some European translators and writers, have led to suppose that these places referred to *Patiāli*—پتیالی [Lat 27° 41', 79°·40'], and *Kampilah* [کنپله], Lat 27° 37', Long 79° 21', lying o southern bank of the Ganges a few miles N N W of Budā'ūn, but n than *three degrees west*, and about the same distance *north*, of the places re to by our author above, whilst PATĪLAH and KUNTILAH are within *miles of* BHAGWAT and BHIŪLI, and situated in the same tract of co immediately west of the Karmah nasah They are equally convenie Muner—a very old place at the confluence of the Soane [Son] with the G on the right bank of the former—and Bihār, as well as Awadh The to Patītah lies about five miles south of the fort of Chūnār-garh, and *had* a part and a fort when Chait Singh, the rebel Zamīndār of Banāras, garri it in 1781, but it is not entered in the Indian Atlas, and may have since to comparative decay]

Muhammad-i-Bakht-yar now began to carry his depredations into Bih Muner as well as into Awadh, *on his own account*, and acquired great l Hearing of his valour and prowess, Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, sent him [from according to Buda'ūnī] a dress of honour of great value, for, at this p Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, Ūghūl-Bak, is no more mentioned

It will be seen from these statements, as well as from the statement author, that Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār was never Sipah-Sālār in Awadh mistake appears to have arisen from his having entered the service of Ḥ ud-Dīn, Ūghūl-Bak, who was *a* Sipah-Sālār and held the fief of Awa by confounding Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār's name with that of the Sipah- Hizabar-ud-Dīn, mentioned above by our author See Thomas "PA KINGS OF DEHLĪ," page 110

[7] This favour, on the part of Kutb-ud-Dīn, as well as Muham Bakht-yār's valour and generosity becoming noised abroad, bodies of A from the Sultān's forces in Hindūstān from all parts began to flock a him, and he became very powerful He subdued the territory of Bihār making great slaughter among the infidels of that part, and booty to amount fell into his hands After these successes he presented h before Kutb-ud Dīn, who had, at that time, taken up his residence at but he was not "Sultān" Kutb-ud-Dīn, for his master was still alive a himself was *still a slave*

with two hundred horsemen in defensive armour, and suddenly attacked the place There were two brothers of Farghānah, men of learning, one Nizām-ud-Dīn, the other Ṣamṣām-ud-Dīn [by name], in the service of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār; and the author of this book met with[8] Ṣamṣām-ud Dīn at Lakhanawatī in the year 641 H., and this account is from him These two wise brothers were soldiers[9] among that band of holy warriors when they reached the gateway of the fortress and began the attack, at which time Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār, by the force of his intrepidity, threw himself into the postern of the gateway of the place, and they captured the fortress, and acquired great booty The greater number of the inhabitants of that place were Brahmans, and the whole of those Brahmans had their heads shaven, and they were all slain There were a great number of books[1] there, and, when all these books came under the observation of the Musalmāns, they summoned a number of Hindūs that they might give them information respecting the import of those books, but the whole of the Hindūs had been killed[2] On becoming acquainted [with the contents of those books], it was found that the whole of that fortress and city was a college, and in the Hindūī tongue, they call a college [مدرسه] Bihār[3]

When that victory was effected, Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār returned with great booty, and came to the presence of the beneficent Sultān[4], Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and received great honour and distinction A party of Amīrs at the capital [Dihlī], through the noising abroad of Muham-

[8] A few modern copies say, "he, Ṣamsām ud-Dīn, discovered the author," &c

[9] Jān-bāz, which does not mean "*active*"

[1] Books on the religion of the Hindūs

[2] The Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh, which quotes our author verbatim on most occasions, says they sent for a number of Hindūs, who made them acquainted with the contents of the books, and *in them it was written* that that fortress and city was called a college, but, correctly, a Budhist monastery

[3] In Persian words derived or borrowed from the Sanskrit the letter *b* is often substituted for Nagarī व—*w*—thus, Bihār or Wihār, but there is no *e* in the word hence Behár is impossible

[4] He was not then Sulṭān, and his master, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, was still alive, and was assassinated *thirteen years afterwards*, and, some time even after that event, Malik Ḳuṭb ud-Dīn received his manumission and the title of Sultān from the nephew of Mu'izz ud Dīn Our author does not mean that Ḳuṭb ud Dīn was Sulṭān at that very time. He was not Sulṭān, in fact, during the lifetime of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yar

mad-i-Bakht-yār's praises[4], and, at beholding the honour

[4] After having gained possession of Bihār, Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār, taking along with him valuable presents, part of the spoils, proceeded to wait upon Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, at this time the representative of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn in Hindūstān By the generality of authors he is said, more probably, to have gone to Dihlī for the purpose, but, as previously stated in next to last para of note [3], page 516, it was whilst Kuṭb-ud-Dīn was at Mahobah, in the Kālbī territory, in 599 H —which should be 589 H —after taking Kālinjar, that Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār presented himself, for it was in 589 H that he moved from Bihār to invade Lakhanawatī See note [7], page 558 He was received with such distinction, and so many marks of favour were shown him, that the chiefs and ministers of Kuṭb-ud Dīn's vice-regal court became filled with envy and hatred of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār, and they began to calumniate him to Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, and to report expressions of a scornful nature towards himself on the part of Muḥammad i Bakht-yār which he had never used It happened, upon the occasion of Kuṭb-ud Dīn's holding a public audience in the Kaṣr i-Safed [White Castle], that a rampant elephant was brought forward for inspection, and these envious persons began saying, in a disdainful and contemptuous manner, that there was no one who would venture to stand before that elephant, the like of which was not to be found in Hind Kuṭb ud-Dīn, in whose mind they had succeeded in creating an unfriendly feeling towards Muḥammad-i Bakht yār, proposed to him an encounter with the elephant He agreed at once, and, with the mace he held in his hand, dealt it one blow, but that blow was so effectual that the elephant made off

This anecdote is somewhat differently related by another writer, who says that these malignants stated to Kuṭb ud-Dīn that Muhammad i-Bakht yār was desirous of encountering an elephant, and that Kuṭb ud Dīn had a white one, which was rampant, and so violent that the drivers were afraid of it, and which he directed should be brought on the course for Muhammad i-Bakht yār to encounter He approached it near enough to deal it such a blow on the trunk with his mace as at once put it to flight

After his performing this feat, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn distinguished him with still greater favour He conferred upon him a special dress of honour of great value and a large sum of money, and Muḥammad i-Bakht-yār, having donned the robe, added money of his own to Kuṭb ud Dīn's gift, and distributed the whole among those present, and left the assembly with increased renown and honour Kuṭb-ud-Dīn further distinguished him by giving him a standard and other insignia, and confirmed him, on the part of his master, the Sulṭān, in the government of the tracts he had subdued, and such further conquests as he might make in the Lakhanawatī territory, and Muḥammad-i-Bakht yār returned to Bihār

Here is a rich specimen of the history taught at present, at least, in the University of Calcutta, as it is from the "History of India" by Mr Marshman — "Kootub lost no time in despatching *one of his slaves*, BUKHTIYAR GHILJIE, who had risen to command, by his native genius, to conquer Behar The capital was sacked, and the country subdued, and *the army returned* within two years to Delhi, bending beneath the weight of plunder An attempt was soon after made to supplant Bukhtiyar in *his master's* favour, but it was defeated by the prowess he exhibited in a *single combat* with a LION, which his enemies at court had forced on him This event established him still more firmly in the confidence of Kootub, who *sent him*, in 1203, *to reduce* Bengal "

Now, in the whole of this statement, there is not *one atom of truth*, and in no author, Muḥammadan or Hindū, will such a statement be found

he received, and the gifts bestowed upon him by Sulṭān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, became envious of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār, and, at a convivial banquet, they treated him in a reproachful and supercilious manner, and were deriding him and uttering inuendoes, and matters reached such a pitch that he was directed to combat with an elephant at the Ḳaṣr-i-Safed [White Castle] With one blow, which he dealt the elephant on the trunk with his mace[6], the elephant fled discomfited

When Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār gained that distinction, Sultān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn ordered him a rich robe of honour from his own special wardrobe, and conferred considerable presents upon him The Sultān [likewise] commanded the Amīrs to make him presents, and he received such a number of gifts as could not be contained within the limits of writing Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār moreover, in that same assembly, dispersed the whole of those presents and bestowed them upon the people, and, with the special imperial[7] honorary robe, he departed, and set out towards Bihār

Fear of him[8] operated exceedingly in the hearts of the unbelievers of the different parts of the territories of Lakhanawatī and Bihār, and the countries of Bang and Kāmrūd Trustworthy persons have related after this manner, that the fame of the intrepidity, gallantry, and victories of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār had [also] reached Rāe Lakhmaniah[9], whose seat of government was the city of Nūdiah, and who was a very great Rāe, and had been on the throne for a period of eighty years

At this place, an ANECDOTE respecting the circumstances of that Rāe, which had been heard [by the writer], is here recorded, and it is this, that, when his father was

[6] See Elliot INDIA, vol ii page 306. *Gurz* signifies a mace, not a "battle axe" In some modern copies of the text the words "fled discomfited" are left out, and we have instead "Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār pursued the elephant" no more

[7] One of the robes probably which Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn had himself received from his master, hence it is called a "Sulṭānī" robe.

[8] His intrepidity and valour

[9] Another writer styles him Rāe Lakhmīah [لکهمیه], intended, no doubt, for the Sanskrit लक्ष्मणेय son of Rāe Lakhman [لکهمن] See list of kings of Bangālah in Abū-l-Faẓl's Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, and Dr Blochmann's translation, and note [2], page 559

removed from this world, Rāe Lakhmaniah was in his mother's womb The crown was placed on the belly of his mother, and all girded up their loins in her service The Rāes of Hind used to hold their family in great importance, and were wont to consider them in the position of Khalīfah[1] by descent.

When the birth of Lakhmanīah drew near, and the signs of giving birth became manifest to his mother, she assembled the astrologers together[2], and they made observation whether the horoscope was auspicious With one accord they represented · "If this child should be born at this hour, it will be unfortunate exceedingly, and will never attain unto sovereignty ; but, if it should be born two hours subsequent to this time, it will reign for eighty years" When his mother heard this conclusion from the astrologers, she commanded that she should be suspended with her head downwards, with her two legs bound together, and the astrologers were placed in order that they might continue to observe the horoscope When the time came, they agreed that the [auspicious] hour of birth was now arrived She directed that she should be taken down, and forthwith Lakhmaniah was born[3] On reaching the ground, his mother, unable any longer to endure the agony of labour, died, and Lakhmanīah was placed upon the throne[4]

He reigned for a period of eighty years, and trustworthy persons have related to this effect, that, little or much, never did any tyranny proceed from his hand , and whosoever preferred a request to him for anything, other than one *lak* [one hundred thousand] he did not bestow, after the manner of the beneficent Sultān, Ḳutb-ud Dīn, the Ḥātim of his time It has been narrated on this wise, that,

[1] The words "Khalīfah by descent" [میراث خلیفه], here used by our author, and Peshwā, by others, plainly indicate that his family was looked upon in the light of heads or supreme leaders in *spiritual*, not temporal matters, and Rāe Lakhmanīah, not as a "powerful monarch ' and "lord paramount," for power of that kind he evidently did not possess Compare Elliot INDIA, vol ii page 307

[2] There is not a word about "Brāhmans" in the best copies of the text

[3] Here is a specimen of the difference in idiom in the text, which I have before referred to The oldest set of MSS have لکهمنیه تولد شد and the more modern لکهمنیه را ولادت امد

[4] His nobles, or rather the chief men of his kingdom--his late father's ministers probably—carried on the government until such time as Rāe Lakhmanīah was able to assume the direction of affairs

as in that country, the *kaurī* [shell] is current in place of silver [5], the least gift he used to bestow was a *lak* of *kauṛīs*. The Almighty mitigate his punishment [in hell]!

I now return to the history of Muhammad-i-Bak͟ht-yār. When he returned from the presence of Sulṭān Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, and subdued Bihār [6], his fame had reached the hearing of Rāe Lakhmanīah, and the different parts of his dominions likewise. A number of astrologers, wise men, and counsellors of his kingdom presented themselves before the Rāe, and represented, saying: "In our books of the ancient Brāhmans they have foretold that this country will fall into the hands of the Turks [7], and the time of its fulfilment has drawn near. The Turks have subjugated Bihār [8], and next year they will surely come into this country. It is expedient for us that the Rāe should consent [9] so that he, along with the whole people, should be removed from the country in order that we may be safe from the molestation of the Turks."

The Rāe replied, saying: "Is there any token given in your books with respect to this man who is to subdue our country?" They replied: "The indication of him is this, that, when he stands upright on his two feet, and lets down his two hands, his hands will reach beyond the point of his knees in such wise that the fingers will touch the calves of his legs [1]." The Rāe answered: "It is advisable that

[5] In every copy of the text collated, with the exception of *two*, which have *jītal*, the word *silver* is used. In 1845 the rūpī was equivalent to 6500 kauṛīs, and a *lak* would be equal to a fraction over fifteen rūpīs. In ancient times they may have been estimated at a higher rate, but a *lak* of kauṛīs could not have been a very desirable present to obtain, or a very convenient one. See note [2], page 583.

[6] Our author must mean when Muḥammad-i Bak͟ht-yār returned from the presence of Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn, whither he had gone *after* he subdued Bihār, because he did not go to Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn *before*, even by his own account. All the copies of the text, however, are as above.

[7] But their predictions did not go so far as to foretell that the Calcutta University "History of India" would turn the Turks into G͟halzī Afg͟hāns.

[8] "Have this year subjugated Bihār, and next year will come into this country," according to the Zubdat-ut-Tawārīk͟h.

[9] Compare Elliot: INDIA, vol. ii. page 308, where this sentence is translated: "It was therefore advisable that the Ráé should make *peace with them*"! موافقت نمودن does not signify to make peace with the Turks, but to consent, approve, agree to, judge expedient, &c., *their* proposal.

[1] Lit. "legs," i. e. the leg in its true sense, the part below the knee. In ELLIOT the words ساق پای have been translated "*shins*."

trustworthy persons should be despatched in order that they may, in a proper manner, investigate those peculiar characteristics" In accordance with the Rāe's command, they sent trustworthy persons, and they made investigation respecting this matter, and, in the external form and figure of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār, those characteristics they found.

When they became assured of these peculiarities, most of the Brāhmans and inhabitants[2] of that place left, and retired into the province of Sankanāt[3], the cities and towns of Bang, and towards Kāmrūd; but to begin to abandon his country was not agreeable to Rāe Lakhmaniah The following year after that, Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār caused a force to be prepared, pressed on from Bihār, and suddenly appeared before the city of Nūdīah[4], in such wise that no more than eighteen horsemen could keep up with him, and the other troops followed after him On reaching the gate of the city, Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār did not molest any one, and proceeded onwards steadily and sedately, in such manner that the people of the place imagined that mayhap his party were merchants and had brought horses for sale[5], and did not imagine that it was Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār, until he reached the entrance to the palace of Rāe Lakhmaniah, when he drew his sword, and commenced an onslaught on the unbelievers

At this time Rāe Lakhmaniah was seated at the head of his table[6], and dishes of gold and silver, full of victuals, were placed according to his accustomed routine, when a cry arose from the gateway of the Rāe's palace and the interior of the city By the time he became certain what

[2] All but the two oldest copies have Sāhān [from साधु], which signifies merchants, shopkeepers, and the like— inoffensive people, not "chiefs"

[3] In the best and oldest copies of the text, Sanknāt—سنكنات—is plainly written, with the exception of two, which have Saknāt—سكنات The Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh also has Saknāt, but other works, including the Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī and the Tazkarat ul Mulūk, say Jagnāth The part meant by our author more probably refers to a province of eastern Bang

[4] The more modern copies of the text have نودە—one even has نودبار—instead of نوديه and نوديا

[5] The text varies in different copies here It appears from the above remark, that traders were in the habit of bringing horses from Bihār into the Rāe's territory, and such is stated by some other more modern writers.

[6] Not "at dinner" necessarily. it might have been the morning meal

was the state of affairs, Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār had dashed forwards through the gateway into the palace, and had put several persons to the sword. The Rāe fled bare-footed by the back part of his palace, and the whole of his treasures, his wives, and [other] females, his domestics and servants, his particular attendants, were taken, and the Musalmāns captured a number of elephants, and such a vast amount of booty fell to their lot, as cannot be recorded[7]. When the whole of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār's army arrived, and the city and round about had been taken possession of, he there took up his quarters, and Rāe Lakhmaniah got away towards Sankanāt[8] and Bang, and there the period of his reign[9] shortly afterwards came to a termination. His descendants, up to this time, are rulers in the country of Bang[1].

[7] The Rāe, on hearing of the arrival of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār, was dumbfounded. He fled alone and unattended, and succeeded in reaching a boat, and escaped. His boundless treasures, the accumulations of eighty years, fell into the possession of the Musalmāns, and a large portion of them, the greatest rarities, were transmitted to Malik Ḳutb ud-Dīn, for the Sulṭān.

According to Munshī Shīām Parshād, who wrote an account of Gaur [Gaudah—گوده] for Major William Franklin [In referring to this work I shall call it the Gaur MS.], Rāe Lakhmaniah ruled from 510 to 590 H., which is correct. It was in the early part of the last-mentioned year that Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār took Nūdiah.

His rule extended over a period of twelve years, and he was assassinated in the middle of the year 602 H.

Mr. Thomas, however, in his "PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI," page 110, says Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār, whom he erroneously makes "*Sipah sálár*" of Awadh, "in A.H. 599, pushed his forces southward, and expelled, with but little effort, the ancient Hindu dynasty of *Nudiyah*." Here is an error of *ten years*. Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār *moved from Bihār in 589 H.*, and in the following year took Nudiah by surprise. Were 599 H. correct, his sway over Lakhanawatī would have been less than *three* years, as he was assassinated about the middle of 602 H. See note [2], page 516, para. next to last, and note [9], page 572.

[8] Here, as previously, some copies have Saknāt, and the other authors, previously referred to, Jagnāth and Kāmrūd.

[9] In some copies, the period of his *life*, &c.

[1] The Rājah, it is said, escaped in a boat to Bikrām-pūr or Wikrām-pūr. We shall also find that Sunārgānw, near Bikrām-pūr, continued to be a place of refuge for those who were discontented at Gaur, and was not finally reduced for a long time after the overthrow of Rāe Lakhmaṇiah, who had a son, Madhob Sen, who had a son, Sū Sen, who by Hindūs is considered the last ruler. Bikram-pūr is about eight miles south-east, from Dhākah, and is said to have been the principal residence of Balāl Sen, the predecessor of Adisur, who preceded Lakhman Sen, the predecessor of our author's Lakhmaniah, but he sometimes resided at Gaur, which did not become the

After Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār possessed himself of that territory [Rāe Lakhmanīah's], he left the city of Nūdīah in desolation, and the place which is [now] Lakhanawatī [2] he made the seat of government. He brought the different parts of that territory under his sway, and instituted therein, in every part, the reading of the Khutbah, and the coining of money [3]; and, through his praiseworthy endea-

capital of Bangālah until immediately before the Muḥammadan conquest Nūdīah was called Nobo-dwīp. See "*Account of Zila Dinajpur*," Calcutta, 1832.

Wilford says the conquest of Bengal took place in 1207 A.D., which is equivalent to 603-604 H., the latter year having commenced 27th July, 1207 A.D., and according to this theory Bengal was conquered a year or more *after* its conqueror's death! Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was assassinated in Sha'bān 602 H. = March 1206 A.D., in which same year Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār died or was assassinated, and which, from 590 H. = 1194 A.D., is just twelve years.

[2] The name of Rāe Lakhmanīah's capital was spelt Nūdīah until the time of Aurangzeb, when words ending in ه—hā-i-mukhtafī—were ordered to be written with ا—as Nudīā.

Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār destroyed Nūdīah, and, leaving it in desolation, passed onwards [Rauẓat uṣ Ṣafā says "he passed beyond the territory of the Rāe"], and, in place of that capital, *founded another city* [or town] at the place, according to the Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, where Lakhanawatī *has been* [بوده است], and which, at this time [reign of Akbar], they call Gaur. The Gaur MS. says he made the *mouza'* [place, village, district] of Lakhanawatī, his capital, now twelve miles from the Gang. The Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā says "he founded a city as his capital *in the territory* of Lakhanawatī," which signifies Gaur of Bangālah, "at the place where Lakhanawatī was." Budā'ūnī says Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār "destroyed the idol temples of the infidels and erected masjids and other buildings, and built a capital *in his own name* [!] which is now called Gaur." Gaur or Gaudah was the name of a division of the present country or tract styled Bangālah as well as of its ancient capital, and its inhabitants were Gauṛiyā or Gaudhiyā. According to Abū-l-Faẓl, the fort of Gaur was founded by Balāl Sen, the second of the Sen dynasty, one of eight [in some copies, *seven*] kings who reigned 106 years, out of which Balāl Sen reigned fifty years. According to the same author, the last of this dynasty was Rājah نوجه [or نوجه]. It would seem, from this, that the most ancient name of the city was Gaur, afterwards changed to Lakhanawatī, and subsequently styled Gaur again. The emperor Humāyun named it Bakht-ābād. Bangālah itself is sometimes styled Jannat-ul-Bilād. See note [8], page 584.

[3] There is not a word in the text about causing "*his name* to be read in the Khuṭbah and struck *on the coins*." See note [9], page 572. According to the Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh he established "the Khuṭbah and money of Islām," and its author copies our author almost verbatim. Other writers, on the contrary, state that, having brought all the surrounding territory under his sway after the capture of Nūdīah, he assumed a canopy of state, read the Khuṭbah for *himself*, and issued coin in *his own name*, which is not correct. He would naturally have issued coin in the name of the Sulṭān, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥam-

vours, and those of his Amīrs, *masjids*, colleges, and monasteries [for Darweshes], were founded in those parts. Of the booty and wealth [taken] he despatched a large portion to the presence of Sulṭān Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak.

After some years had passed away[4], and he had ascertained the state of the different mountain tracts of Turkistān and Tibbat to the eastward of Lakhanawatī[5], the ambition of seizing the country of Turkistān and Tibbat began to torment his brain; and he had an army got ready, and about 10,000 horse were organized. In the different parts of those mountains which lie between Tibbat and the country of Lakhanawatī are three races of people, one called the Kūnch[6], the second the Mej [Meg], and the third the Tihārū, and all have Turk countenances. They have a different idiom too, between the language of Hind and Turk[7]. One of the chiefs of the tribes of Kūnch and Mej, whom they were wont to call 'Alī, the Mej, fell into the hands of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār, the Khalj, and, at his hand also, the former adopted the Muḥammadan faith.

mad-i-Sām, to whom he appears to have been most loyal [see page 571]. He had no occasion whatever to issue money in the name of Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, who was still a slave, and Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār only died the same year in which Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was himself assassinated. See Thomas "PATHÁN KINGS OF DEHLI," page 110, and note [1], and Elliot INDIA, vol. ii. page 309.

[4] This expedition must have been undertaken towards the close of the year 601 H. After Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār had acquired great power and grandeur, he turned his thoughts to the acquirement of further territory in Tibbat and Turkistān without probably being aware of the distance to be traversed, and the difficulties to be surmounted. He set out with a force of about 12,000 horse according to the generality of accounts, but the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā has "10,000 horse, and 30,000 foot!" which is certainly incorrect.

Tibbat was a well-known name in our author's time even, and yet HAMILTON in his "Description of Hindostan," vol. ii. page 566, makes the rash statement that it does not appear that the name *Tibet* is anywhere in general use to designate the province according to the European acceptation of the word! This may be true as to *Tibet*, for the *country* here referred to is written and called TIBBAT.

The "Tharoo" [Tihārū] caste according to Buchanan, composes the greatest portion of the population that are dwellers in the plain of "Saptari," in Makwānpūr adjoining the Mūrang on the north-west, and the inhabitants of the Mūrang to the east of Bijaipūr [Wijayāpūr] are chiefly Konch, and on the lower hills are many of the Megh, Mej, or Mech tribe.

[5] Our author's ideas of east and west are rather obscure, as may be noticed at page 431. In this instance he means to the north and north-east.

[6] In some copies the nasal *n* is left out—Kūch.

[7] In some of the more modern copies of the text, "Hind and *Tibbat*."

He agreed to conduct Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār into those hills, and act as guide; and he brought the latter to a place where there is a city, the name of which is Burdhan [kot][8]. They relate, after this manner, that, in ancient times, Shāh Gūshtāsib[9] returned from the country of Chīn, and came towards Kāmrūd, and, by that route, got into Hindūstān, and founded that city [Burdhan-kot]. A river flows in front of that place, of vast magnitude, the name of which is Beg-matī[1], and, when it enters the country of Hindūstān, they style it, in the Hindūī dialect, Samund[2] [ocean], and, in magnitude, breadth, and depth, it is three times more than the river Gang.

To the banks of this river Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār came; and 'Alī, the Mej, joined the army of Islām, and, for a period of ten days, he took the army up the river among the mountains, until he brought it to a place where, from remote times, they had built a bridge of hewn stone, and consisting of upwards of twenty arches[3]. After the army

[8] The oldest and best copies generally have as above, but two add kot, and one copy gives the vowel points The Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh also has Burdhan twice The other copies collated have Murdhan and Murdhan-kot, and the printed text, in a note, has Durdhan [Wurdhan ?] as well as Burdhan

[9] Some copies have Gūshtāsib and some Garshāsib, and one has Gūdarz. In the Īrānīān records Garshāsib, son of Zau, is not mentioned as having had aught to do with Hind or Chīn. The wars of Gūshtāsib with Arjāsib, son of Afrāsiyāb, King of Tūrān, are narrated, but there is no mention of Gūshtāsib's going into Tūrān or Chīn, but his son, Isfandiyār, according to the tradition, reduced the sovereign of Hind to submission, and also invaded Chīn. In the account of the reign of Kai-Khusrau, Gūdarz, with Rustam and Gīw, invaded Turkistān to revenge a previous defeat sustained from Afrāsiyāb who was aided on this occasion by the troops of Suklāb and Chīn, and Shankal, sovereign of Hind, was slain by the hand of Rustam Our author, in another place, states that Gūshtāsib, who had gone into Chīn by that route, returned into Hind by way of the *city* of Kāmrūd, and that up to the period of the invasion of Kāmrūd by Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Yūz-Bak-i-Tughril Khān, governor of Lakhanawatī—some years after Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār's expedition—twelve hundred "hoards" of treasure, all still sealed as when left there by Gūshtāsib, fell into the hands of the Musalmāns!

[1] The name of this river in the best and oldest copies is as above, but some others, the next best copies, have Beg-hatī, Bak-matī, or Bag-matī, and others have Bang-matī, Mag-madī, and Nang matī, or Nag-matī Bag-matī is not an uncommon name for a river, and is applied to more than one. The river of Nīpāl, which lower down is called the Grandhak, is called Bag-matī

[2] Samund or Samudr or Samudra, the ocean. One of the best copies of the text has "when it enters the ocean or *sea* [دریا] of Hindūstān," &c.

[3] The reader cannot fail to notice that considerable discrepancy exists here in our author's statements respecting this river and bridge From what he

of Islām passed over that bridge, he [Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār] installed there, at the head of the bridge, two of his

says about the size we are led to conclude that this river, Beg-matī or Bek-matī, must be the Brahmā putr, but *what part of it* is the question to be solved When he adds that it is more than three times broader and deeper than the Gang—and, of course, equally liable to inundation—the idea of its being spanned by a stone bridge of above *twenty* [i e. between twenty and twenty five] *arches*, shows that the narrator, or his informant, must have grossly exaggerated We may suppose our author's idea of the size of the Gang was derived from what he had seen of that river on his journey from Dihlī to Lakhanawatī, but, if we only take its average breadth at Banāras during the height of the hot season, viz 1500 feet, our author's river will be a mile or more in breadth, and, if we believe that this bridge consisted of even twenty-five arches, *each of them* would be above seventy yards in the span Is this at all probable?

At page 561, our author says 'Alī, the Mej, brought them to a place where stood the town of Burdhan or Abardhan-kot, in front of which flows the mighty river Beg matī, *which, on entering* Hindūstān, they call the Samund, but the great bridge is not mentioned in connexion with it He then says that 'Alī, the Mej, joined the Musalmān forces on the banks of this river, and then conducted them "*up the river for a period of ten days'* journey" [some 200 miles or more, even at the low computation of twenty miles a day for cavalry without incumbrance, would have brought them near to the Sānpū or upper part of the Brahmā putr in Tibbat], and then, *not before*, they reached this great bridge, *but no river is mentioned* At page 565, it is said that *after passing* this great river the forces pushed on for a further period of fifteen days [200 or 250 miles, even allowing for the extra difficulty of the country] when *the open country of Tibbat* was reached! Here it would appear that 'Alī, the Mej, joined them, beyond the territory of the Rajah of Kāmrūd, and the latter's message to Muhammad, son of Bakht yār, confirms it, but, farther on [page 569], this great bridge is said to be in [but probably adjoining] the Kamrūd territory, or words to that effect

The boundaries of Kāmrūd are very loosely described by Musalmān authors, and they apply the name to all the country between the northern frontiers of Muḥammadan Bangālah and the hills of Bhutān, its southern boundary being where the Lakhiyah river separates from the Brahmā-putr

From the distinct mention of *Tibbat and Turkistān*, by others as well as by our author, together with other observations made by him, it is evident that Muhammad, son of Bakht yār—and his forces—marched from Dīw-koṭ, or Dīb-kot, in Dīnaj-pūr district, the most important post on the northern frontier of his territory, keeping the country of the Rājah of Kāmrūd on his right hand, and proceeding along the bank of the river Tīstah, through Sikhim, the tracts inhabited by the Kūnch, Mej, and Tihārū, to Burdhan-kot They were not in the territory of the Rājah of Kāmrūd, as his message shows, yet, when the retreat is mentioned, the Musalmāns were, invested in the idol temple by his people, but *no reference is made to this temple's being near the bridge in the account of their advance* Pushing onwards from Burdhan-kot, which may have been situated on *a* river, on the tenth day the Musalmāns reached the bank of the great river where was the bridge of stone "of above twenty arches" If the town of Burdhan or Aburdhan-kot was situated on the farther side of the great bridge, it is strange Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār,

own Amīrs, one a Turk slave, and the other a Khalj, with troops, in order to guard it until his return. Then Muḥam-

did not occupy it, when he left a detachment behind to guard the bridge, and still more strange that, when he, on his retreat, reached the bridge and found two arches broken, he did not occupy that town, and compel its inhabitants to repair it or furnish him with all he required, and the means of crossing If its gates had been closed against him, we can easily imagine why he would have had to take shelter in the great idol-temple, or that even with the town open to him, why he would prefer a strong post such as this was, but the town is *never again mentioned* by our author, although we might suppose this the place for obtaining boats or wood and other materials for rafts, and people to construct them If the distance between this river and Dīw-kot was only ten days' journey, it was not impossible to have obtained aid from thence. All the Muḥammadan histories with which I am acquainted state that the Musalmāns entered Tibbat In my humble opinion, therefore, this great river here referred to is no other than the Tīstah, which contains a vast body of water, and, in Sikhim, has a bed of some 800 yards in breadth, containing, at all seasons, a good deal of water, with a swift stream broken by stones and rapids. The territory of the Rāes of Kāmrūd, in ancient times, extended as far east as this, and the fact of the Rāe of Kāmrūd having promised Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār to precede the Musalmān forces the following year, shows that the country indicated was to the north The route taken by the Musalmāns, therefore, was, I am inclined to think, much the same as that followed by Turner and Pemberton for part the way, and that the Musalmān army then turned more to the east, in the direction taken by Pemberton, for it is plainly indicated by our author, at page 568, that the tract entered lay between *Kāmrūd and Tirhut* The Sānpū, as the crow flies, is not more than 160 or 170 miles from Dīnjā-pūr, and it *may have* been reached, but it is rather doubtful perhaps, whether cavalry could reach that river from the frontier of Bengal in ten days

In the Twentieth Volume of the Bengal Asiatic Journal, page 291, is a drawing by Dalton of the bridge of SIL HÁKO, described by Hannay "It is situated," he says "on the high alley [one of Ghiyāṣ ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ's causeways probably] which, no doubt, formed at one time the principal line of land communication with ancient Gowahátty (Pragjyotisha) in Western Kamrup [Kāmrūd]" He also considers that "it is not improbable that this is the stone bridge over which Bactyar Khilji [Muḥammad, *son* of Bakht yār] and his Tartar cavalry passed previous to entering *the outworks* of the ancient city of Gowahátty, the bridge being but a short distance from the line of hills bounding Gowahátty on the N N W and W, on which are still visible its line of defences extending for many miles on each side from the N W gate of entrance or pass through the hills The Mohammedan general is said to have been obliged to retreat from an advanced position (perhaps Chardoái), hearing [?] that the Raja of Kamrup had dismantled the stone bridge in his rear, now it is quite evident from the marks on the stones of the platform, that they had been taken off and replaced somewhat irregularly"

The fact of the existence of this stone bridge is certainly curious, but I think it utterly impossible that it can be *the* bridge our author refers to In all probability it is one of the bridges connecting "*the high alley*" or causeway above referred to, and there must have been very many of a similar description at one time It is but 140 *feet* long and 8 *feet* broad, and has no regular arches—this last fact, however, is not material, as the partitions or divisions *might* be so

mad-i-Bakht-yār, with the whole of the rest of his forces, passed over that bridge, and, when the Rāe of Kāmrūd became aware of the passage [over the bridge] by the conquering troops, he despatched trustworthy persons [saying] —"It is not proper, at this time, to march into the country of Tibbat, and it is necessary to return, and to make ample preparations, when, in the coming year, I, who am the Rāe of Kāmrūd, agree that I will embody my own forces, and will precede the Muḥammadan troops, and will cause that territory to be acquired" Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār did not, in any way, accept this counsel, and he turned his face towards the mountains of Tibbat.

described by a person who had never seen the bridge—and consists of slabs of stone *only* 6 feet 9 inches long, and built, *not* over a mighty river three times broader and deeper than the Ganges, but across "what *may have* been a former bed of the Bar Nadí, or at one particular season a *branch* of the Brahmaputra, now indicating a well defined water-course through which, judging from the marks at the bridge, a considerable body of water must pass in the *rains*, and, at that season, from native accounts, the waters of the Brahmaputra still find access to it"

The chief reasons why the bridge of SIL HÁKO could not have been that over which Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, crossed with his army may be summed up as follow —

I Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār marched through the tract between Kāmrūd and Tirhut into Tibbat in a totally different direction to Gowāhatī, through defiles and passes over lofty mountains, while between Gaur, Díw-kot, and Gowāhatī not a single pass or hill of any consequence is to be found.

II In no place is it stated in this history, which is, I believe, the sole authority for the account of this expedition, that the Musalmāns entered "the outworks" of any city, much less those of Gowāhatī

III If the great river in question was the Brahmā-putr, and the small branch of it which the Sil Hāko bridge spanned were too deep to be crossed by the Musalmān cavalry, how could they have crossed the mighty Brahmā putr itself? They would not have been able to do so even had this bridge been intact

IV Our author states, that, after passing the great river and bridge, they pushed on for fifteen days—some 200 or 300 miles at least—and that, from the farthest point they reached, the great city, garrisoned by *Turks*, was *five leagues* distant. This description will not suit the situation of Gowāhatī, which is quite close to the Brahmā-putr

V The table land of Tibbat is distinctly stated as the point reached, and it is subsequently mentioned that Changiz Khān wished to proceed from the vicinity of the Kābul river, through northern India, and get into China by the same route through Tibbat as Muḥammad, son of Bakht yār, took, but Gowāhatī would have led him much away from the part of China he wished to reach

VI The disaster which befell the Musalmāns was owing, not only to *two arches* of the great bridge being destroyed, but to some of the horsemen of the force riding into the river and succeeding in fording it *for the distance of a bow-shot*,

One night, in the year 642 H.[4], the author was sojourning, as a guest, at the dwelling of the Mu'tamad-ud-Daulah, a trusted vassal of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār, at a place, in the territory of Lakhanawaṭī, between Dīw-kot and Bekānwah[5], at which place his host was residing, and heard from him the whole of this account. He related on this wise, that, after passing that river, for a period of fifteen days, the troops wended their way, stages and journeys, through defiles and passes, ascending and descending among lofty mountains. On the sixteenth day the open country of Tibbat was reached. The whole of that tract was under cultivation, garnished with tribes of people and populous villages. They reached a place where there was a fort of

which alone would be at least as many *yards* as the bridge is *feet* broad, and even then they had gone but a small part of the distance, and rafts and floats were being constructed to enable the army to cross.

VII. We are not told that this disaster took place in the *rainy* season, and few would attempt an expedition into Ashām at that period of the year. At all other times the water-course in question would have been fordable to cavalry.

VIII. And lastly, can any one imagine that two gaps of 6 feet 9 inches each—equal to 13 feet and 6 inches in all, would have deterred the Musalmān cavalry from crossing? The very bāmbūs, or brushwood, growing near would have enabled them to have, at once, repaired two such gaps, even if a tree or two could not have been found. A door from the idol temple would have been sufficient to have spanned the gap, of 13 feet 6 inches, or rather two gaps of 6 feet 9 inches, even if the materials which they had obtained to make rafts and floats had not been available for that purpose.

One reason why it *might* seem that Gowāhatī is referred to is, the fact of there being a famous idol temple near it, or close to the Brahmā-putr, but there is no mention whatever that such was the case with regard to the great idol temple near the bridge and scene of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār's disaster. Moreover, the city of Gowāhatī is close by the river, while the Musalmāns after reaching Burdhan[kot] marched upwards 10 days until the great bridge was reached, and then pushed on from this bridge for 15 days more before they reached the fort, which even then was 5 leagues distant from the city of Kar-battan—the march from Burdhan[koṭ] to the fort 5 leagues from Kar-battan occupying in all 26 days. Can any argument be more conclusive than this?

[4] In a few copies 641 H. Mu'tamad-ud-Daulah is but a title. In ELLIOT, instead of our author, Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār, who had been *dead forty years*, is made *to halt* at the place in question.

[5] The oldest copies have Bekānwah or Begānwah and one Bekāwān or Begāwān—as plainly written as it is possible to write, while two more modern copies have Satgāwn [Sātgāwṇ?]. The remainder have Bangāwn and Sagāwn. See Blochmann's "CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF BENGAL," note †, to page 9. It is somewhat remarkable that this place also should be confounded with Sātgāwn, but in the copies of the Ā'īN-I-AKBARĪ I have examined I find Baklānah—بکلانه—instead of Baklā—بکلا—but this can scarcely be the place referred to by our author.

great strength, and the Musalmān army commenced plundering the country around[6]. The people of that fort and town and the parts adjacent advanced to repel the Muhammadan army, and they came to a battle[7]. From day-break to the time of evening prayer a fierce encounter was carried on, and a great number of the Musalmān army were killed and wounded. The whole of the defensive arms of that host were of pieces of the spear bāmbū[8], namely, their cuirasses and body armour, shields and helmets, which were all slips of it, crudely fastened and stitched, overlapping [each other], and all the people were Turks, archers, and [furnished with] long bows[9].

When night came, and the Musalmān force encamped, a number [of the enemy], who had been made prisoners, were brought forward, and they [the Musalmāns] made inquiry of them. They stated on this wise, that, five leagues' distance from that place, there was a city which they called

[6] The text varies considerably here.

[7] Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh says the Musalmāns began to attack the fort.

[8] There is nothing here, even in the printed text, which is correct [with the exception of برسم—i.e. ریسم—being altered to برسم but ریشم not ریسم is *silk*], which warrants the reading of this passage as in Elliot [INDIA, vol. ii, page 311]—"The only *weapons* of the enemy were *bamboo spears*, and their *armour*, *shields*, and *helmets*, consisted only of *raw silk* strongly fastened and sewed together." A "shield" and "helmet" of *raw silk* would be curiosities certainly.

The bāmbū referred to in the text is the *male* bāmbū—the young shoots, probably, used for spear shafts—for which the hollow bāmbū is not adapted. Had the spear bāmbū not been so plainly indicated in the text, we might suppose the armour to have been *something* after the manner of that worn by the Dufflahs, and to have been formed of sections of the *hollow* bāmbū laid overlapping each other as the rings of a coat of mail, but the male bāmbū could not be used in this manner, and, therefore, their armour, shields, &c., must have been of pieces of the *male* bāmbū overlapping each other, as in the literal translation above. An officer with the Dufflah expedition, writing on December 8, 1874, says: "Each man has over his forehead a top-knot of his own hair, and now and then a bit of bear's fur in addition. Through this he runs a skewer of metal—silver if he can afford it—and by means of the top-knot and skewer he fastens on his *cane work* helmet, a sort of close-fitting skull cap worn on the back of the head. This helmet is usually ornamented with the upper portion of the hornbill's beak to save the head from sword cuts. Round his loins over the hips he wears a number of thin *bāmbū or cane rings*, *unattached* to one another." See also Dalton, ETHNOLOGY OF BENGAL, page 32.

[9] Budā'ūnī says the people of this place were of the lineage [?] of Gūshtāsib [Gurshāsib ?], and that the fortress had been founded by him. That author does not give his authority for this statement. Our author says, at page 561, that Gushtāsib founded Burdhan[kot]. The Khalj were a Turkish tribe certainly, but they had emigrated from northern Turkistān ages before this period.

Kar-battan [or Kar-pattan[1], or Karar-pattan], and [that] in that place would be about 50,000 valiant Turk horsemen archers[2]; and that, immediately upon the arrival of the Musalmān cavalry before the fort, messengers with a complaint had gone off to the city to give information, and that, at dawn next morning, those horsemen would arrive

The author, when he was in the territory of Lakhanawatī, made inquiry respecting that [before] mentioned city It is a city of great size, and the whole of its walls are of hewn stone, and [its inhabitants] are an assemblage of Brāhmans and Nūnīs[3], and that city is under the authority of their Mihtar [chief or lord], and they hold the pagan faith[4], and every day, at daybreak, in the cattle-market of that city, about one thousand five hundred horses are sold, and all the *tangahan*[6] horses which reach the Lakh

[1] The text varies considerably here, and great discrepancy exists with respect to the name of this important place The oldest copy has كربتن—Kar-battan possibly Kar pattan, the next two oldest and best have كرر بتن—Karar-battan or pattan, but what seems the second ر in this word *may be* ن—thus Karan pattan All the other copies have كرم بتن—Karam battan or Karam-pattan Zubdat ut-Tawārīkh has كرشن which might be read Karshīn, or Karan-tan and some other histories have كرم سين—Karam-sīn

Bhātī ghūn, the Banāras of the Gūrkah dominions, and once a large place in Makwānpūr, in which part the inhabitants are chiefly Tiharūs, was anciently called دهرم بتن—Dharam pattan, and another place, once the principal city in the Nīpāl valley, and, like the former, in ancient times, the seat of an independent ruler, is named Lalitah pattan, and lies near the Bag-madī river but both these places are too far south and west for either to be the city here indicated, for Muḥammad, son of Bakht yār, must have penetrated much farther to the north, as already noticed

[2] The best Paris copy—fondly imagined to be an "*autograph*" of our author's but containing as many errors as the most modern copies generally, has 350,000

[3] In the oldest copies Nūnīān, and in the more modern ones Tūnīān One copy of the text however has "but-parastīn" idol worshippers

[4] The original is "dīn-i tarsā-ī" The word tarsā is very widely applied to signify a Christian, also a worshipper of fire or gabr, a pagan, an infidel and an unbeliever, and not to "any established religion" other than that of Islām Here our author, I think, refers to Christians—Manichæans—the whole of Tārtary and other northern parts of Asia contained a vast number of Christians See Travels of Father Avril and others in Tārtary. Christians are constantly referred to in the annals of the Mughals

[5] The word used is "nakhkhās," which signifies a seller of captives, cattle or booty of any kind, and is used to signify a place where cattle and slaves are bought and sold.

[6] The printed text, and that only, has اسپ تنگ بسته—*asp-i tang bastah* When the editor or editors got this from it would be difficult to conceive, but they could scarcely have intended to convey the meaning of horses brought down *with saddles on their backs* ready to be mounted The words in the copies o

anawatī country they bring from that place The route by which they come is the Mahamhā-ī [or Mahanmhā-ī] Darah[7] [Pass], and this road in that country is well known; for example, from the territory of Kāmrūd to that of Tirhut are thirty-five mountain passes, by which they bring the *tangahan* horses into the territory of Lakhanawatī.

In short, when Muhammad-i-Ba**kh**t-yār found out the nature of that tract—the Musalmān troops being fatigued and knocked up by the march, and a large number having been martyred and disabled on the first day—he held consultation with his Amīrs They came to the conclusion that it was necessary to retreat, in order that, next year, after making ample arrangements, they might return again into that country[8] When they retreated, throughout the whole route, not a blade of grass nor a stick of firewood remained, as they [the inhabitants] had set fire to the whole of it, and burnt it, and all the inhabitants of those defiles and passes had moved off from the line of route. During these fifteen days[9] not a pound of food nor a blade of grass did the cattle and horses obtain[1]; and all

our author's text are—تنگنه اسپ—*asp-i tanganah*—they are still well known Stewart, who had no printed text to go by, read the name pretty correctly—"Tanghan" Hamilton says these horses are called *Tanyan* or *Tangun* "from *Tangusthan* the general appellation of that assemblage of mountains which constitutes the territory of Bootan," &c He must mean Tangistān, the region of *tangs* or defiles Abū-l Faẓl also mentions these horses in his Ā'īN-I-AKBARĪ—"In the lower parts [پایان] of Bangālah near unto Kūj [Kūch], a [species] of horse between the gūt [gūnth] and the Turk [breed] is produced, called Tangahān," which is also written Tānganan, and gives the spelling of the word, but they are not born "ready saddled" Compare Elliott INDIA, vol ii page 311, and note [4], and see Dr Blochmann's translation of the Ā'īN

[7] Some copies—the more modern—and the best Paris copy, leave out the name of this pass, and make دره—passes—of it, and, while all the oldest copies [and Zubdat] have Tirhut, the more modern ones have Tibbat

[8] Although the Musalmān troops were, at length, victorious, their victory cost them so many lives, and so many men were disabled, that, on hearing of a force of 50,000 valiant Turks being stationed so near at hand, Muḥammad, son of Ba**kh**t-yār, held counsel with his chiefs, and it was determined to retreat next day Our author appears totally unable to tell the truth respecting a Musalmān reverse, even though such reverse may be far from dishonour, and may have been sustained under great difficulties or through their being greatly outnumbered

[9] The fifteen days which the retreat occupied he seems to mean, as the same route in going took that number of days Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh says that the inhabitants also destroyed the roads—obstructed them, cut them up in some way

[1] They must have brought some provisions and forage along with them, or

[the men] were killing their horses and eating them, unti they issued from the mountains into the country of Kām rūd, and reached the head of that bridge They found tw arches of the bridge destroyed[2], on this account, that enmity had arisen between both those Amīrs [left to guard it], and, in their discord, they had neglected to secure th bridge and protect the road, and had gone off[3], and th Hindūs of the Kāmrūd country had come[4] and destroye the bridge.

On the arrival at that place of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yā with his forces he found no way of crossing, and boats wer not procurable He was lost in surprise and bewilderment[5] They agreed that it was necessary to halt in some place[6] and contrive [about constructing] boats and floats, in orde that they might be enabled to pass over the river They pointed out an idol temple in the vicinity of that plac [where they then were] of exceeding height, strength, and sublimity, and very handsome, and in it numerous idols both of gold and silver were deposited, and one great idol so [large] that its weight was by conjecture upwards of two or three thousand *mans*[7] of beaten gold Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār and the remainder of his followers sought shelter within that idol-temple[8], and began to devise means for

obtained *some* food, or must have eaten each other Perhaps our author means that many perished for want of sufficient food

[2] Two arches of any possible span—but not over seventy yards—would not have been such a difficult matter to repair, so near primeval forests, and with a town or city, as previously stated, close to the bridge The town, however, is not once mentioned on their return

[3] The Zubdat ut Tawārīkh states that the two Amīrs, to spite each other, abandoned guarding the bridge, and each went his own way Budā'ūnī says they first fought, and afterwards abandoned the bridge

[4] This remark, and what follows at page 571 again, tends to show that the bridge in question was beyond the Kāmrūd territory, although, a line or two before, it is stated that they came into Kāmrūd and reached the head of the bridge See also page 561 and note[3]

[5] Where was 'Alī, the Mej, all this time? He is not again mentioned, but his kinsmen are, and the country people are not even referred to, although the Hindūs of Kamrūd are, see page 571

[6] Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh says "necessary to occupy some place *until* boats and floats could be constructed"

[7] The more modern copies have miskāls

[8] According to other authors, when the Musalmāns reached the bridge, they were filled with amazement and horror at finding two of its arches broken The two Amīrs, who had been left to guard it, had not been on good terms for some time prior to being stationed there, and, as soon as their

obtaining wood and rope for the construction of rafts and crossing the river, in such wise that the Rāe of Kāmrūd became aware of the reverses and helplessness of the Musalmān army He issued commands to the whole of the Hindūs of the country, so that they came pouring in in crowds, and round about the idol-temple were planting spiked bāmbūs in the ground, and were weaving them together, so that it [their work] was appearing like unto walls[9]

When the Musalmān troops beheld that state of affairs, they represented to Muḥammad-i-Bak͟ht-yār, [saying].— "If we remain like this, we shall all have fallen into the trap of these infidels it behoveth to adopt some means

chief had left, their hostility broke out afresh, and such was their enmity that, rather than not prosecute their own designs against each other, they abandoned it After they had departed, the Rāe of Kāmrūd, on becoming aware of it, sent his men, and destroyed the two arches It is strange the names of these two Amīrs are not given by our author, as his informant, previously mentioned, must have known who they were

Finding the bridge thus impassable, Muhammad-i-Bak͟ht-yār determined to occupy some strong place until such time as materials could be obtained to enable them to effect the passage of the river Here also we might expect to hear something of the town and its people, but, as I have mentioned in note [3], page 561, it is doubtful whether our author meant it to be understood that Burdhan-kot was on the banks of the Bag madī river, where this bridge was

Spies brought information that there was an immense and exceedingly strong idol-temple near by, and that was occupied by the Musalmāns accordingly Another writer states that they were ignorant, when they advanced, of the existence of this temple

Budā'ūnī states that the Musalmāns only passed the night in the idol-temple, but this statement is absurd Where were materials to be obtained from, during the night, to make rafts?

[9] Tis͟hū Lāmbū or Digārc͟hah, the seat of a Lāma in Lat 29° 7' N, Long 89° 2' E, a great monastery only 180 miles from Rang-pūr of Bengal [said to have been founded by Muhammad, son of Bak͟ht-yār], answers nearly to the description of the idol-temple referred to, but it is on the southern not the northern bank of the Sānpū river, and a few miles distant, and our author says it was a *Hindū* temple Perhaps, in his ideas, Hindūs and Buddhists were much the same From this point are roads leading into Bhūtān and Bengal

As soon as the Rāe of Kāmrūd became aware of the helpless state of the Musalmāns, and that they had sought shelter in the great idol temple, he gave orders for his people to assemble They came in hosts, and began to form a stockade all round it, by planting, at a certain distance, not their "bamboo spears" as in Elliot [INDIA, vol ii page 317], but bāmbūs spiked at both ends [the mode of making stockades in that country], and afterwards woven strongly together, which forms a strong defence Ralph Fitch says, respecting Kūc͟h "all the country is set with bamboos or canes made sharp at both ends and stuck into the earth," &c

whereby to effect extrication." With one accord they made a rush, and all at once issued from the idol-temple, attacked one point [in the stockade], and made a way for themselves, and reached the open plain, and the Hindūs after them[1]. When they reached the river bank the Musalmāns halted[2], and each one, to the best of his ability, sought means of crossing over Suddenly some few of the soldiers[3] urged their horses into the river, and, for the distance of about an arrow flight, the water was fordable A cry arose in the force that they had found a ford, and the whole threw themselves into the water, and the Hindūs following them occupied the river's bank When the Musalmāns reached mid-stream, [where] was deep water, they all perished, [with the exception of] Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār, who, with a few horsemen, a hundred more or less, succeeded, by great artifice, in effecting the passage of the river, and all the rest were drowned

After Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār emerged from the water, information reached a body of the Kūnch and Mej The guide, 'Alī, the Mej, had kinsmen at the passage, and they

[1] Muḥammad, son of Bakht yār, seeing through the object of the Hindūs, issued from the idol-temple at the head of his troops, and, with considerable difficulty, made a road for himself and followers Having done this, he took up a position and halted on the bank of the river Bag madī Here he appears to have remained some days, while efforts were then made to construct rafts, the Hindūs not venturing to attack them in the open

[2] This is related differently by others The Musalmāns were occupied in crossing, it is said, or, perhaps, more correctly, about to make the attempt with such means as they had procured, when a trooper [some say, a few troopers] rode his horse into the river to try the depth probably, and he succeeded in fording it for the distance of a bow-shot Seeing this, the troops imagined that the river, after all, was fordable, and, anxious to escape the privations they had endured, and the danger they were in, as with the means at hand great time would have been occupied in crossing, without more ado, rushed in, but, as the greater part of the river was unfordable, they were carried out of their depth, and were drowned

After his troops had been overwhelmed in the Bag madī or Bak-matī, Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, with the few followers remaining with him, by means of what they had prepared [a raft or two probably], succeeded, with considerable difficulty, in reaching the opposite bank in safety, and, ultimately reached Dīw-kot again Apparently, this river was close to the Mej frontier.

Budā'ūnī states that those who remained behind [on the river bank] fell martyrs to the infidels, and, that of the whole of that army but 300 or 400 reached Dīw-kot He does not give his authority however, and generally copies verbatim from the work of his patron—the Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī—but such is not stated therein

[3] In some copies of the text, "one of the soldiers."

came forward to receive him [Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār], and rendered him great succour until he reached Dīw-kot.

Through excessive grief sickness now overcame him, and mostly out of shame at the women and children of those of the Khalj who had perished, and whenever he rode forth all the people, from the house-tops and the streets, [consisting] of women and children, would wail and utter imprecations against him and revile him, so that from henceforth he did not ride forth again[4] During that adversity he would be constantly saying "Can any calamity have befallen the Sultān-i-Ghāzī that my good fortune hath deserted me[5]!" and such was the case, for at that time the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, had attained martyrdom In that state of anguish Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār became ill, and took to his bed, and died

Some have related that there was an Amīr[6] of his, 'Alī-i-Mardān, a Khalj of great intrepidity and temerity, to whose charge the fief of Nāran-go-e [or Nāran-ko-e[7]] was made over When he obtained information of this disaster he came to Dīw-kot, and Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār was confined to his bed through sickness, and three days had passed since any person was able to see him[8]. 'Alī-i-Mardān in some way went in unto him, drew the sheet

[4] Zubdat ut-Tawārīkh says "by the time he reached Dīw-koṭ, through excessive grief and vexation, illness overcame him, and, whenever he rode forth, the women of those Khalj who had perished stood on the house-tops and reviled him as he passed This dishonour and reproach added to his illness," &c

Rauẓat-us Ṣafā says his mind gave way under his misfortunes, and the sense of the disaster he had brought about resulted in hopeless melancholy

[5] This was certainly just about the time of that Sulṭān's assassination

[6] Zubdat ut-Tawārīkh has "one of the great Amīrs," &c The *izāfat*, in 'Alī-i-Mardān, signifies 'Alī, *son* of Mardān See page 576

[7] The name of this fief or district is mentioned twice or three times, and the three oldest copies, and one of the best copies next in age, and the most perfect of all the MSS, have بارکوئی as above in all cases, and one—the best Petersburg copy—has a *jazm* over the last letter in addition, but all four have the *hamzah* The Zubdat ut-Tawārīkh also has ارکوی—Nāran-goe or Nīran-koe The next best copies of the text have بارکوای—in which, in all probability, the ا has been mistaken for ء The I O L MS 1952, the R A S MS, and the printed text, have ارکوی د—whilst the best Paris copy has this latter word, in *one place*, and بارکوی in other places, and another copy has بارکوی In Li 1101, vol ii page 314, it is turned into "Kunf" in one place, and, sixteen lines under, into "Narkotí"

[8] Zubdat ut Tawārīkh says "no one used to go near him"—the way of the world to desert one in misfortune

from his face, and with a dagger assassinated him. These events and calamities happened in the year 602 H.[9]

VI. MALIK 'IZZ-UD-DIN, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF SHERĀN[1], KHALJI, IN LAKHANAWAṬĪ

Trustworthy persons have related after this manner, that Muhammad-i-Sherān and Ahmad-i-Sherān were two brothers, two among the Khalj Amīrs in the service of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār; and, when the latter led his troops towards the mountains of Kāmrūd and Tibbat, he [Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār] had despatched Muhammad-i-Sherān, and his brother, with a portion of his forces, towards Lakhan-or and Jāj-nagar.[2] When the news of these events [related above] reached Muhammad-i-Sherān, he came

[9] This date shows that the territory of Lakhanawaṭī was taken possession of in 590 H., the year in which Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, took up his quarters at Dihlī. The conquest of Lakhanawaṭī is accounted among the victories of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, because it took place in his reign. Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, was at this time still a slave, and neither attained his manumission nor the title of Sulṭān until *some time after the death* of Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār. See note [7], page 558.

Some authors consider him an independent sovereign, and say that he "reigned" for twelve years. He certainly *ruled* in *quasi* independence for that period, but, from the expressions made use of by him in his last sickness, he evidently was loyal to Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and he probably paid some *nominal* obedience to Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, as the Sulṭān's Deputy at Dihlī. It is not to be wondered at that Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, neither issued coin in his own name, nor in the name of his sovereign's slave whilst that sovereign was *alive*—the latter would have been an impossible act. See Thomas, PATHĀN KINGS, note [1], page 111, and note [3], page 559.

[1] Also styled, by some other authors, Sher-wān. Sherān, the plural of *sher*, lion, tiger, like Mard-ān, the plural of *mard*, man, is intended to express the superlative degree. The iẓāfat here—Muḥammad-i-Sherān—signifies *son of* Sherān, as proved beyond a doubt by what follows, as two brothers would not be so entitled.

[2] Compare ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 314. The Paris copy of the text, the I. O. L. MS., the R. A. S. MS., and the printed text, have "to Lakhanawatī and Jāj-nagar," but the rest have Lakhan-or or Lakh-or, and Jāj-nagar. No doubt Lakhan-or is meant in the copies first mentioned, and probably ی substituted for ر by ignorant copyists.

Some writers state that Muḥammad-i-Sherān was "Ḥākim of Jāj-nagar" on the part of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār, but such cannot be. Jāj-nagar was an independent Hindū territory [see note [4], page 587], but most authors agree with ours that Muḥammad-i-Sherān was despatched against—or probably to hold in check—Jāj-nagar during Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār's absence on the expedition into Tibbat, and he was, doubtless, feudatory of Lakhan-or [see note [8], page 584], which lay in the direction of the Jāj-nagar territory.

back from that quarter, and returned again to Dīw-kot, performed the mourning ceremonies [for Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār], and from thence [Dīw-kot] proceeded towards Nāran-go-e[3], which was 'Alī-i-Mardān's fief, seized 'Alī-i-Mardān, and, in retaliation for the act he had committed, imprisoned him, and made him over to the charge of the Kot-wāl [Seneschal] of that place, whose name was Bābā[4], Kot-wāl, the Ṣafahānī [Iṣfahānī] He then returned to Dīw-kot again, and assembled the Amīrs together

This Muhammad-i-Sherān was a man of great intrepidity and energy, and of exemplary conduct and qualities[5], and, at the time when Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār sacked the city of Nūdīah, and Rāe Lakhmanīah took to flight, and his followers, servants, and elephants became scattered, and the Musalmān forces proceeded in pursuit of spoil, this Muhammad-i-Sherān, for the space of three days, was absent from the army, so that all the Amīrs became anxious on his account After three days they brought information that Muhammad-i-Sherān had taken eighteen elephants along with their drivers in a certain *jangal* [forest], and was retaining them there, and that he was alone[6] Horsemen were told off, and the whole of these elephants were brought before Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār In fact, Muhammad-i-Sherān was a man of energy [combined] with sagacity[7]

[3] Other writers state that Muhammad-i Sherān, on hearing of the fate of their chief, Muḥammad i Bakht-yār, returned at once from Jāj-nagar [from Jāj nagar towards Lakhan or] with his force, proceeded to Dīw-kot, and performed the funeral ceremonies, and then marched from Dīw kot to Bār sūl—بارسول—and secured the assassin, 'Alī i Mardān, and threw him into prison After performing this act, he returned to Dīw kot again See note [7], next page In ELLIOT this is turned into "they returned from their stations, and came *dutifully* to Deokot," but [illegible] as in the printed text, does not mean "*dutifully*," but "mourning ceremonies"

[4] Familiarly so styled perhaps

[5] The Jahān-Ārā, which does not mention 'Alī, son of Mardān, at all, calls Muḥammad-i-Sherān bloodthirsty, and greatly wanting in understanding, thus confounding him with 'Alī i-Mardān

[6] He had managed to take these elephants and their drivers on the day of the surprise of Nūdīah, but, being quite alone, he was unable to secure them, and had to remain to guard them *until* such time as aid should reach him. Information of his whereabouts having reached Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār, he sent out a detachment of horse to bring him in with his spoil

[7] Muhammad, son of Sherān, was an intrepid, high-minded, and energetic man, and, being the chief of the Khalj Amīrs, on their return to Dīw-kot, the

When he imprisoned 'Alī-i-Mardān, and again departed [from Dīw-kot], being the head of the Khalj Amīrs, they all paid him homage[8], and each Amīr continued in his own fief. 'Alī-i-Mardān, however, adopted some means and entered into a compact with the Kot-wāl [before mentioned], got out of prison, and went off to the Court of Dihlī[9]. He preferred a petition to Sulṭān Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, that Ḳāe-māz, the Rūmī[1] [native of Rūmīlīā], should be commanded to proceed from Awadh towards the territory of Lakhanawatī, and, in conformity with that command, [suitably] locate the Khalj Amīrs

Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, the Khalj, at the hand of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār, was the feudatory of Gangūrī [or Kankūrī ?][2], and he went forth to receive Ḳāe-māz the

principal Amīrs were assembled in council together, and they chose Muḥammad-i Sherān as their ruler and sovereign, and they continued to pay homage to him. It seems strange that the city of Lakhanawatī is seldom mentioned, while Dīw-kot is constantly referred to by various authors, and, from what our author himself says at page 578, it would appear to have been the capital at this period

[8] Some copies have "they all paid him homage," &c, and, after the word fief, insert "until"

[9] 'Alī-i-Mardān managed to gain over the Koṭ-wāl, and was allowed to escape He succeeded in reaching Dihlī, and presented himself before [the then] Sulṭān Ḳuṭb ud Dīn, Ī-bak, who received the ingrate and assassin with favour. Both our author and other writers, in mentioning his escape in their account of Muḥammad-i Sherān's reign, make it appear that 'Alī, son of Mardān, *at once* succeeded in inciting Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn, Ī-bak, against Muḥammad-i-Sherān, and inducing him to despatch Ḳāe-māz to Lakhanawatī, but this is not correct 'Alī, son of Mardān, accompanied Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn to Ghaznīn [where he reigned—in riot—forty days], and was taken captive by the troops of I-yal-dūz, and released or escaped again before these events happened, as will be mentioned farther on

[1] The text differs here Some copies have "So that Ḳāe-māz, the Rūmī, received orders, on which he *proceeded* from Awadh to Lakhanawatī," but the majority are as above The Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh, however, clears up the meaning of the last clause of the sentence —"That he, Ḳāe māz, should proceed into Lakhanawaṭī, in order that each of the Khalj Amīrs, who were in that part, might be located in a suitable place, and to make certain districts their fiefs" That work, however, immediately after, states that the Khalj Amīrs, having shown hostility towards him [Ḳāe māz], opposed him in battle, and were defeated, and that, in that engagement, Muḥammad, son of Sherān, was slain Compare ELLIOT, too, here

[2] Of the four best and oldest copies of the text, two have Gangūrī or Kankūrī—کنکوری—and two, Gasgūrī or Kaskūrī—کسکوری—but this latter appears very doubtful. Five other good copies agree with the first two, but three others have respectively ککنوری—ککوری—and ککوری Some other works, including the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, state that Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, was the feudatory

Rūmī, and, along with him, proceeded to Dīw-kot, and, at the suggestion of Ḳāe-māz, the Rūmī, he became the feoffee of Dīw-kot. Ḳāe-māz, the Rūmī, set out on his return [into Awadh], and Muhammad-i-Sherān, and other Khalj Amīrs, assembled together, and determined upon marching to Dīw-kot[3]. Ḳāe-māz, whilst on his way back [hearing of this], returned again, and an encounter took place between the Khalj Amīrs and him, and Muhammad-i-Sherān and the Khalj Amīrs were defeated. Subsequently, disagreement arose among themselves, in the direction of Maksīdah and Santūs[4], and Muhammad-i-Sherān was slain[5], and there his tomb is.

VII. MALIK 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN, 'ALĪ, SON OF MARDĀN, KHALJĪ.

'Alī-i-Mardān[6], the Khalj, was a man of vast energy, vehement, intrepid, and daring. Having obtained release

of Kalwā-ī or Galwā-ī—کلوائی—or Kalwā-īn or Galwā-īn—کلواین—the n of the latter word is probably nasal.

3 No sooner had Kāe-māz turned his back upon the scene than Muḥammad, son of Sherān, and the rest of the Khalj Amīrs, determined to recover Dīw-kot out of the hands of Ḥisām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ.

4 These two names are most plainly and clearly written in four of the best and oldest copies of the text, with a slight variation in one of Maksīdah for Maksidah [the Maxadabād probably of the old maps and old travellers]—مکسده and مکسیده and سطوس for سنوس. Of the remaining copies collated, one has مکده and سطوس, two others مسکده and سطوس, and the rest سطوس and مکیده. The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī has سطوس only.

5 The Gaur MS. says he was killed in action after a reign of eight months, and, in this latter statement, the Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh and some other works agree; but the period seems much too short from the assassination of Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, to his death for reasons mentioned in the following note, or the country must have remained some time without a ruler before 'Alī-i-Mardān succeeded. Rauẓat-us-Ṣafā makes a grand mistake here. It says that Muḥammad-i-Sherān, after having ruled for a short period, became involved in hostilities with a Hindū ruler in that part, and was killed in one of the conflicts which took place between them.

6 'Alī-i-Mardān, that is to say, 'Alī, *the son of* Mardān, was energetic and impetuous; but he was not endowed with sense or judgment, and was notorious for boldness and audacity, for self-importance, haughtiness, excessive vanity and gasconade, and was cruel and sanguinary. After he escaped from confinement for assassinating his benefactor, Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, when lying helpless on his death-bed, he proceeded to Dihlī and presented himself before Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, who, at that time, had acquired the sovereignty of Dihlī, and was well received. He accompanied Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn to Ghaznīn at the time that he filled the throne of Ghaznīn, as our author says, "for a period of forty days," in carousal and debauchery. There 'Alī

from imprisonment at Nāran-go-e [or Nāran-ko-e], he came to the presence of Sultān Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and accompanied him towards Ghaznīn, and he became a captive in the hands of the Turks of Ghaznīn. A chronicler has related in this manner[7], that one day, when he was out hunting along with Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, he began saying to one of the Khalj Amīrs, whom they used to style Sālār [a leader, chief] Ẓaffir[8]. "What sayest thou if, with one arrow, I should slay Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, within this *shikār-gāh* [chase] and make thee a sovereign?" The Sālār, Ẓaffir, the Khalj, was a very sagacious person, and he was shocked at this speech, and prohibited him from

fell a captive into the hands of the Turks of Ghaznīn, the partizans of Sulṭān Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, at the time of Ḳutb ud-Dīn's precipitate retreat probably Some authors, however, state, and among them the authors of the Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, and Zubdat ut-Tawārīkh, that in one of the conflicts of that time he was taken prisoner by the Turks—Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī says, the Turk-māns—and was carried off into Kāshghar, where he remained *for some time* He, at length, managed to reach Hindūstān again, and proceeded to Dihlī, and presented himself at the Court of Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn, who received him with great favour and distinction The fact of his having been a captive in the hands of his rival's—I-yal-dūz's—partizans was enough to insure him a favourable reception Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn conferred upon him the territory of Lakhanawatī in fief, and he proceeded thither and assumed the government It must have been just prior to this, and not immediately after the escape of 'Alī-i Mardān, that Kāe-māz was sent from Awadh to Lakhanawatī, or, otherwise, between the defeat of Muhammad, son of Sherān, by the latter, and Sherān's death, and the nomination of 'Alī-i Mardān by Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Lakhanawatī would have been without a ruler during the time that Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn took to proceed from Dihlī to Ghaznīn, where he remained forty days, and back to Dihlī again, and *eight months*, which is said to have been the extent of Muḥammad-i Sherān's reign, seems much too short a space of time for this expedition, and 'Alī-i Mardān's captivity in Kāshghar and his escape and return The accounts of this period are not satisfactorily given in any work [See page 526, and para. two of note [8] for the year in which Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn had to make such a precipitous retreat from Ghaznīn], and, moreover, it appears that Kuṭb ud-Dīn did *not return* to Dihlī again, but continued at Lahor up to the time of his death

[7] Here is another specimen of difference of idiom, though not so great as in some places, occurring in different copies of the text This sentence is thus expressed in one set of copies —راوی چنین گفت—in another—راوی چنین روایت کرد—in another—ارباب ثقات چنین روایت کرد—and, in another ثقات چنین روایت کرده اند

[8] Compare ELLIOT, vol. ii page 315 If we are to translate the name of the Sālār, Ẓafir [not *Zafar*, which signifies *victory*] why not translate the name of Husām ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, in fact, all the 'Arabic names in the book? It does not follow that this person was a "*victorious general*," but he was a chief whose name was ZAFFIR, signifying, in 'Arabic, overcoming all difficulties, successful, triumphant, victorious, &c

[the committal of] such a deed. When 'Alī-i-Mardān returned from thence, the Sālār, Ẓaffir, presented him with two horses and sent him away[9].

When 'Alī-i-Mardān came back again into Hindūstān, he presented himself before Sulṭān Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and received an honorary robe, and was treated with great favour, and the territory of Lakhanawatī was assigned to him. He proceeded towards Lakhanawatī, and, when he passed the river Kons[1], Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, the Khalj, [feudatory] of Dīw-kot, went forth to receive him, and 'Alī-i-Mardān proceeded to Dīw-kot[2] and assumed the government, and brought the whole of the country of Lakhanawatī under his sway

When Sulṭān Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, passed to the Almighty's mercy, 'Alī-i-Mardān assumed a canopy of state, and read the Khutbah in his own name[3], and they styled him by the title of Sultān Alā-ud-Dīn He was a bloodthirsty and sanguinary man He sent armies in different directions, and put the greater number of the Khalj Amīrs to death The Rāes of the adjacent parts became awed of him, and sent him wealth and tribute He began granting investitures of different parts of the realm of Hindūstān, and the [most] futile bombast began to escape his lips. Both in the assembly, and in the audience-hall, he would declaim about the country of Khurāsān, of 'Irāḳ, of Ghaznīn, and of Ghūr, and idle nonsense he began to give tongue to, to such degree, that they used [in jest] to solicit from him grants of investiture of Ghaznīn and of Khurāsān,

[9] Another writer relates this somewhat differently He says that 'Alī-i-Mardān, one day, accompanied the suite of Sulṭān, Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, when he went to the chase—but this is scarcely compatible with his being a captive—on which occasion he said to the Sālār Zaffir "What sayest thou to my finishing the career of the Sulṭān with one thrust of a spear, and making thee a sovereign?" Zaffir, however, was a man of prudence and integrity, and had no ambition of gaining a throne by assassinating his benefactor He therefore gave him a couple of horses and dismissed him, and he returned to Hindūstān

[1] In some copies Kons as above, and in others Kos without the nasal *n*. Some other writers call this river the Konsī and Kosī

[2] In some copies "*from* Dīw kot" Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, appears to have been a kind of Vicar of Bray, from what is stated previously, and here

[3] He also coined in his own name, according to the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī and Budā'ūnī

and he would issue commands accordingly [as though they were his own][4].

Trustworthy persons have narrated after this manner, that there was, in that territory [Lakhanawati], a merchant who had become indigent, and his estate was dissipated He solicited from 'Ali-i-Mardān some favour. 'Ali-i-Mardān inquired [from those around]: "From whence is that man?" They replied · "From Ṣafahān [Iṣfahān]" He commanded, saying "Write out the investiture[5] of Ṣafahān as his fief," and no one could dare, on account of his great ferocity and unscrupulousness, to say: "Ṣafahān is not in our possession" Whatever investitures he conferred in this way, if they would represent: "It is not under our control," he would reply: "I will reduce it"

So that investiture was ordered to be given to the merchant of Safahān—that indigent wretch, who lacked even a morsel and a garment of rags. The chief personages and intelligent men, there present, in behalf of that destitute man, represented, saying · "The feudatory of Ṣafahān is in want of resources for the expenses of the road, and for the preparation of equipage, to enable him to take possession of that city and territory," and he ['Ali-i-Mardān] commanded a large sum of money to be given to that person for his necessary expenses[6] The nature of 'Ali-i-Mardān's presumption, cruelty, and hypocrisy

[4] Our author's mode of relation is not over plain "His vanity and bombast," says another writer, "was such that he fancied Īrān and Tūrān belonged to him, and he began to assign their different kingdoms and provinces amongst his Amīrs" The fact is that he was mad, and it is somewhat remarkable that a subsequent Sulṭān of Dihlī, who was mad after the same fashion, should also have been of the Khalj tribe Compare ELLIOT, vol II page 316 The author of the Gaur *MS* in his innocency says that after his [Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn, Ī-bak's] death, for two years and some months, *the sway* of this same 'Alā ud-dīn *was acknowleged as far as* Khurāsān and Iṣfahān, &c !!! Where Lakhanawaṭī? where Khurāsān and Iṣfahān?

[5] The word used in the text is miṣāl [مثال] such a term as "jágir" is not used once in the whole work, because it is a comparatively modern term

[6] Our author relates this anecdote differently from others The destitute merchant, who wanted something that would furnish him with food and raiment, refused to accept the investiture of Iṣfahān, and the Wazīrs, who out of terror of 'Alī were afraid to tell him so, represented that the Ḥākim of Iṣfahān was in want of funds for the expenses of his journey thither, and to enable him to assemble troops in order to secure possession of his fief This had the desired effect.

amounted to this degree, and, together with such conduct, he was [moreover] a tyrant and a homicide The weak and indigent [people] and his own followers were reduced to a [perfect] state of misery through his oppression, tyranny, and bloodthirstiness, and they found no other means of escape save in rising against him A party of the Khalj Amīrs conspired together, and slew 'Alī-i-Mardān, and placed Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, upon the throne

The reign of 'Alī-i-Mardān was two years, or more or less than that[7]

VIII —MALIK [SULṬĀN] ḤUSĀM-UD-DĪN, 'IWAẒ[8], SON OF ḤUSAIN, KHALJI

Malik [Sultān] Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, the Khalj, was a man of exemplary disposition, and came of the Khalj of Garmsīr of Ghūr

They have narrated on this wise, that, upon a certain occasion, he was conducting a laden ass towards the eminence which they call Pushtah Afroz[9] [the Burning Mound],

[7] Two years and some months was the extent of his reign, but most authors say two years I do not know whether all the copies of Budā ūnī's work are alike, but in two copies now before me he says plainly, that 'Alī-i-Mardān reigned two and thirty years. Perhaps he meant two or three years, but it is not usual to write three before two in such cases The Gaur MS states that he reigned from the beginning of the year 604 H to 605 H, and yet says that Kutb ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, died in his reign !

[8] Compare Thomas, "PATHÁN KINGS OF DEHLI," pages 8 and 112, and Elliot, INDIA, vol II, page 317 The Arabic word 'Iwaẓ [عوض] has a meaning, but "'*Auz*" and "*Awz*" none whatever One or two other authors state that he was the *son of* 'Iwaẓ, but this is doubtful there is no doubt, however, of his father's name being Husain His correct title is Sūlṭān Ghiyās ud-Dīn Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn was his name *before* he was raised to the sovereignty

[9] Two of the oldest copies of the text, and some of the more modern ones, are as above, and some other works confirm this reading, but one of the oldest and best copies, and the Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh, have Pusht for Pushtah Both words are much the same in signification, however, as explained in the text itself, namely, "an ascent, a bluff, steep, eminence, hill, hummock, mound," &c, but Pashah [See Elliot INDIA, vol II page 317] signifying *a flea, a gnat*, &c, is impossible Pusht is the name of a dependency of Bādghais, and is very probably the tract here meant *Afroz* is the active participle, used as an adjective, of افروختن to inflame, to set on fire, to burn, to light up, to enkindle, &c, the literal translation of which is "the burning hill, or mound,' and may refer to a volcano even at that time extinguished

to a place within the limits of Wālishtān on the borders of the mountain tracts of Ghūr. Two Darweshes[1], clothed in ragged cloaks, joined him, and said to him: "Hast thou any victuals with thee?" 'Iwaz, the Khalj, replied: "I have." He had, along with him on the ass, a few cakes of bread, with some [little] dainty[2], by way of provision for the journey, after the manner of travellers. He removed the load from the ass, spread his garments [on the ground], and set those provisions before the Darweshes. After they had eaten, he took water, which he had among his baggage, in his hand, and stood up in attendance on them. After those Darweshes had made use of the victuals and the drink, thus hastily produced, they remarked to each other, saying: "This excellent man has ministered unto us: it behoveth his act should not be thrown away." They then turned their faces towards 'Iwaz, the Khalj, and said: "Ḥusām-ud-Dīn! go thou to Hindūstān, for that place, which is the extreme [point] of Muhammadanism, we have given unto thee[3]." In accord with the intimation of those two Darweshes, he returned again from that place [where he then was], and, placing his family[4] on the ass, came towards Hindūstān. He joined Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār, and his affairs reached such a point that the coin of the territory of Lakhanawatī was stamped, and the Khutbah thereof read, in his name, and they styled him by the title of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn[5]. He made the city of Lakhana-

Wālishtān is evidently the same tract as is referred to at page 319, which see. The oldest and best copies of the text, and some modern copies, are as above, but some of the latter have والسان, and داشتان and three others, including the best Paris copy, have رولـــس.

[1] They are thus styled in the original: there is not a word about "fakirs" in any copy of the text.

[2] Meat, fish, vegetables, or the like, eaten with bread to give it a savour. In Elliot: INDIA, vol. ii, page 317, it is styled "*traveller's bread*," and the ass is turned into a mule!

[3] In some copies, and in some other works, Khwājah, equivalent here to "Master," in others Salār—head man, leader or chief. Another author says the Darweshes said: "Go thou, O Khwājah, into Hind, for they have assigned unto thee one of the kingdoms of the region of Hind."

[4] The text varies a little here. The oldest copy has "his family" as above, whilst, of the other copies, some have "his children," some "his wife," and some "his wife and children."

[5] After the chief men had put the tyrant, 'Alī, son of Mardān, to death, they, with one accord, set up Husām-ud-Dīn 'Iwaz, son of Husain, who, originally, was one of the petty chiefs of the Khalj country on the borders of

watī the seat of government, and founded the fortress of Basan-kot, and people from all directions turned their faces towards him[6]

Ghūr, a man of virtuous mind and high principles, and endowed with many excellent qualities, both of mind and body He is said, by several authors, to have been very handsome, and they confirm all our author says about him in this respect

[6] In ELLIOT, vol ii page 317, "He made the city of Lakhnautí the seat of his government, and *built a fort for his residence!*" The printed text has حصار بسكوت—fortress of *Bas kot*

From our author's remark here, it would appear as though Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, had been the first to make the city of Gauṛ or Lakhanawatī his capital Akdālah can scarcely have been built at this period or it would no doubt have been mentioned from its importance

Abū-l-Faẓl states, in the Ā'ĪN-I-AKBARĪ, that Lakhanawatī, which some style Gauṛ, is named Jannat-ābād, but this is an error from what is stated below by others, and was the name applied to the Sarkār or *district*, not to the city He continues "To the east of it is a great *kol-āb* [lake] in which is an island To the north, at the distance of a *kuroh*, is a building and a reservoir, the monument of ancient times, which is called Sārahāe-mārī [ساراهی ماری] Criminals used to be confined in the building, and a good many died from the effects of the water which is very noxious"

The Haft-Iklīm, says Gauṛ, in the olden time, was the capital of Bangālah, and that the fortress of Gauṛ was amongst the most reliable strongholds of Hindūstān "The river Gang lies to the west of it, and, on the N E W and S sides, it has seven [sic in MS] ditches, and a citadel on the side of the Gang The distance between [each] two ditches is half a *kuroh*, each ditch being about three ṭanāb [= 120 *gaz* or ells] broad, and so deep that an elephant would be unable to cross it JANNAT-ĀBĀD is the name of the *tumān* [district] in which Gauṛ is situated"

The Khulāṣat ut-Tawārīkh states that Lakhanawatī or Gauṛ is a very ancient city and the first capital of the country To the east of it is a *kol āb* [lake] of great size, and, should the dyke [confining it?] burst, the city would be overwhelmed The emperor Humāyūn, when in that part, took a great liking to Lakhanawatī, and gave it the name of BAKHT ĀBĀD

Many fine buildings were erected in and around the city by Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh i-Abū l-Muẓaffar, Shāh-i-Jahān, the Ḥabashī [Abyssinian, yet he is included among the so-called "Patháns"], one of which was the Chānd gateway of the citadel near the palace, a *hauz* [reservoir], and the famous *lāt* or *manārah* Musalmāns do not erect "Jaya Sthambas" The Chānd gateway was still standing some fifty years since, but hidden by the dense *jangal*, and is probably standing still There were several *masjids*, one of which was founded by Sulṭān Yūsuf Shāh

According to the Portuguese writers who "aided Mohammed [Maḥmūd] against Sher Khan a Mogol general [?] then in rebellion," the capital city *Gouro* extended three leagues in length along the Ganges and contained one million, two hundred thousand families [one million of people *or* two hundred thousand families, probably] "VOYAGES AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE *Castanneda, de Barros, de Faryia y Souza, Antonio da Silva Meneses*, &c"

The Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī says "Lakhanawatī acquired the by-name of Bulghāk-pūr—place of great sedition—from بلغاك signifying much noise, tumult,

He was a man of pleasing mien, of exceeding handsome appearance, and both his exterior and interior were [adorned] by the perfection of mercy; and he was magnanimous, just, and munificent. During his reign the troops and inhabitants of that country enjoyed comfort and tranquillity, and, through his liberality and favour, all[7] acquired great benefits and reaped numerous blessings. In that country many marks of his goodness remained. He founded *jāmi'* [general] and other *masjids*, and conferred salaries and stipends upon good men among theologians, the priesthood, and descendants of the Prophet, and other people acquired, from his bounty and munificence, much riches. For example, there was an Imām-zādah[8] of the capital city, Fīrūz-koh, whom they used to style Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the son of Jamāl-ud-Dīn, the Ghaznawī, who, to better his means[9], left his native country and came into the territory of Hindūstān in the year 608 H. After some years, he returned again to the capital city, Fīrūz-koh, and brought back with him abundant wealth and riches. Inquiry was made of him respecting the means of his acquisition of wealth. He related that, after he had come into Hindūstān, and determined to proceed from Dihlī to Lakhanawatī, when he reached that capital, Almighty God predisposed things so that he [the Imām, and Imām's son] was called upon to deliver a discourse in the audience-hall of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, the Khalj.[1] That

sedition, &c.—because, from ancient times, from the period that Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, of Dihlī, conquered it [Ziyā-ud-Dīn, Baranī, is *rather incorrect* here however], almost every Wālī to whom the sovereigns of Dihlī gave the government of Lakhanawatī, because of its distance from Dihlī, its extent, and the number of passes intervening, if he had not rebelled himself, others have rebelled against him, and killed or dethroned him."

[7] There is not a word about "his nobles."

[8] *An* not "*the*" Imām zādah: there were scores of Imām zādahs probably at Fīrūz-koh. Imām signifies a leader in religion, a prelate, a priest.

[9] Some copies have اجماع—collection, amount, &c., and the more modern copies and the printed text اتباع—signifying family, followers, dependents, &c., instead of انتفاع—seeking benefit, and the like. In ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 318, it is rendered *a body of men*—"He came with a body of men from his native country," &c.!! He was merely a priest, and did not travel attended by "a body of men."

[1] Compare ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 318, where this passage is translated: "the Almighty so favoured him that *his name was mentioned* in the Court of Ghiyásu-d-dín."!!

sovereign, of benevolent disposition, brought forth from his treasury a large chalice full of gold and silver *tangahs*, and bestowed upon him a present of about two thousand *tangahs* [2], and gave commands to his own Maliks and Amīrs, Grandees and Ministers of State, so that each one presented, on his behalf, liberal presents. About three thousand gold and silver *tangahs* more were obtained. At the period of his return home [from Lakhanawatī] an additional five thousand *tangahs* were acquired in gifts, so that the sum of ten thousand *tangahs* was amassed by that Imām, and Imām's son, through the exemplary piety of that renowned monarch of benevolent disposition. When the writer of these words, in the year 641 H. [3], reached the territory of Lakhanawatī, the good works of that sovereign, in different parts of that territory, were beheld [by him].

The territory of Lakhanawatī [4] has two wings on either

[2] The Haft Iḳlīm states that the money of Bangālah was confined to the *jītal* [always written with *j*—جتل] according to the following table:—

4 *Jītals* 1 *Gandah*, 20 *Gandahs* 1 *Ānah*, 16 *Ānahs* 1 *Rūpī*.

"Whatever the rūpī might be, whether 10 *tangahs* or 100 *tangahs*, it was reckoned as 16 *ānahs*, and there was no change whatever in the *jītal* and the *gandah*." From what our author has stated in several places in this work, however, it is evident that the *jītal* was current in the kingdom of Dihlī, and Muhammadan India, as well as in Bangālah. See page 603.

Firishtah [copying the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī] states with respect to the *tangah* that "it is the name given to a *tolah* of gold *stamped*, and that a *tangah* of silver was 50 *pūls*, each pūl [i. e. a piece of anything orbicular] of copper [bronze?] was called a jītal, the weight of which is not known exactly, but I have heard that it was one *tolah* and three quarters of copper [bronze?]." Another writer states that there were 25 jītals to 1 *dām*.

The word *tangah*—with *g* not with *k*—signifies a thin plate, leaf, or slice [ورق] of gold or silver, and appears to be an old Persian word. See Thomas: PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI, pages 37, 49, 115, 219, and 230.

According to some other writers, however, the following table is [also] used:—

4 *Jītals* 1 *Gandah*, 20 *Gandah* 1 *Pan*, 16 *Pan* 1 *Kahāwan*, 16 *Kahāwan* [some call 20 a *Ruddha Kahāwan*] 1 *Rūpī*.

According to the same account, 20 *kaurīs* made a *jītal*.

Price, in his "RETROSPECT OF MAHOMMEDAN HISTORY," in reference to the revenue of Hindustān, says the "Tungah," as far as he recollects, was considerably higher than the "Daum," and "conceives it was the *fifth* of a rupee."

[3] Two copies have 644 H., which can scarcely be correct, and the remainder 641 H. Further on he says he was in that part in 642 H. Our author appears to have set out from Dihlī for Lakhanawatī in 640 H., reached it in 641 H., and returned to Dihlī again in the second month of 643 H.

[4] Of course Bang is not included, and our author mentions it separately.

side of the river Gang The western side they call Rāl [Rāṛh[6]], and the city of Lakhan-or[6] lies on that side, and the eastern side they call Barind[7] [Barindah], and the city

[6] I can easily fancy a foreigner writing Rāl—رال—or Rād—راد—from hearing a Hindū pronounce the Sanskrit राढ—راڑه—Rāṛh, containing, as it does, the letter which few but natives of the country can properly utter

[6] The printed text followed in ELLIOT has "Lakhnautī," but that is totally impossible, since it lay *east*, not west of the Ganges, its right pronunciation is, no doubt, Lakhan-or

Most of the best copies of the text have Lakhan or, both here and in other places where the same town or city is referred to, but two of the oldest and best copies have both Lakhan-or and Lakh-or both here as well as elsewhere It appears evident to me that the *n* in the first word is nasal, and that its derivation is similar to that of Lakhanawatī, from the name of Dasarata's son, Lakhmana, with the Hindī word ओर—*or*, affixed, signifying limit, boundary, side, &c = Lakhmana's limit or frontier In this case it is not surprising that some copyists left out the nasal n, and wrote Lakh or, having probably the name read out to them From the description of the dykes farther on in Section XXII, in the account of the different Maliks of the dynasty where the invasion of Jāj-nagar by the Musalmāns is mentioned, and the invasion of the Musalmān territory by the Rāe of Jāj nagar, Lakhan-or lay in the direct route between Lakhanawatī and Katāsin, the nearest frontier town or post of the Jāj-nagar territory, and therefore I think Stewart was tolerably correct in his supposition, that what he called and considered "Nagor," instead of Lakhan-or, was situated in, or farther south even than Bīrbhūm It is by no means impossible that Dr Blochmann's supposition may be correct, that Lakarkūndhah [the *Lacaracoonda* of Rennell] is the place in question It is in the right direction, but seems not far enough south, and, if any indication of the great dyke or causeway can be traced in that direction, it will tend to clear up the point Lakarkūndhah lies about eighty five miles as the crow flies from Gauṛ or Lakhanawatī, "*right away from the river*," but this Mr Dowson, in ELLIOT, appears to think a *proof* of its being the wrong way, and he probably fancies that it should follow the Ganges "Right away from the river," too, in the opposite direction, distant about eighty miles, lay Dīw kot—Dīw and Dīb are the same in Sanskrit and Hindū-ī—the total length from place to place, allowing for deviations, being a very moderate "ten days' journey" There is no doubt whatever as to the correct direction of Jāj-nagar and its situation with regard to Lakhan or and Lakhanawaṭī, as mentioned in note [4], page 587

[7] In some copies *Barbind*, but Barind or Barinda is correct In one copy of the text the vowel points are given I do not know the derivation of the Sanskrit word—राढ Rāṛh, but वृंद—Brind or Wrind, signifies *a heap* [high?], and it is possible that the former may signify *low*, *depressed*, being subject to inundation, and Brinda [the Barinda and Barind of the Musalmān writers], *high*, *elevated*, not being subject to inundation Hamilton says the part liable to inundation is called Bang, and the other Barendra. See also the account of Malik Tamur Khān-i-Ḳirān in Section XXII, where Lakhan or is styled Lakhanawaṭī Lakhan-or

Barind, under the name of "*the Burin*," is well known to sportsmen, I am told, in the present day, who apply it to the high tract of country N W of Rām-pūr, in the Rāj-Shahī district

Terry says, alluding to the "two wings," "*Bengala*, a most spacious and

of Dīw-koṭ is on that side. From Lakhanawatī to the gate of the city of Lakhan-or, on the one side, and, as far as Dīw-kot, on the other side, he, Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, [caused] an embankment [to be] constructed, extending about ten days' journey, for this reason, that, in the rainy season, the whole of that tract becomes inundated, and that route is filled with mud-swamps and morass[8]; and, if it were not for these dykes, it would be impossible [for people] to carry out their intentions, or reach various structures and inhabited places except by means of boats. From his time, through the construction of those embankments, the route was opened up to the people at large[9].

It was heard [by the author] on this wise, that, when the august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn [I-yal-timish], after the decease of Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh [his eldest son], came into the territory of Lakhanawatī to suppress the sedition of Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn-i-Balkā, the Khalj[1], and beheld the good works of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, the

fruitful Province, but more properly to be called a Kingdom, which hath two very large Provinces within it, *Purb* [Pūrab] and *Patan* [Pachcham], the one lying on the East, the other on the West side of the River *Ganges* * * * The chief Cities are *Rangamahat* and *Dekaka*"

[8] Compare ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 319.

[9] These embankments, according to other writers likewise, were constructed through the perseverance and forethought of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ. Another author states that the "former ancient rulers of Bang, the present capital of which is Dhakah, on account of the vast quantity of water which accumulates throughout the province in the rainy season, caused causeways to be constructed twenty cubits wide and ten high, termed *āl* [ال], and, from the proximity of these *āls*, the people styled the province BANG-ĀL. Rain falls without ceasing during one-half of the year in the rainy season, and, at this period, these *āls* appear above the flooded country."

A European writer, writing on the province 'as at present constituted,' says "There are several remarkable military causeways which intersect the whole country, and must have been constructed with great labour, but it is not known at what period. One of these extends from Cooch Bahar [Kūch Bihār] through Rangamatty [Rangamatī] to the extreme limits of Assam [Ashām], and was found when the Mahommedans first penetrated into that remote quarter." He, of course, must mean the Muhammadans of Aurangzeb's reign.

Hamilton states that one of these causeways extended from the Dīwah to the Brahmā-putr.

[1] In the list of Maliks at the end of Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish's reign, farther on, he is styled Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Daulat Shāh-i-Balkā, and, by some, is said to be the son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, and, by others, a kinsman. Another author distinctly states that the son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, was named Nāṣir-ud-Dīn-i-'Iwaẓ, and that he reigned for a short time. See also page 617.

Khalj, whenever mention of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ's name chanced to arise, he would style him by the title of "*Sultān* Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Khaljī," and from his sacred lips he would pronounce that there could be no reluctance in styling a man Sultān who had done so much good[2]. The Almighty's mercy be upon them! In short, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, the Khalj, was a monarch worthy, just, and benevolent. The parts around about the state of Lakhanawatī[3], such as Jāj-nagar[4], the countries of Bang, Kāmrūd, and

[2] What extreme magnanimity! Reluctance or not, Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, had as good a title to be called Sultān as Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, or any other who preceded or followed him, and, moreover, he had never been a slave, nor the slave of a slave. I-yal-timish was not his suzerain until he gained the upper hand. It was only 'Alī-i Mardān who was *subject* to Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak.

[3] Compare Dowson's ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 319, where Jāj-nagar is made to appear as being part of the Lakhanawatī territory there is nothing even in the printed text to warrant such a statement.

[4] Dr Blochmann's surmises [CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF BENGAL, page 29] are quite correct with respect to Jāj-nagar. It appears to have been named after a town or city of that name, subsequently changed in more recent times to Jāj-pūr, the meaning of *nagar* and *pūr* being the same; and in the days when our author wrote, and for many years subsequently, it continued to be a kingdom of considerable power

Before attempting to describe the boundaries of Jāj-nagar, and generally to elucidate the subject, it will be well to describe the territory of Kaḍhah-Katankah, or Gadhah-Katankah—for it is written both ways—which lay between it and the Muḥammadan provinces to the north

The best account of it I find in the Ma'dan-i Akhbār-i-Aḥmadī, of which the following is an abstract —"The country of Kaḍhah Katankah they call Gondwānah, because the Gonds, a countless race, dwell in the *jangals* of it On the E., by Ratan-pūr, it reaches the territory of Chhār Kund, on the W it adjoins the fort of Rāsīn of Mālwah It is 150 *kuroh* in length, and 80 in breadth On the N it is close to the Bhātah territory [the Bhātī of the Ā'īN-I-AKBARĪ], and S is close to the Dakhan, and this tract of country they call Kadha -Katankah. It is very mountainous, and has many difficult passes and defiles, but is exceedingly fruitful, and yields a large revenue It has forts and *kaṣbahs* [towns], so much so that trustworthy narrators say that it has 70,000 [the MS has 7000 in figures and seventy thousand in words] inhabited *karyahs* [قرية—lit a concourse of people, a village It does not mean a *city*] Kaḍhah or Gaḍhah is a great city, and Katankah is the name of a *mouza'* [district, place, village], and by these two names this territory is known [Katankah, however, must have been remarkable for something or other for the country to be called after it] The seat of government of this region is Churā-garh, and there are several Rājahs and Rāes in it"

Faiẓī, Sarhindī, in his History, calls the country Jhār-Kundah instead of Chhār Kunḍ, and both he and the Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh say that it had 70,000 or 80,000 inhabited *karyahs*, and they both agree generally with the above as far as they go, but they state that Āmūdah [Āmūḍah?] is the name of

Tirhut, all sent tribute to him; and the whole of that territory named Gaur passed under his control[5]. He acquired

[5] In ELLIOT, vol, ii page 319, this passage is translated from the printed text :—"The district of *Lakhnaur* submitted to him," but the text is as above.

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one of the principal towns of Kadhah Katankah, and the first of importance reached by Āṣif Khān when he invaded it in Akbar's reign The Rānī, Durgīwatī, issued from her capital, Chūrā-gaṛh, to meet the Musalmāns, who had never before ventured into those parts They halted at Damūh [دموه], Lat. 23° 50′ N, Long 79° 30′ E, between the capital and Āmūdah.

From the above statements, as given in the works just quoted, the tract of country adjoining Bihār on the S and Bangālah on the W is Bhātah or Bhāṭī, which probably included Palamāo, Chhotah Nāg-pūr, and Gang-pūr, on the W, and the tract adjoining Bhātah on the W, and immediately joining the district of Ruhtās gaṛh on the N, was Chhār-Kund or Jhāṛ-Kunḍah, lying on the right bank and upper part of the Son, and stretching towards Ratan-pūr Still farther W, between Ratan-pūr and the Narbadah, but running in a S W direction, and stretching from the left bank of the Son, on the one side, to Raisīn of Mālwah, on the other, and S to the hills, the northern boundary of Birār, was Kadhah Katankah

Terry, in his Voyage, says that the chief city of *Kanduana* [Gondwānah] is called *Karhakat nka* [كره كتنكه], and that the river *Sersily* parts it [Kanduana] from *Pitan* More respecting the capital of Jāj nagar will be found farther on

Jāj nagar appears, therefore, to have been bounded on the E by the range of hills forming the present W boundary of Ūdīsah Jag-nāthh, Katāsin, on the Mahā nadī, being the nearest frontier town or post towards the Lakhan-or portion of the Lakhanawatī territory Farther N it was bounded towards the E by the river called the *Bramini* by some English writers, and *Soank* by Rennell [I always adopt the *native* mode of spelling if I can find it, the fanciful transliteration of Gazetteer writers ignorant of the vernacular spelling notwithstanding], running to the W of Gang pūr Its northern boundary is not very clearly indicated [but see Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh's excursion farther on], but it evidently included Ratan pūr and Sanbhal pūr On the W it does not seem to have extended beyond the Wana Gangā, and its feeder the Kahan, but its southern boundary was the Godāwarī, and S W lay Talingānah

I am surprised to find that there is any difficulty with regard to the identification of Katāsin, also called, and more correctly, Katāsinghah Our author, farther on, says he himself went thither along with the Musalmān forces, and distinctly states that "*at* KATĀSIN, *the frontier of the* JĀJ NAGAR *territory commences*" This place is situated on the northern or left bank of the Mahā nadī, which river *may have* altered its course in some degree during the lapse of nearly seven centuries, some thirty miles E of Boada, in about Lat. 20° 32′, Long 84 50′, and some extensive ruins are to be found in its neighbourhood The capital of the Jāj nagar state, our author distinctly states, was named *Umūrdan* or *Umardan*—امردن—according to the oldest and best copies of the text, and Urmurdan or Armardan—ارمردن—and Uzmurdan or Azmurdan—ازمردن—in the more modern copies, and, in one, Uzmurdān or Azmardan—ازمردان The wilāyat country or district—of Umurdān or Umardān is mentioned as well as the capital, town, or city of that name There is a place named Amar kantak, or Amar kantaka—امرکنتک—in Lat. 22° 40′, Long 81° 56′, where are the remains of a famous temple of Bhawānī or Pārwatī, which [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ومرس

possession of elephants, wealth, and treasures, to a great amount.

It seems most strange that those who have run away with the idea that Jāj-nagar lay *east* of the Ganges and the Megnah, in *south-eastern* Bengal—in Tiparah of all places—never considered how it was possible for Ulugh Khān, *son* of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Tughlaḳ—*not that monarch himself*—to invade Taling [Talingānah] and Tiparah, if the latter were Jāj-nagar, in one and the same short campaign, or that Hoshang, Sulṭān of Mālwah, during a short expedition or raid rather, could have reached *south-eastern* Bengal in search of elephants. To have done so, he would have had to pass right through, and return again through, the extensive territory of an independent sovereign equally powerful with himself [he had only 1000 horse with him on the occasion in question], and to have crossed and recrossed two or three mighty rivers, besides many others of considerable size, or he forded the Bay of Bengal perhaps to reach the supposed Jāj-nagar

ELPHINSTONE, too, on the authority of HAMILTON [Hindostan, vol i page 178], who says that "*Tiperah*," *by Mahommedan historians*, is called "*Jaye-nagur*," has fallen into the same error, and, not content with this, even the map accompanying his History has "Jajnagur" in large letters in a part of India where no such territory ever existed! Hamilton would have had *some difficulty*, I think, in naming the "Mahommedan Historians" who made such assertions. The name of *one* would much surprise me.

The way in which Jāj nagar is mentioned in different places, by different writers, and under different reigns, clearly indicates its situation Ulugh Khān, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ ud-Dīn, Tughlaḳ, on his second campaign into the Dakhan, having reached Dīw-gīr [Dharāgarh], advanced into Taling [Talingānah], took Bidr, and invested Arangul [illegible], now Warangul Having captured it, and given it the name of Sulṭān-pūr, before returning to Dihli, *he went for amusement or diversion* [سیر] *into* JĀJ NAGAR He merely crossed the frontier of Talingānah

Hoshang, Sulṭān of Mālwah, taking with him 1000 picked horsemen disguised as horse-dealers, set out from Māndhū or Māndhūn, and *entered the* JĀJ NAGAR *territory in quest of elephants* He managed to seize the Rae of Jāj-nagar by stratagem, obtained a number of elephants, and brought him along with him, partly for his own security, on his way back to Mālwah, and, on reaching the frontier of the JĀJ-NAGAR state [on the side of Malwah], he set the Rāe at liberty

The Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh i-Hind states that Jāj nagar is a month's journey from Mālwah, but from *what part* of Mālwah is not said

The first ruler of the Sharḳi dynasty of Jūnpūr—the *eunuch* who is turned into a "Pathán" by the archæologists—extended his sway as far as the territory of Kol to the south, and, on the east, as far as Bihār, and compelled the rulers of LAKHANAWATĪ and JĀJ NAGAR to pay him tribute

In 680 H Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, Balban, set out towards Lakhanawatī to reduce Tughril, his rebellious governor of Bangālah, who had defeated two armies sent against him On the approach of the Sulṭān and his army, Tughril, who had been making preparations for retreat, retired towards the territory of JAJ NAGAR On the Sulṭān's arrival at Lakhanawatī, no trace of the rebel could be found, but, discovering subsequently whither he had gone, he set out in pursuit in the direction of JĀJ-NAGAR, until he arrived at a place some seventy *kos* from that territory, when a patrol from the advanced guard of his

The august Sulṭān, Shams-ud-Dīn wa ud-Dunyā [I-yal-timish], on several occasions, sent forces from the capital,

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army, having gained information of his whereabouts, surprised Ṭughril encamped with his forces on the banks of a river, at and around a large stone reservoir and slew him The next march would have brought him to the JĀJ-NAGAR territory The river, no doubt, was the boundary.

The Tārikh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī of Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Baranī, differs from this account, and says—according to the Calcutta printed text—that Ṭughril fled to Ḥājī-nagar—حاجنگر—and, in some places, Jājī-nagar—جاجنگر but there is no ی in JĀJ-NAGAR, and, if Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn's text *is correct*, it is a different place altogether. "The Sulṭān, following in pursuit by successive marches, in a certain number of days, arrived on the frontier of Sunār-gānw [or kingdom of Bang], the Rāe of which—Dinwāj by name [sic]—paid homage to the Sulṭān, and stipulated that, in case Ṭughril evinced a desire to fly towards the sea [دريا also means river], he should prevent his doing so Proceeding by successive marches, the Sulṭān had reached within 60 or 70 *kos* of JĀJ NAGAR, when information of Ṭughril's whereabouts was obtained," &c. From this statement it *would seem* that the place in question, whether Ḥājī-nagar or Jājī nagar, was beyond Sunār-gānw, but it is not said whether any great river was crossed, neither is it stated that the Sulṭān marched *eastwards*, and *he might*—and, in case JĀJ-NAGAR is correct, as stated in the extract above, *he must*—have turned to the south-west on reaching the *frontier* of Sunār-gānw I am inclined, however, to think that *Sangarah*, mentioned in the fourth para. below, is correct, and not Sunār gānw Where the Sunār-gānw frontier commenced we know not, but it must have been a territory of some extent, as it was ruled, subsequently, by a "Sulṭān" A district of this name is also mentioned by Ẓiyā-ud Dīn as lying *near Talingānah*

Be this as it may, however, the following extract, taken from the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī of Shams i-Sarāj, Alfī, Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, and others, will, I think, tend to settle the question respecting the situation of the JĀJ-NAGAR [जाज नगर] territory —

In 754 H [Alfī, 755 H] Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh set out for Bangālah to reduce its ruler, Ilyās, Ḥājī [Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn], to subjection. On Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh's reaching the vicinity of Panḍūah, Ilyās evacuated it, and threw himself into Akdālah [also written Akdalah], "a mouẓa'" near Panḍūah, on one side of which is the water [a river ?], and on the other an impenetrable *jangal*, and considered one of the strongest fortifications of Bangālah [Westmacott, in the Calcutta Review for July, 1874, places Ekdala [Akdālah] some forty-two miles on the Māldah side of the river Tangan, and north of Gaur or Lakhaṇawaṭī—"the later city of Gour," as he styles it], and so situated that, in the rainy season, the whole country would become flooded, and not a piece of elevated ground would be left for the Sultān even to pitch his tent on Another writer calls it an island or insular fortress He came and encamped, according to one of these works, on the bank on the other side of the water *facing* it, but the others state that he encamped his forces near the place on the *same side* As he had to change the position of his encampment after a short time, this movement led Ilyās to imagine that the Sulṭān was about to retire, and he sallied forth with his troops and attacked the forces of Fīrūz Shāh, but sustained a complete overthrow, and had to retire into his stronghold again The rains having commenced, Fīrūz Shāh had to abandon the investment, came to terms with Ilyas, and retired towards his own dominions by the Mānik pūr ferry

Dihlī, towards Lakhanawatī, and acquired possession of Bihār, and installed his own Amīrs therein. In the year

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On several occasions Ilyās sent presents to the Sulṭān, and others were forwarded to him in return, until, in the year 759 H., when, Ilyās having despatched his offerings, Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh sent him presents in return; but, information having reached him from Bihār of Ilyās's death, and of his son, Sikandar's succession, Fīrūz Shāh ordered his presents to be stopped; and, in 760 H., he set out for Bangālah with an army of 80,000 horse and 470 elephants. The rains coming on, he passed the rainy season at Zafar-ābād, and founded the city of Jūn pūr. Sikandar, on his approach, retired to the fortress of Akdālah, before which Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh sat down, but, after a few days, an accommodation was come to, and the territory of Sunār-gāṇw was given up to Sikandar, and Fīrūz Shāh retired towards Jūn-pūr. On the Sulṭān's reaching Panḍūah [this shows that Akdālah was northward or eastward of it, and beyond it], seven elephants and other valuable property, sent by Sikandar as part of his tribute, reached his camp.

I notice in the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 119, in the parganah of "Debekote," as it is styled—of course Dīw-koṭ or Dīb-koṭ is meant—between Lakhanawatī and Dīnjā-pūr a place named DAMDUMA, and near it an old fort, and, to the east of it, three large tanks. The name is evidently a corruption of *damdamah*—a cavalier, a mound, &c.; and it strikes me, since the name of Akdālah is not mentioned in history for some time after the Khalj dynasty passed away, that the name of Dīw-kot was changed to Akdālah in after years. Dr. Blochmann, I believe, identifies Dīw-koṭ—probably on good grounds—with Gungārām-pūr, which I do not find in the Atlas sheet referred to; but, I should think, from the description given of the great causeway, at the northernmost extremity of which Dīw kot is said, at page 586, to have been situated, that Dīw-kot must have lain *north* instead of south of Dīnjā pūr.

[Since this note was written, I find the last number of the Bengal Asiatic Journal, No. III. 1874, contains an account of the site of Akdālah and a map showing its situation, as promised by Westmacott, in a previous number; and, I believe, the situation to be very nearly identical with the "Damduma" I have referred to, but have not examined the map in question.]

On his reaching Jūn pūr the rains again set in [760 H.], and he stayed there during the rainy season, and, in Zī Ḥijjah of that year, *set out by way of Bihār towards* JĀJ NAGAR, which was at the extremity of the territory of Gadhah-Katankah [کڈھہ کتنکہ]. When the Sulṭān reached Kaṛah [کرہ—opposite Mānik-pūr?], Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, brother of Zaffir Khān, was left behind with the troops and the heavy equipage, and *he advanced with celerity through* BIHĀR *towards* JĀJ-NAGAR. On his reaching *Sangirah* or *Sankrah*—سنکرہ [Buda'ūnī, who copies wholesale from the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, has, in my copy of the text, سیکرہ—meant probably for شکرہ—but Firishtah, who also copies from the former, has سکرہ. See BLOCHMANN, page 30. Can it be the present Sirgoojah so called?], Rāe Sāras [سارس—Firishtah سدهی], Rājah of Sankarah, fled, and his daughter fell into the Sulṭan's hands, and he called her daughter [adopted her?], and protected her. Firishtah styles her Shakar Khātūn, an impossible name for a Hindū, unless she became a convert to Islām, and was *afterwards* so named. [I do not know what BRIGGS's version may contain, but Dow has left out a great deal here.] Aḥmad Khān who had fled from Lakhanawatī, and had reached the fort of Rantabhūr رنتبهور [Ratan-pūr in Jhāṛ-kunḍah?—Lat. ° 22 14', Long. 82 8'—is probably meant, not the celebrated stronghold of Rantabhūr] on the way, presented himself before Sulṭān

622 H. he [I-yal-timish] resolved upon marching into Lakhanawatī, and Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, moved his

Fīrūz Shāh. Having passed the river **Mahā-nadrī, Mahān-darī, or Mahānadrī** [مهاندری—sic in MSS.—Budā'ūnī مندری—Firishtah مهندری—the river which falls into the Son doubtless is meant], he reached the city or town of Banārsī [بارسی—Shams-i-Sarāj and Alfī have Banāras—بنارس—and Budā'ūnī Bārānī—بارانی], which is the capital and abode of the Rāe of JĀJ-NAGAR [Shams-i-Sarāj has Rāe of Jāj-nagar-Ūḍīsah]. The Rāe fled towards Taling [Talingānah], and, the Sulṭān *not* pursuing him [Firishtah says pursuing], proceeded to hunt elephants in the vicinity [Shams-i-Sarāj says the Sulṭān remained some time at Banāras, and the Rāe took shelter in one of the islands of *the*, or *on a*, river]. [See the Asiatic Journal, vol. xiv., July to December 1822, page 438, in which is a good account of this tract of country, entitled "Notes on Birār"], during which time the Rāe despatched emissaries and sought for peace, sending at the same time three elephants, besides rarities and precious things [Shams-i-Sarāj says after his return from Padmāwatī]. Hunting as he went along, the Sulṭān reached the territory of Rāe Bhānu Dīw [Shams-i-Sarāj, Bīr-bhān Dīw—بیربهان دیو—Alfī, Pīr-māhī Dīw—پیرماهی دیو—perhaps Bīr Māhī], who sent him some elephants. He then *returned from thence* with the object of hunting, came to Padmāwatī—South Bihār probably—which is a part abounding with elephants, captured thirty-three, and killed two which could not be secured.

The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, Firishtah, and Budā'ūnī, quote a verse composed on the occasion by Malik Ziyā ud-Dīn, thus showing to what extent the two latter—particularly Firishtah—copied from the former; but Firishtah appears somewhat confused in the latter part of his account, or has made considerable verbal alterations for some purpose; whilst Budā'ūnī [MS.] says the Sulṭān left Bārānī [بارانی—Banārsī?], and proceeded from thence to Bādwatī—بادوتی—[Padmāwatī] and Bram-Talā [برم تلا] to hunt elephants.

From Padmāwatī Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh returned to Karah in Rajab, 762 H.

JĀJ-NAGAR is mentioned on several other occasions in the history of the Dakhan, and its whereabouts distinctly indicated. Sulṭān Fīrūz, Bahmanī, entered it in 815 H., and carried off a number of elephants. In the account of Niẓām Shāh, of the same dynasty, JĀJ-NAGAR and ŪḌĪSAH are mentioned as totally separate territories. In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Humāyūn, a famine having arisen in his dominions, people migrated in order to obtain food into MALWAH, JĀJ-NAGAR, and GUJARĀT, and, shortly after, the Rāe of Ūḍīsah, aided by the Rāe of JĀJ-NAGAR, *invaded Talingānah by way of the Raj-mandri district.*

Now, if any one will look at the map, and take what has been mentioned into consideration, where else can Jaj-nagar possibly lie than in the tract I have indicated? Certainly not on the east side of the Bay of Bengal.

It may not be amiss here to say a few words respecting the ancient boundaries of Bangālah as described by different authors, although little remains to be said after Dr. Blochmann's elaborate paper on the subject before referred to.

The Jāmi' ut-Tawārīkh of Faḳīr Muḥammad says that the territory which in after times was styled Bangalah, according to such writers as have written about it, consisted of Bihār, Gauḍha or Gauṛ or Lakhanawatī, Bang, *and* JĀJ-NAGAR. During the campaign in Bangālah, in Aurangzeb's time, against his brother Shāh Shuja', the Afghān Zamindar of Bīrbhūm and *Jāt-nagar* is said to have joined him. According to the Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, the Ṣūbah of Bangālah from Gaḍhī to the port of Chāṭgānw [Chittagong] is 400 *kuroh* in breadth, and, from the mountain bounding it on the north to the unculuvated tract [اوڑی]

vessels [war-boats ?] up the river[6]. A treaty of peace was concluded between them, and the Sulṭān [I-yal-timis̲h̲] extorted thirty-eight elephants and eighty *laks* of treasure, and the K̲h̲uṭbah was read for him, and the coin stamped in his name[7]. When the Sulṭān [I-yal-timis̲h̲] withdrew,

[6] Another writer says he had all the boats on the river removed and secured, in order to prevent S̲h̲ams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timis̲h̲, from crossing with his forces to the Lakhanawatī side of the Gang

[7] Some histories, including the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, say the two Sulṭāns did encounter each other in battle in 622 H , but, as no details are given, it could have been but a skirmish A peace was entered into, and Sulṭān G̲h̲iyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, gave, as an acknowledgment of suzerainty, for the sake of peace which he himself soon after broke, 38 elephants and 80 *laks* of silver *tangahs*. Another writer says G̲h̲iyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, despatched forces upon several occasions to carry on war against S̲h̲ams-ud Dīn, I-yal-timis̲h̲ [the latter's officers or his governors of Awadh probably] , but at length peace was concluded on the terms above stated.

The Taẕkarat-ul-Mulūk states that this sum was in silver *tangahs* , and

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of *sarkār* Madāran [also written Madārān—مدارِان], 200 in breadth ; but, as the country of Ūḍīsah was annexed to it on the settlement of the province in Akbar's reign, and its formation into a Ṣūbah, its length became increased 43 *kuroh*, and its breadth 20 The tract of country to the W of Bangālah is named Bhātah or Bhātī, which is accounted as belonging to this country [Bangālah], and Mānik is the surname of its rulers. To the north is a territory called Kūj [Kūch ?] and Kāmrūd, also called Kānwrū At the side of this is the territory of the Rājah of Āshām, and adjoining it is Tibbat, and to the left of it K̲h̲iṭā. To the E. and S of Bangālah is an extensive country named ArK̲h̲nāk [turned into Arracan by Europeans], and the port of C̲h̲ātgānw belongs to it In the *sarkār* of Mangir, from the river Gang to the Koh-i-Sangīn [the Stony Mountains], they have drawn [کشیده اند] a wall, and account it the boundary of Bangālah

The *Haft-Iḳlīm* says Bangālah is 300 *kuroh* in length and 270 in breadth, each *kuroh* being one *mil* [1]. On the E it is bounded by the sea, on the W it has the *parganah* of Suraj-garh, which adjoins the Ṣūbah of Bihār, on the N it is bounded by Kūch, and on the S by the *parganah* of Jasūḍah [turned into Jessore by Europeans], which lies between Ūḍīsah and Bangālah.

The K̲h̲ulāṣat-ut-Tawārīk̲h̲ agrees generally with the other two works, but states that Bangālah is 400 *kuroh* from E to W —from C̲h̲ātganw to Gadhī— and 200 from N. to S. , that it has the Ṣūbah of Bihār on the W , on the S. the high hills of *sarkār* Mānḍhū—مانڈهو [in two other MSS ماندہ and مادهو], and the sea on the E.

The Ā'īn says it was divided [in Akbar's reign] into 24 *sarkārs*, and yielded a revenue of 52 *kurors*, 4 *laks*, and 59,319 *dams*

The Haft-Iḳlīm states that it was divided [in Jahāngīr's reign] into 22 *tūmans* [or *sarkārs*], and its revenue amounted to 5 *laks*, 97,570 rūpīs, which, at 40 *dams* the rūpī, are equivalent to 23 *kurors*, 9 *laks*, and 2800 *dams* There must be a mistake somewhere, as this amount of Jahāngīr's revenue is not half that of Aurangzīb's time, while Akbar's revenue greatly exceeds Aurangzīb's.

According to the K̲h̲ulāṣat-ut Tawārīk̲h̲, it was divided [in Aurangzīb's reign] into 27 *sarkārs*, and yielded 46 *kurors* and 29 *laks* of *dams*

he conferred Bihār upon Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Jānī; and Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, marched into Bihār from Lakhaṇawaṭī, and [again] took possession of it, and treated it with severity, until, in the year 624 H., the august[8] Malik, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shah, son of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn [I-yal-timish], at the instigation[9] of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Jānī[1], assembled the forces of Hindūstān, and marched from Awadh and proceeded into Lakhaṇawatī. At this time Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ-i-Ḥusain, the Khalj, had led an army from Lakhaṇawaṭī towards the territory of Kāmrūd and Bang, and had left the city of Lakhaṇawaṭī

further—in which the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī and some others agree—that I-yal-timish conferred a canopy of state and a dūr-bāsh [see note [3], page 607] upon his eldest son, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, declared him heir-apparent, bestowed Lakhanawatī upon him, and left him in Awadh with jurisdiction over those parts. Maḥmūd Shāh may have been left in Awadh with charge of that part, but not of Lakhanawatī certainly, for Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, ruled over his own territory up to the time of his death. The son of I-yal-timish was probably left in Awadh to watch for a favourable time for invading or seizing the Khalj dominions, which he soon found an opportunity of doing.

[8] He is styled شهيد in several copies, but it cannot be correct, considering, he died a natural death, according to our author's own account, as given at page 630. The word شهيد no doubt, is an error for سعيد—august, &c.

[9] Compare Elliot, INDIA, vol. ii. page 219.

[1] In the account of Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shah, page 629, and here also, in some copies of the text, and in some other works, he is styled 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī. He is, no doubt, the personage referred to in the list of relatives and chiefs at the end of Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish's reign, under the title of Shāh-zādah, or Prince of Turkistān; but he only served I-yal timish: he was no relative. Soon after Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, I yal-timish, returned to Dihlī, Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ ud Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, marched into Bihār, and regained possession of it, compelling Malik Jānī to fly into Awadh. The Khalj ruler held possession of it for some time, until the year 624 H., when Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, I-yal-timish's eldest son, who held the government of Awadh, incited by Malik Jānī and some other chiefs, and taking advantage of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, 'Iwaẓ's absence on an expedition against the infidels on his eastern frontier in Bang and Kāmrūd, with the greater part of his forces, suddenly and without any previous intimation, invaded his dominions with a great army, including forces sent by his father for the same purpose. As soon as Ghiyāṣ ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, received information of it, he made all haste back to defend his kingdom; but whether part of or all his army returned with him is doubtful, and no aid from without could reach him, except through Hindūstān. The enemy had already taken the capital, and, in a great battle subsequently fought between him and the invaders, Sulṭan Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, with most of his chiefs, were taken captive and afterwards put to death. Some state that he was slain in the battle. A son of his [by some accounts a kinsman]—Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-Dīn, Daulat Shāh-i-Balka—subsequently regained and held sway over the territory for a time, and Shams ud Dīn, I yal timish, had to proceed in person against him with a great army.

unprotected. Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, took possession of it; and Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ-i-Ḥusain, the Khalj, on account of that disaster, returned from that force [which he had led into Kāmrūd and Bang?], and fought an engagement with Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh. Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ-i-Ḥusain, and the whole of the Khalj Amīrs, were taken prisoners, and Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, was martyred. His reign extended over a period of twelve years[2].

[2] According to our author, Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, the Khalj, was the last of the Mu'izzī Sulṭāns of Hind, and he is the person respecting whom ELPHINSTONE has been betrayed into such mistakes noticed in note [7], page 610 According to the Gauṛ MS he reigned twelve years, from 606 H to 617 H, and was succeeded by his son, Nāsir-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, who reigned for a short time, and whose name has been already mentioned in note [1], page 586 See also pages 617 and 626 The events which happened after the decease of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, are involved in great obscurity, but the above dates are not correct.

☞ In concluding this portion of the Section on the Khalj dynasty of Lakhanawatī, I would mention that I am not *personally* acquainted with Bengal, but I venture to hope that these notes, imperfect as they are, will aid in further research. The district officers will be able to follow up the inquiry with facility

SECTION XXI.

ACCOUNT OF THE SHAMSĪAH SULṬĀNS IN HIND.

THE frailest of the servants of the Divine threshold, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Jūrjānī—God grant him the attainment of his wishes! states that, when the eternal will of God, the Most High and Holy, has willed to imprint on the forehead of a servant the signs of dominion and the light of power, and the mother of time becomes pregnant with an embryo of such a character, the gleam [characteristic] of such a burden will shine upon her brow[1].

When the time of her delivery arrives, and that lord of felicity becomes enveloped in the swaddling of his birth-place[2], joy, at the sight of that birth, becomes manifest in all things; and, from the period of his nativity to the time of his removal from this abode of service to the mansion of bliss, whether in activity or in repose, all his actions will be a source of gladness unto mankind, and of honour to both high and low. If his neck should be placed in the collar of servitude, his master becomes the possessor of affluence; and, if his footsteps venture upon journeys and in travelling stages, he will cause his companions to become the masters of prosperity, as in the case of the Patriarch Yūsuf. When Yūsuf was sold to Malik the son of Du'ar, at his

[1] Our author here follows the life of men destined for sovereignty from the conception, and applies to them, somewhat blasphemously, the theory of the *nūr* [light, &c.] of Muḥammad. The theologians assert that the first thing created was the light of Muḥammad. It shone forth from Adam's forehead until Eve became pregnant by him of a son, when it was transferred to her. When she gave birth to the son [which? Cain or Abel?], it, of course, dwelt in him, and thus it was transferred, as the theologians aver, from the foreheads of the fathers to the wombs of the mothers, until it assumed flesh in Muḥammad. Our author has altered the theory in applying it to kings, in as far as the ray of light, which emanates from the child [حمل], shines forth from the brow of "the mother of time."

[2] In other words, when the child is born.

invocation, twenty [sons like] pearls[3] befitting a king were strung upon the thread of his line; and, notwithstanding he came [as a slave] into the dwelling of 'Azīz, he made, in the end, his ['Azīz's] spouse Queen of Miṣr, and, forasmuch as the infant in the cradle bore testimony to the purity of his garment's skirt—"*a witness of the family bore testimony*"—at length, in his ['Azīz's] service, Yūsuf became the Wazīr of that kingdom.

I SULṬĀN-UL-MU'AẒẒAM, SHAMS-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN, ABŪ L-MUZAFFAR, I-YAL-TIMISH[4], THE SULṬĀN

Since the Most High and Holy God, from all eternity, had predestined that the states of Hindūstān should come under the shadow of the guardianship of the great Sulṭān, the supreme monarch, Shams-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, the shadow of God in the worlds, Abū-l-Muẓaffar, I-yal-timish, the Sulṭān, the right arm of the Vicegerent of God, the aider of the Lord of the Faithful[5]—God illumine his convictions and weight the balance with the effects of his equity and beneficence, and preserve the dynasty of his descendants, on whom, of those who have passed away, be peace! and may the Nāṣirīah Maḥmūdīah sovereignty[6] perpetually continue in security and safety from the troubles of the end of time, and from the accidents and vicissitudes of the world!—that just and munificent Sulṭān, upright, benefi-

[3] I do not know what account of Yūsuf our author may have read, but this is different to what is contained in Tabarī and other writers of authority, and very different to the account given in the ḲUR'ĀN [Chap. xii.], and to his own account of Yūsuf in the first Section of this work. Yūsuf was sold for twenty pieces of silver.

[4] Written in some few copies of the text and by some other historians التمش—I-yal-timish, and يلتتمش—I-yal-titmish in some works; but the above appears the correct mode of spelling. My oldest MS. gives the diacritical points. The first part of this compound word, which it evidently is, is the same as in I-yal-Arsalān, I-yal-dūz, &c., and the latter part of it is the same as occurs in Kal-timish and the like. See note [8], page 133. Budā'ūnī says he was so called from having been born on a night during an eclipse of the moon, and that the Turks call a child born on such an occasion I-yal-timish. I doubt this, however, for the reasons just mentioned in the beginning of this note.

[5] Yamīn-i-Khalīfah U'llah, Nāṣir-i-Amīr-ul Mūminīn. See pages 617 and 624.

[6] The sovereignty of his son, our author's patron—Nāṣir ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh.

cent, a zealous and steadfast warrior against infidels, the patronizer of the learned, the dispenser of justice, in pomp like Farīdūn, in disposition like Ḳubād, in fame like Kā-ūs, in empire like Sikandar, and in majesty like Bahrām, was, Yūsuf like, from out of the Ilbarī [or Albarī] tribes of Turkistān, delivered over to merchants, until, from one degree to another, he was raised to the throne of empire and seat of dominion, so that the back of the Muḥammadan religion, through his sovereignty, waxed strong, and the development of the Aḥmadī faith, through his valour, acquired pre-eminence. In intrepidity he turned out another impetuous 'Alī, and, in liberality, a second Ḥātim-i-Tā-ī. Although the beneficent Sulṯān, Ḳuṯb-ud-Dīn—on whom be peace!—displayed to the world the bestowal of hundreds of thousands, the august and beneficent Sulṯān, Shams-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn—may he rest in peace!—in place of every hundred thousand of his, used to bestow a hundred [times a] hundred thousand, both in capacity and in computation, as, both in this world and in the next, may be accounted [in his favour].

Towards men of various sorts and degrees, Ḳāẓīs, Imāms, Muftīs, and the like, and to darweshes and monks, land-owners and farmers, traders, strangers and travellers from great cities, his benefactions were universal. From the very outset of his reign, and the dawn of the morning of his sovereignty, in the congregating of eminent doctors of religion and law, venerable Sayyids, Maliks, Amīrs, Ṣadrs, and [other] great men, the Sulṯān used, yearly, to expend about ten millions[7], and people from various parts of the world he gathered together at the capital city of Dihlī[8], which is

[7] What coin, whether *tangah* or *jītal*, is not stated—there is a vast difference between them.

[8] An author, describing Dihlī, states that, in the year 440 of Bikrāmajīt, Rājah Anang pāl Tūn or Tūnār—the *n* is nasal [This is the word which, written تور in some works, instead of تون and تونار and تونور, has been mistaken for *pūr* and *pūra*—پور. See note [9], page 84, para. 2, and ELLIOT, vol. II., pages 47, 426, and 427, and Thomas. PATHÁN KINGS of DEHLI, page 57]—founded the city of Dihlī, near to Indra-prastha. Subsequently, in the year 1200, or a little later, of the same era, Rāe Pithorā founded a city and fortress which were named after himself. Outside this fort, to the east, he raised a lofty structure which is *still styled* the *Mahall* of Rāe Pithorā. In the fortress Sulṯān Ḳuṯb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and Sulṯān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, dwelt. The Shahr-i-Zaghan [?] or Ghiyāṣ-pūr was founded in 666 H.; and Gīlū-Kharī [کیلو کهری—not "*Kila Garhi*," as Cunningham calls it] in 686 H.

the seat of government of Hindūstān, and the centre of the circle of Islām, the sanctuary of the mandates and inhibitions of the law, the kernel of the Muḥammadī religion, the marrow of the Aḥmadī belief, and the tabernacle of the eastern parts of the universe—Guard it, O God, from calamities, and molestation! This city, through the number of the grants, and unbounded munificence of that pious monarch, became the retreat and resting-place for the learned, the virtuous, and the excellent of the various parts of the world; and those who, by the mercy of God, the most High, escaped from the toils of the calamities sustained by the provinces and cities of 'Ajam, and the misfortunes caused by the [irruption of the] infidel Mughals, made the capital—the asylum of the universe—of that sovereign their asylum, refuge, resting-place, and point of safety; and, up to the present day, those same rules are observed and remain unchanged, and such may they ever continue!

From a number of credible persons[9] it has been heard narrated after this manner, that, when the beneficent Sulṭān, Shams-ud-Dīn, was young in years, and was called, by command of the Most High, from the territory of Turkistān and the families of the Ilbarī [tribe] to the empire of Islām and dominion of Hindūstān, it so happened that his father, who was named Ī-lam Khān[10], had numerous kindred, relations, dependents, and followers; and [that] this [future] sovereign, from his earliest years, was endowed with comeliness, intelligence, and goodness of disposition to a great degree, so much so that his brothers began to grow envious of these endowments. They therefore brought him away from his mother and father under the pretence that he should get sight of a herd of horses[1] Like as in the case of Yūsuf, they said,

but it must have been begun or have been a suburb long before, as it is mentioned certainly over fifty years before by our author Tughlak ābād, the Kushk-i-La'l, and Fīrūz-ābād, now called the *Kotilah* of Fīrūz Shāh, were founded subsequently, besides many other additions of minor extent made. I have not space to say more

[9] Often referred to, but their names never mentioned

[10] Others say his father was the head or chief of a small community among the divisions or clans of the Ilbarī tribe in Turkistān His name is written Yilam—يلم—Khān by some writers, and I-yal—ايل—Khān by others.

[1] Some say he was taken by his brothers to some garden, under pretence of going thither for recreation and diversion

'Why, O father, dost thou not intrust Yūsuf to us, seeing that we are true friends of his? Send him along with us to-morrow into the pastures that he may divert himself, and we will be his protectors[2],' and, when they brought him where the herds of horses were, they sold him to certain merchants, and some say that his uncle's sons were among the party that sold him[3]. The merchants brought him towards Bukhārā, and sold him to one of the kinsmen of the Ṣadr-i-Jahān[4] [the chief ecclesiastic] of Bukhārā, and, for some time, in that family of eminence and sanctity, he remained The most beneficent of that family used to nourish him in the hall of his kindness, like his own children in infancy

One of the trustworthy has related[5], saying: "'I heard from the blessed lips of that monarch himself, who said, "On a certain occasion, one of the [above-mentioned] family gave me a small piece of money, saying. 'Go into the market and buy some grapes and bring them' When I set out for the market, I lost by the way that bit of money, and through my youthful age, out of fear at what had happened, I fell a crying Whilst thus lamenting, I was joined by a good Darwesh who took me by the hand, and purchased for me some grapes which he gave me; and he made me promise [saying]: 'When thou attainest unto power and dominion thou wilt ever regard devotees and ascetics with reverence, and watch over their weal.' I gave him my promise, and all the prosperity and blessings, which I acquired, I acquired through the compassionate regard of that Darwesh.'" The probability is that never

[2] ḲUR'ĀN, Chap xii

[3] Others say that his brothers and brothers' sons were concerned in this affair, and that the merchants were of Bukhārā

[4] See Dowson, in Elliot INDIA, vol ii page 320-1, who says—"When they brought him to the drove of horses they sold him to *the dealer* . . . The horse-dealers took him to Bukhára, and sold him to one of the relations of the *chief judge* of that city" &c. The printed text here is perfectly correct and as rendered above, with the exception of merchant for merchants in the first sentence The word *bāzargān* does not mean "horse-dealer" any more than *ass dealer*, for it signifies a merchant or trader

Ṣadr also does not mean judge only it has other meanings

[5] Being himself in this Sulṭān's service, our author might have made himself acquainted with the events of his early days, instead of trusting to "one of the trustworthy,' and particularly as he stood so high in the monarch's favour

was a sovereign of such exemplary faith, and of such kind-heartedness[6] and reverence towards recluses, devotees, divines, and doctors of religion and law, from the mother of creation ever enwrapped in the swaddling bands of dominion[7].

From that priestly and saintly family a merchant, whom they used to call the Bukhārā Ḥājī, purchased Shams-ud-Dīn[8] Subsequently, another merchant, whom they were wont to style Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, of the Tight Tunic, purchased him of the Bukhārā Ḥājī, and brought him to the city of Ghaznīn At that period, no Turk superior to him in comeliness, commendable qualities, agreeable manners, and of such indications of intelligence and sagacity, had they brought to that capital He was mentioned in terms of commendation to the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of Sām, and command was given [by the Sulṭān] that they should name his price He, along with another Turk, was in one team, and the latter Turk they were in the habit of calling Ī-bak The sum of a thousand *dīnārs* of pure *Ruknī* gold was specified for the two[9].

[6] The following curious anecdote is related of Sulṭān Shams-ud Dīn, I yal-timish, by some authors. Sulṭān I-yal-timish was greatly enamoured of a Turkish slave-girl in his ḥaram, whom he had purchased, and sought her caresses, but was always unable, from some latent cause, to effect his object This happened upon several occasions One day he was seated, having his head anointed with some perfumed oil by the hands of that same slave-girl, when he felt some tears fall on his head from above On looking up, he found that she was weeping He inquired of her the cause She replied "Once I had a brother who had just such a bald place on his head as you have, and it reminds me of him" On making further inquiries it was found that the slave-girl was his own sister. They had both been sold as slaves, in their early childhood, by their inhuman half-brothers, and thus had Almighty God saved him from committing a great crime Budā'ūnī states in his work, "I heard this story myself, from the Emperor Akbar's own lips, and the monarch stated that this anecdote had been orally traced to Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban himself"

[7] Compare ELLIOTT, vol. ii page 321 Our author must certainly have had a recent birth in his family about the time he penned this account, or have been expecting one, since he uses so many "swaddling bands"

[8] The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh states that, by some accounts, the kinsman of the Ṣadr-i-Jahān of Bukhārā sold Shams-ud-Dīn to Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and that some say Ḳuṭb ud-Dīn purchased him, and took him to Hind

[9] A few copies have two thousand, but one seems to be correct Another author says the sum was 1000 Kabkī *dīnārs*, a second that it was 1000 for each, and Budā'ūnī says 1 *lak* of *tangahs* It is not to be supposed that the Sulṭān fixed the price. There were brokers whose business it was to value

The Khwājah [merchant or master], Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, of the *Tight Tunic*, declined selling him [Shams-ud-Dīn] for that amount, and the Sultān commanded that no one should purchase him, and that [the sale] should be prohibited.

The Khwājah, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, after that he had stayed at Ghaznīn a year, determined to proceed to Bukhārā, and he took Shams-ud-Dīn along with him thither, and, for another three years, he remained in Bukhārā. After that he was brought to Ghaznīn a second time, and continued there for the period of another year because it was not permitted that any one should purchase him, until Sultān [1] Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, after the holy war of Nahrwālah and the conquest [2] of Gujarāt, along with Malik Nasīr-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain-i-Khar-Mīl [3], proceeded to Ghaznīn, and heard his story. Ḳutb-ud-Dīn solicited permission from Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, to purchase him. The Sultān replied: "Since a command has been issued that he should not be purchased at Ghaznīn, let them take him to the city of Dihlī and there he can be purchased [4]."

Ḳutb-ud-Dīn gave directions to Niẓām-ud-Dīn, Muhammad [5], to remain behind at Ghaznīn, for the purpose of transacting some affairs of his, and, after his own determination of returning to Hindūstān, requested him, on his return, to bring along with him to Dihlī, Jamāl-ud-Dīn of the Tight Tunic, in order that the purchase of Shams-ud-Dīn might be there effected. According to Ḳutb-ud-Dīn's command, Niẓām-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, on his return, brought them [the two slaves] along with him to the capital, Dihlī, and Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn purchased both

slaves, and another writer says "the brokers fixed the price of the two as our author states."

[1] *Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn then, and still a mamlūk or slave.*

[2] For the events of this so called conquest, see the notes to the account of Kutb-ud-Dīn, I-bak. The word used signifies victory, taking a city, &c., as well as conquest. The Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā more correctly says, after taking Nahrwālah and chastisement [----] of Bhīm Diw. See notes [1] and [2], p. 516.

[3] 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Khar-mīl probably, although he may have had a brother named Nāsir-ud-Dīn. See page 516.

[4] The idiom varies considerably here in the different sets of copies of the text. Another writer says "buying or selling him in Ghaznīn is not proper, after commands to the contrary: let them take him into the Dihlī territory and there sell him."

[5] See note [2], page 516, paragraphs 6 and 7.

the Turks for the sum of a hundred thousand *jītals*[6]. The other Turk, named Ī-bak, received the name of Ṭam-ghāj, and was made Amīr of Tabarhindah, and subsequently, in the engagement which took place between Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, and that beneficent of his time—Sultān Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, he was killed Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, was made Sar-i-Jān-dār [chief of the Jān-dārs or Guards[7]] to Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, who styled him son, and retained him near himself, and he continued to rise in office and in dignity daily, and Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, discerning within him proofs of rectitude and integrity, both in movement and at rest, outwardly as well as inwardly, by the light thereof, advanced him from one position to another until he raised him to the office of Amīr-i Shikār [Chief-

[6] This sum is mentioned by several authors, but they probably copy our author's words. Respecting the *jital* see note [2], page 584 If this is correct it is evident that the *jital* must have been of a far higher value than there mentioned, and much more than that assigned to it by Thomas in his "PATHĀN KINGS OF DEHLI," page 160 = $\frac{1}{64}$ of a silver *tangah*—about 2s or a rupī, or 100,000 *jitals* = 1502¼ rūpīs As his Khwājah had refused the sum of 1000 *ruknī* dīnārs for the two slaves, it is natural to suppose that he would not have sold them for *less* than that to Kuṭb ud-Dīn, yet, at the value assigned to the *jital* by the Haft Iklīm—1280 to the rūpī—Ḳuṭb ud Dīn would have purchased them for little over 78 rūpīs and 8 ānahs, an impossible sum Another work, the Tazkarat ul-Mulūk, says 50 *laks of jītals*, but even this would be but little over 3900 rūpī The sum mentioned by Budā'ūnī is far more probable, namely a *lak* of *tangahs* I have given elsewhere the meaning of *ruknī* See Blochmann's translation of the Ā-īn, page 31

The name of the other Mamlūk I-bak, is turned into Taghākh, instead of Tamghāj, in the *revised* text of Firishtah, and instead of Tabarhindah it has Pathindah—[illegible] Firishtah also asserts that Malik Kuṭb ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, gave the other slave, who bore another name, that of I yal timish, but the opposite is the fact The same writer also states that I yal timish accompanied his master in the expedition against Kalinjar in 599 H Tamghāj must have been superior in every way, at that time, to have been, *at once*, made Amīr of Tabarhindah

[7] The signification assigned by lexicographers to this word is armour-bearer, but Jān-dār also signifies a guardian, custodian, conservator, and the like Under the Sulṭāns of Egypt it was the title of a class of officers, whose duty was to guard the door of the Sulṭān, to convey and enforce his orders with respect to Amīrs, and guard the prison styled the Zardah-khānah [Zard or Zarād?], in which persons of rank were confined The Amīr-i-Jān dār—equivalent to Sar-i Jān-dār here—was the chief of these officers This is the title, which, in ELLIOT, is turned into *Sirjāndār Turki* referred to in note [8], page 508 See also Lane's Arabian Nights, note [91] to Chap x Firishtah says the Jāndārs were the [illegible] which means slaves, but such cannot be correct, for Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn himself was Sar-i Jān dār to his brother Ghiyās-ud Dīn The Jān dārs were *generally* slaves, as most trustworthy, no doubt

Huntsman]. Subsequently, when Gwāliyūr was taken[8] he became Amīr of Gwāliyūr, and, after that, he acquired the fief of the town of Baran and its dependencies. Some time after this, as proofs of tact, energy, valour, and high mindedness were unmistakeably displayed by him, and the beneficent Sultān, Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, noticed and marked all these [accomplishments] in him, he conferred upon Shams-ud-Dīn the fief of the territory of Budā'ūn[9].

When the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Sām, returned from his campaign against Khwārazm, and when, in the engagement at And-khūd, a reverse befell the troops of Khiṭā[1], and the Khokhar[2] tribes had begun to rebel and manifest contumacy, he moved from Ghaznīn for the purpose of making war on that unbelieving people[3] Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, in conformity with the Sultān's orders, led the [available] forces of Hindūstān to the scene of action[4], and Shams-ud-Dīn, with the contingent troops of Budā'ūn, accompanied him[5]

During the engagement [which ensued], in the height of the conflict, Shams-ud-Dīn, in all his panoply, rode right into the water of the river Jīlam [Jhilam] in which those active rascals[6] had made their place of shelter, and displayed great valour, and by the wounds inflicted by [his men's?[7]] arrows discomfited them, and his warlike feats,

[8] After it was surrendered rather See page 546. Another writer states that Baran and its dependencies were added to his fief of Gwāliyūr

[9] At this time, and for some time after, the fief of the territory of Budā'ūn was the highest in the Dihlī kingdom

[1] Our author in all the copies of the text, and the printed text likewise, both here, as well as under the reign of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, makes the false statement, which his own words prove untrue, that the forces of Khiṭā were defeated, when Mu'izz-ud Dīn was so utterly overthrown with the loss of his whole army before Andkhūd [Inddakhūd], and would have been taken captive but for the intervention of Sulṭān 'Uṣmān of Samrḳand. Compare ELLIOT, vol ii page 322.

[2] See note [1], page 481

[3] These people were converted to Muḥammadanism, according to Firishtah, who perhaps had no authority for so stating, previous to this. See same note, last para, page 484.

[4] See note [1], page 481, para. 4.

[5] Shams-ud-Dīn, according to another writer, having assembled together a considerable force from Budā'ūn and the Koh-pāyah, joined his master, Malik Ḳuṭb ud Dīn

[6] In some copies "rabble rout" or "set of vagabonds," &c They appear to have taken shelter in one of the islands of the Jhilam.

[7] The original merely mentions that "by arrow wounds he caused those

whilst in that water, reached such a pitch, that he was despatching those infidels from the height of the waters to the lowest depths[8] of Hell:—"They were drowned, and cast into the fire [of hell][9]"

During that feat of agility and gallant exploit, the eye of the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of Sām, fell on these proofs of boldness and valour, and he directed inquiry to be made respecting his quality. When the royal mind became enlightened on the subject of who he was, he sent for Shams-ud-Dīn, and distinguished him by conferring a special dress of honour upon him, and commanded Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, saying "Treat I-yal-timish well, for he will distinguish himself". The Sulṭān further directed that they should draw up the deed of his freedom, and regarded him with his royal countenance, and conferred upon him the felicity of the free.

When Sultān Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, died at Lohor, the Sipah-Sālār[1] [Commander of Troops] 'Alī-i-Ismā'īl, who was the Amīr-i-Dād [Lord Justice] of the capital city, Dihlī, in concert with other Amīrs and high officials, wrote letters

infidels discomfiture," but it can scarcely refer to the arrows he alone may have discharged. Firishtah asserts that "he defeated the Khokhars, and killed [his followers did?] 10,000 or 12,000 of them, and was subsequently made Amīr ul Umrā," but, unfortunately for this statement of the Dakhanī historian, no such office or title existed in those days.

[8] Two different words of the same signification are here used in the two sets of copies which agree with each other, some have قعر and the others عمق. The different copyists could scarcely have been the cause of these differences in the idiom which are very numerous throughout our author's work.

[9] Kur'ān, chap. lxxi. verse 25.

[1] There was no such Europeanized term in those days as "commander-in-chief," and, if there were, there would have been a great number of commanders, for the term Sipah-Sālār is applied to several persons often at one and the same time. One of the oldest copies of the text calls 'Alī-i-Ismā'īl [i. e. 'Alī, son of Ismā'īl] "Amīr-Zādah," an Amīr's son. The best Paris copy leaves out the word Sipah-Sālār altogether, and that reading would remove all difficulty, but it is a solitary instance, for all the others have Amīr-i-Dād. Dād certainly means justice, equity, &c., and perhaps the person in question *may* have heard complaints and disposed of them with the aid of Muftis and Kāẓīs, but the command of troops seems incompatible with the office of judge. Some other authors say the Sipah Sālār 'Alī-i-Ismā'īl, *and* the Amīr-i-Dād, and other grandees and officials, invited him to come to Dihlī and assume the sovereignty, and some say 'Alī-i-Ismā'īl was governor of Dihlī, and they style the other Amīr Dā'ūd. Another writer says "Amīr of Dihlī," which is more probable. Firishtah, according to the *revised* text, has "Amīr Dā'ūd, the Dīlamī." The latter word is absurd here. See note [4], page 529.

to Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, at Budā'ūn, and besought him [to come thither and assume authority]. Having come, he ascended the throne of the kingdom of Dihlī in the year 607 H., and took possession of it. As the Turks and Ḳutbī Amīrs from different parts had gathered together before Dihlī, and some of the Turks and Mu'izzī Amīrs had also united with them, and were intent upon resistance [2] [to this usurpation of authority on the part of I-yal-timish], they left Dihlī, and came out, and they [all] combined in the immediate neighbourhood, and broke out into sedition and rebellion [3]. The august Sulṭān, Shams-ud-Dīn, with the cavalry of the centre [contingents forming the centre division of the Dihlī troops] and his own immediate followers, issued from the city of Dihlī, and, in front of the plain of Jūd, overthrew them, and put most of the leaders [of the party] to the sword [4].

[2] Compare ELLIOT, vol. ii., page 323.

[3] The Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir says, in its usual inflated style, that "the Sar-i-Jān-dār, who was a Turk [he was not named '*Surjandar Turki*,' as in ELLIOT, vol. ii., page 237—for Sar-i-Jān-dār is the *office* this Turk held, see note [7], page 603], who was the head of all sedition, and who put forth his arm to shed Musalmān blood, with a body of sanguinary Turks [the Turks in the service of the Ghūrīān Sulṭāns were Musalmāns], broke out into rebellion. Although the Sulṭān had been often urged to repress their outbreak, he refrained, for some time, from doing so. At length he resolved to reduce them, and with a considerable army," &c.

This is no other than the affair mentioned under the account of Sulṭān Ārām Shāh, which see. What our author here means to say is, that those Turks and Mu'izzī and Ḳutbī Amīrs, and men of note, then in Dihlī, did not join the Shamsī party, and they left the city and joined the partizans of the late Sulṭān's son, or, rather, adopted son, Ārām Shāh. The Amīrs and Turks, however, were not finally reduced till some time after. See next page.

Another writer states that most of the Ḳutbī Amīrs submitted, but that some of them, in concert with several Mu'izzī Amīrs who were in Dihlī and parts around, rose, collected together, and came to an engagement with Shams-ud-Dīn and his party, but their efforts were without avail, and they were defeated and put to the sword.

The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir states that the battle was fought close to the Bāgh-i-Jūn [Jūd?] near the capital, but other authors I have been quoting from time to time agree with the more modern copies of the text, and say it occurred in the Jūn plain [''— waste plain, &c.], but all the oldest copies have as above. The Bāgh-i-Jūd, not Jūn, is often mentioned by our author.

The Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh says the defeated Amīrs were put to death at different times. See page 529, and note [4].

[4] Some few modern copies and the printed text have "and directed that their heads should be brought under the sword," but there is not a word about them *in any copy*. Firishtah says two of the principal Amīrs, Aḳ Sunḳar

Subsequently to this, Sulṭān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, from Lohor and Ghaznīn entered into a compact with him, and sent him a canopy of state and a Dūr-bash [5]. Between Sulṭān Shāms-ud-Dīn and Malik [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, contention used continually to arise for the possession of Lohor, Tabarhindah, and Kuhṛām, and, in the year 614 H., the former inflicted a defeat upon Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah.

Upon several other occasions, in different parts of the territories of Hindūstān [6], hostilities arose between him [Shāms-ud-Dīn] and the Amīrs and Turks, but, as the favour of the Most High was his aider and defender, He used to award victory to him, and all those who used to revolt against him, or rebel against his authority, used to be reduced. The Divine assistance and protection having, for a considerable time, been extended towards him, Sultān

and Farrukh Shāh, were killed, and that the Sar-i-Jān-dār fled with some others. The same author also states, contrary to his predecessors, that in 608 H. I-yal-timish marched against the *ruler of the Kasbah* [!] of Jālor—جالور—who bore the name of Ūdīsah [Ūdī Sah ?], reduced him and extorted tribute! His authority for this is not given. At this period I-yal-timish was scarcely master of the Dihlī kingdom.

[5] This passage is thus rendered in ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 323: "Sultan Taju-d din made a treaty with him from Lahore and Ghazni and sent him *some insignia* of royalty."

The Dūr-bāsh here referred to, which literally signifies "stand aside!" and does not mean "baton," was a kind of spear with two horns or branches, the wood of the staff of which used to be studded with jewels and ornamented with gold and silver. This used to be carried before the sovereign when he issued forth, in order that people, perceiving it from a distance, might know that the king was coming, and that they might make way for him by standing on one side. In battle also it was carried, so that, in case any one should cast a lasso—which was made of leather, and continued in use down to nearly recent times—in the direction of the king, it might, by the Dūr-bāsh, be turned aside. Some others say, a canopy of state and other emblems of royalty were sent to I-yal-timish.

Firishtah states that I-yal-timish *accepted* a canopy of state and a standard from the Ḥākim of Ghaznīn for the latter's honour's sake! The Dakhanī historian truly is a *very* great authority!

Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, was strong and powerful at this time, and the probability is that Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, sought to be recognized by him as ruler of Ghaznīn in succession to Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, thinking that such recognition would tend to make the Mu'izzī chiefs and Turks more compliant to his rule. Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's nephew, at this time was either dead—for there is great discrepancy as to dates—or he was powerless. See note [8], page 526, para. 5.

[6] Hindūstān refers here to the country immediately east of Dihlī, the Do-ābah of Antarbed, &c.

Shams-ud-Dīn brought under his jurisdiction all the different parts of the kingdom, and the dependencies of the capital, Dihlī, together with Budā'ūn, Awadh, Banāras, and the Siwālikh

Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, being obliged to evacuate [his territory] before the Khwārazmī army, retired towards Lohor[7], and between him and Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, hostilities arose about the boundaries [of their dominions], and an engagement took place between their respective armies at Tarā'īn[8], in the year 612 H, and Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn was victorious Sulṭān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, was taken prisoner, and, in accordance with his [Shams-ud-Dīn's] command, they brought Yal-duz to Dihlī, and sent him [from thence] to Budā'ūn, and there he was buried[9]

[7] Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, came into the Lāhor province and took possession of it and its capital, and ousted the followers of Kabā-jah See page 505

[8] This engagement took place in the neighbourhood of Tarā'īn, the scene of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's defeat and subsequent victory over Rāe Pithorā The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir says, at this time, Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, was about to undertake an expedition against some part of the Hindū territories as yet unsubdued, or some Hindū chief, who, during the late disturbances consequent on the death of Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and the dethronement of his son [adopted son], by Shams-ud-Dīn, had freed himself from the Musalmān yoke See Elliot, vol ii page 239, note [1], where these Turks—Turkish slaves or Turkish chiefs, such as are referred to under Ārām Shāh's reign—are turned into *unconverted* [for which there is not a shadow of authority] TURKS, and are made out to have caused a revival of HINDŪ power, because, in the flatulent words of the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, *one*, who is styled [*not* in the original however] Sirjandar Turki, "opened his hand to shed the blood of Musalmāns" In the meantime, Sulṭān Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, in 611 H, made some demands upon Shams-ud-Dīn, who, from the fact of his accepting the *dūr-bāsh* and canopy of state, had acknowledged his superiority Shams-ud-Dīn, being unwilling to accept these demands, whatever they were—for they are not specified in any author—I-yal-dūz, who had possessed himself of the Panjab advanced as far as Thanīsar, resolved to enforce them, and was moving upon Dihlī, when Shams-ud-Dīn, now sufficiently powerful to resist them, resolved to oppose him, and advanced to Sāmānd [Sāmānah?], and the troops of the two kingdoms encountered near Tarā'īn on the 3rd of Shawwāl, 612 H. I-yal-dūz's troops fell suddenly upon the left wing of the Dihlī troops during the engagement [they did so probably at the *outset*], but I-yal-dūz was wounded by an arrow aimed at him by the Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk [this is his title only—the name is wanting I-yal-dūz's own Wazīr bore that title, which is one given to Wazīrs], and I-yal-dūz's forces were defeated, and he was himself taken prisoner

[9] Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, was taken to Dihlī to be paraded, and was sent away to the fortress of Budā'ūn Why he was sent there—the fief of Budā'ūn had been so long Shams-ud-Dīn's—is obvious enough Our author too

Subsequently, in the year 614 H., Shams-ud-Dīn fought an engagement with Malik [Sulṭān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah[1], and the latter was overthrown; and, when the calamities, consequent upon the appearance of Chingiz Khān, the Mughal, fell upon Khurāsān, in the year 618 H.[2], Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Khwārazm Shāh, defeated by the army of infidels, retired in the direction of Hindūstān. The sedition of the Khwārazm Shāhīs reached the limits of [the province of] Lohor[3], and Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn marched from Dihlī towards Lohor[4] with the forces of Hindūstān, and Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Khwārazm Shāh, having turned aside[5]

buries him silently without mentioning his death. The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī and a few others say that he was *kept* at Budā'ūn until he died, but others state that he was put to death there in the same year. The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir which was written at that period, at Dihlī, of course, is silent on this part of the subject. See page 505, note [8], and page 506.

[1] Budā'ūnī makes a great blunder about this affair: he says this was the *third* time Shams-ud-Dīn had marched against Ḳabā-jah, in 614 H., and that the latter was drowned in the Panj-āb [the five rivers] in 615 H.! The Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk says the first notice Ḳabā-jah had of Shams-ud-Dīn's hostility was his appearance on the frontier of his province of Ūchchah in 614 H. See note [5], page 534.

[2] Fasiḥ-ī says in 617 H., but that some say 618 H. The best St. Petersburg copy of the text has 620 H.

[3] At this period, and for sometime after, the frontier of the Dihlī kingdom only extended to the Makhīālah Hills or Salt Range. See note [1], page 534.

[4] In his account of Sulṭān Jalal-ud-Dīn, page 293, our author says, Shams-ud-Dīn "*despatched* a force from his armies" against him. In the former place the words used are ار مرساد—here ورد.

[5] The words used here in all the copies, and in the printed text also, are عطف کرد which mean "turned aside," and "*fled before*" is incorrect, and the text says nothing whatever about "some fighting followed on the frontiers of Lahore;" the words are حد حوالی مشافهان. Compare Elliot, vol. ii. page 324.

Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn had only about 10,000 men with him: otherwise, from the easy way in which he overthrew Ḳabā-jah, there is great probability that, being of Turkish lineage himself, on his mother's side, the Turks in Hindūstān might have gone over to him, and he would have overturned the kingdom of Dihlī. All that the "august" Sulṭān appears to have done was to have Jalāl-ud-Dīn's envoy put to death—some say he had him poisoned—under pretence that he was plotting against him, then, in order to gain time, sending an emissary with rich presents to mollify the Sulṭān, and, in order to try and get him into his power, offering him an asylum near Dihlī—an asylum possibly like I-yal-dūz met with at Budā'ūn—a tomb. No doubt Shams-ud-Dīn got troops ready, and no doubt despatched some towards the Panjāb, but he did not go himself to face Jalāl-ud-Dīn. See note [3], page 293. The Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh states that Jalāl-ud-Dīn did actually invest Lāhor for a time.

The Tazkarat of Daulat Shāh, quoted by Elliot, says Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn was joined whilst in the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah by the Lakhīā Hazārahs,

from the host of Hindūstān, marched away towards Sind and Siwastān [6].

After these events, in the year 622 H., Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn marched an army towards the territory of Lakhanawatī, and [Sultān] Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, Khaljī [7], placed the neck of service within the yoke of subjection, and presented thirty elephants and eighty *laks* of treasure [8], and read the Khuṭbah, and stamped the coin, in the sacred name of the august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn

In the year 623 H, the Sultān determined to take the fort of Rantabhūr, which, for its exceeding strength, solidity, and impregnability, is famous and notorious throughout all

numbering 700 men, from the neighbourhood of Balkh, and that the ruler of Multān [Ḳabā jah] made peace with Jalāl ud-Dīn, and, what is more astonishing, that 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Kai-Kubād, the son of the king of Hind, gave Jalāl-ud-Dīn his daughter in marriage, and the latter maintained power in *Hind* for three years and seven months. Here is a perfect jumble of events, and the Khokhar chief has been mistaken for the "King of Hind."

A European writer however [D'Ahsson] makes still greater blunders He says that, when Jalāl-ud-Dīn heard that Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, was moving "to the *assistance* of Kubacha," he went to meet him, but, instead of fighting, I-yal-timish proposed peace and the hand of his daughter, which were both accepted by the Sultān! See note [5], para 2, page 293 Here Burāḳ, the Ḥājib, governor of Kirmān, is mistaken for I yal-timish!

[6] One would scarcely conceive, from this, that Sultān Jalāl ud-Dīn annexed great part of the Panjāb and Sind, and that he remained nearly three years in those parts, and only left them, on the despatch of a great army of Mughals against him, and the fact of his presence being much required in 'Irāk See the reign of Jalāl ud Dīn, pages 285—299

[7] Elphinstone, led astray by some translation probably, for no History makes such a statement, makes several terrible errors here He has "In the same year with this expedition to Sind [it took place *two years after* the Lakhanawatī affair, in 624-5 H], Altamsh marched against BAKHTIÁR KHILJI [Muḥammad, son of Bakht yār, who is here referred to, had been then *dead twenty years*], who looked upon Behar and Bengal as his own conquest, and, though he professed obedience to Kutb u din (*to whose daughter he was married*), openly disclaimed all dependence on his successor [It was I yal timish—his *Altamsh*—*not* Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, who married Ḳuṭb ud Dīn's daughter] Altamsh was successful in this undertaking, he deprived BAKHTIÁR of Behar, (the government of which he conferred on his own son,) and obliged him to hold Bengal under the crown of Dehli BAKHTIÁR made a subsequent attempt to retrieve his losses, was defeated by the prince who governed Behar, and lost his life in the conflict" Thus Muḥammad, son of Bakht yār, Muḥammad, son of Sherān, 'Alī, son of Mardān, and Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ—four different rulers are made ONE This truly is pretty history "to teach the young idea"! See pages 574 and 594, and note [2].

[8] There is not a word about "*current coin*" in the text, but the Ṭabaḳāt i Akbarī and some authors who copy from it say, 80,000 silver *tangahs* See note [2], page 584.

Hindūstān. They have narrated in the Chronicles of the people of Hind after this manner, that seventy kings and more had appeared [at various times] at the foot of its walls, and not one of them had been able to reduce it [9] After some time [1], however, in the year 623 H, it was taken by the hands of the Sultān's servants [2], through the favour of the Creator. A year subsequent to this, in 624 H, he marched against the fort of Manḍawar [3] within the limits of the Siwālikh [territory], and its capture, likewise, the Almighty God facilitated for him, and he came back, and much booty fell into the hands of the servants of his dynasty

Subsequently, in 625 H, the august Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, came with an army from the capital city, Dihlī, into the territories of Ūchchah and Multān, and the writer of these words, the Maulānā Minhāj-i-Sarāj, in the

[9] According to the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, Rantabhūr was in the possession of the Musalmāns in the time of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn See ELLIOT vol. ii page 219, and note [2], page 516, para 4

[1] Months in some copies of the text

[2] This remark shows that he was not himself present there

[3] The oldest copies are as above—مندور—but some others have مندود—Mandūd, and مندو—Mandū The Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī has Mandawar, while Budā'ūnī, who copies from it, has Mandū in some copies, and Mandawar in others, and adds that I yal timish annexed, with that stronghold, the Koh-i-Siwālikh. Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā says, "Mandawar with all the forts and *kaṣbahs* of the Siwālikh" Zubdat-ut Tawārīkh has "Mandāwar—منداور" Firishtah has "Mandū—مندو [which is totally incorrect]—and all Siwālikh"

Our author, at page 468, mentions "the seat of government, Ajmīr, with the whole of the Siwālikh [territory], such as Hānsī, Sursutī," &c., and includes the whole tract of country south of the Himālayah, between the Ganges and the Sutlaj, and extending as far south as Hānsī in the Siwālikh or Koh-i-Siwālikh, and at page 200 he states that Nāg-awr is in the Siwālikh also Some writers state that the Siwālikh extends as far west as the borders of Kashmīr See note [4], page 468, and ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 325, note [1] Tod says "Mundore [Mandawar] was the capital of the Purihars," and capital of Mārwār, "five miles N of Jodpur" There is no doubt but that this is the place, the ruins of which indicate what its immense strength must have been at the time in question It is described in Tod, vol i page 721, and in another place he says it was taken from "Mokul," the Purihar prince, by "Rahup," who "obtained Cheetore in S 1257 (A D 1201), and shortly after sustained the attack of Shemsudin [Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn is referred to], whom he [Rahup] met and *overcame* in battle at Nagore" Of course! who *could* defeat Rājpūts? Shams-ud-Dīn did not come to the throne for *nine years* after the above date There is a Manḍawar—مندور—even now, a large *kasbah*, with extensive buildings of burnt brick, and several great *masjids*, the remains of former days, on the route between Dārā-nagar and Sahāran-pūr, included in the Siwālikh as above mentioned, but not the place here referred to

month of Rajab, in the year 624 H[4], had reached the territories of Sind, Ūchchah, and Multān, from the side of Ghūr and Khurāsān[5]. On the 1st of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 625 H.[6], the august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, reached the foot of the walls of the fort of Ūchchah. Malik [Sulṭān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, had his camp pitched before the gate of the ḳaṣbah [town] of Ahrāwat[7], and the whole of his fleet and boats, on board of which the baggage and followers of his army were embarked, were moored in the river in front[8] of the camp, when, on a Friday, after [noon-day] prayers, swift messengers arrived from the direction of Multān and gave information that Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Ai-yitim[9], the feudatory of Lohor, had appeared before the walls of Multān[1].

The august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn, having set out by way of Tabarhindah towards Ūchchah, the capital of Malik [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Kabā-jah, he fled to his fleet, and, taking along with him all his forces, retired towards

[4] See note [2], page 544, where he contradicts this statement, and mentions other dates. Chingiz Khān died in 624 H. Several authors, including that of the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī and his protégé, Budā'ūnī, leave out this expedition of I-yal-timish against Kabā-jah, but drown the latter in 614 H., having confounded the first hostilities between them with the last. See note [4], page 532.

[5] At page 541 he says he came "from Khurāsan by way of Ghaznīn and Banīān."

[6] In his notice of Malik Naṣīr-ud Dīn, AI-YITIM, in Section XXII, our author also says 625 H., but at page 541 he says 624 H. Under the account of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i GAZLAK Khān, in the same Section, our author contradicts his statement here made, and says that this Malik *was the first of the nobles* of the Dihlī dynasty with whom he came into contact, and that he arrived before Ūchchah with troops *fifteen* days before Sulṭān Shams ud Dīn's arrival, and that he—the author—came out of Ūchchah and went to his camp to obtain an interview with Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn on the 16th of Ṣafar, 625 H. At the bottom of the same page, however, he makes another statement, and gives 628 H. as the date, and, over leaf, a different statement.

[7] This place is not now known, and the correct pronunciation may be Ihrāwat. In some copies it is written Ahrawat, in others Ahrat, and in one Harāwat, but it is evidently the same word, with the first letter left out by the copyist. The courses of the rivers in this tract have greatly altered since these days.

[8] This is the meaning of the word پیش here used, but *facing* or *opposite* would be more appropriate, as, wherever the camp might have been pitched, it would have its *front*, not its rear, to the land.

[9] In the account given of this chief, in the next Section, the vowel points are given with the word ایتم. Some few copies have what appears like ایتمر— but what is supposed to be ر is but the end of the letter م carelessly written.

[1] He succeeded in getting possession of that stronghold by capitulation, and the dependencies at once followed.

Bhakar, with orders to his Wazīr, the 'Ain-ul-Mulk, Ḥusain-i-Ashʿarī [2], to convey the treasure contained within the fort of Ūchchah towards the fort of Bhakar. Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn pushed forward the van of his forces to the foot of the walls of Ūchchah, under the [two] great Maliks at the head of those troops, one [of whom] was Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sālārī, who was the Amīr-i-Ḥājib [Lord Chamberlain] of the Court, and the other, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gazlak Khān [3], Sulṭānī Shamsī [4], who was the Malik of Tabarhindah. Four days after this, the Sulṭān himself, with the rest of the army, the elephants, baggage, and followers, arrived before the walls of Ūchchah, and the camp was pitched [5]. The Wazīr of his kingdom, the Niẓām-ul-Mulk, Muḥammad, Junaidī, and other Maliks, were then despatched towards the fort of Bhakar in pursuit of Malik [Sulṭān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah.

For a period of three months, hostilities went on at the foot of the fortress of Ūchchah; and, on Tuesday, the 28th [6] of the sacred month, Jamādī-ul-Awwal, in the year 625 H [7], that fort surrendered on terms of capitulation. Malik [Sulṭān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, in that same month,

[2] The Tārīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī of Mīr Ma'ṣūm-i-Bhakharī [of Bhakar or Bhakhar: it is written both ways] incorrectly styles him the Niẓām ul-Mulk, Muḥammad, son of As'ad. 'Ain-ul-Mulk, signifying the Eye of the State—like Niẓām ul-Mulk—is not a name, but a *title* given to Wazīrs. Ashʿarī is the name of an 'Arab tribe of the tribes of Sabā, of which came the celebrated Musalmān doctors Abū Mūsā and Abū Ḥasan. Their followers are styled Ashʿariūn. The Wazīr came doubtless of that family. "Ashgharī" is not correct. Compare ELLIOT here, vol ii page 325.

[3] Or Gajzlak: it is written both ways.

[4] "Sulṭānī Shamsī" signifies that he was the Mamlūk of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, and rose to rank in his service. A notice of him and others will be found in Section XXII.

[5] The arrival of the Sulṭān upon the scene has been already mentioned above.

[6] Some copies of the text have "one month," but it is, no doubt, incorrect, and in some the date is the 27th of the month, but in no copy is it the 29th, although some modern copies have Jamādī-ul-Ākhir.

[7] The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, Budā'ūnī, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, and some others, all mention these events as taking place in 614 H., and they are all wrong. In this case it is hardly probable that the copyists of all these works could have written 614 for 624, although *one* might have done so.

The Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk states that Ḳabā-jah's son, Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, had concluded a peace on behalf of his father with I-yal-timish, and, after some days, Ḳabā-jah himself left Bhakhar to return to Ūchchah, when he was [accidentally] drowned.

of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, in the same year, threw himself from the walls of the fortress of Bhakar into the Panj-āb, and drowned himself Some time previous to this, he had despatched his son, Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, to the presence of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish ; and, subsequently to that, the treasures and the remainder of the followers of Malik [Sulṭān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, reached the presence of the Court, the Asylum of the World

That country [Sind], as far as the shore of the ocean, was acquired, and Malik Sinān-ud-Dīn, Chatī-sar [or Jatī-sar],[8]

[8] The three oldest and best copies of the text have Chatīsar—چتيسر—and Jatīsar—حتيسر—respectively Of the other copies, taking the best in rotation, one has حسير—which is evidently intended for one of the two former, because the three points, which look like that of ب—are intended to mark س—thus بس—in distinction to ش—and to prevent it being mistaken for the latter letter , another حبس—a third حسں—and the rest حبش—which has been read as Ḥabash, which means an Abyssinian. The Sūmrahs were, however, not Africans, but of Rāj-pūt descent Alfī has حبسر—but not very distinct, and Jāmi'-ut Tawārīkh حسر without points

The historians of Sind state that that territory, up to the year 583 H., acknowledged the sway of the Ghaznawīds, and that, on the downfall of the last of that dynasty, his dominions fell to Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, Ghūrī [Mu'izz ud-Dīn's elder brother], and Sind was then included in the Multān province, but all Sind cannot be meant here—not what we understand by Sind Sulṭān Mu izz-ud-Dīn, brother of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, as early as 578 H [see note [2], page 452], had reduced the territory of Dīwal or Dībal. Mīr Ma'ṣūm says that, after Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud Dīn's assassination, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī bak, possessed himself of Hind and Sind, and held sway over them, and the Khuṭbah was read for him, fourteen years [*four*, no doubt, is meant], after which his son, Ārām Shāh, succeeded him, but he was dethroned from incapacity, and Shams-ud Dīn, I yal-timish, raised to the sovereignty "At this period," he continues, "the territory of Hindūstān was divided into four states [that *portion* of Hindūstān under Musalmān sway rather]—Dihlī, which pertained to Shams-ud-Dīn , Multān, Ūchchah, and Sind, to Ḳabā jah , Lāhor, to the officers of I-yal-dūz, Sulṭān of Ghaznīn , and Lakhanawatī, to the Khalj " He then passes on to the Khalj in Siwastān, and Shams ud Dīn's invasion of Kabā-jah's dominions See note [9], page 542, para. 6

Previous to this time, however, Dībal, or Lower Sind [Thathah was *not even founded* at this period], had fallen into the hands of the Sūmrah tribe, which paid, nominally at least, allegiance to the Ghaznawīds Before the downfall of that dynasty, Mu'izz ud Dīn, Ghūrī, subdued that territory, but still the Ghūriān hold upon it was nominal almost.

Of the Sūmrah dynasty no less than seventeen chiefs ruled in Lower Sind, according to the Muntakhab ut Tawārīkh of Muḥammad Yūsuf , and, as near as can be computed, from the years they are said to have reigned, the *eleventh* of that dynasty, who lived at the time Shams-ud-Dīn ruled at Dihlī, was named Chanīsar—چنيسر—but this might be, and in all probability is meant for چتيسر—there being but the difference of the dot of ن between them. It is,

who was Wālī [ruler] of Dīwal, presented himself at th Shamsī Court; and, when the blessed mind of tha monarch became disengaged through the successes [gained in that territory, he turned his face towards the sublim seat of government, the city of Dihlī

The author of this book, and writer of these pages, gaine the presence of the sublime Court of that monarch of th orthodox, on the first day that the royal camp was pitche before the walls of the fort of Ūchchah[9], and, havin found favour in his sacred sight, when the royal cam moved back again from before the walls of Ūchchah, th author was directed to deliver discourses within the enclo sure of the sublime tents, and, in association with th victorious retinue of that beneficent sovereign, he arrived a the city of Dihlī in the month of Ramazān, 625 H[1]

therefore, perfectly clear, that the name given by our author refers to th eleventh of the Sūmrah rulers, but the fourteenth according to the Tuhfat u Kirām Habash, of course, is totally out of the question See also ELLIOT vol i page 485, and vol ii note [2], page 389, and Thomas PAṬHĀN KINGS page 99, note [4]

[9] To pay court to the winning side, and, afterwards, as far as our piou author was concerned, the son of Kabā-jah, and the Fīrūzī College too, migh follow Kabā-jah to the bottom of the Indus

[1] It has already been mentioned [note [8], para 6, page 542] that one reason—or, at least, the plea—why I-yal-timish attacked Kabā-jah again, and marche against Ūchchah, was, that the Khalj fugitives, after their defeat by Kabā-jah and their chief had fallen in the battle, threw themselves upon his protection This happened towards the end of 623 H, and, early in 625 H, I-yal-timish appeared before Kabā-jah s capital

If our author is correct as to the Sulṭān's leaving Ūchchah for Dihlī, th Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir [and Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, which copies it probably] is very muc out, for that work states that I-yal-timish left the Wazīr to carry on the ope rations, and *reached* Dihlī again on the 14th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal [the thir month] of 624 H, whilst our author says he reached the capital in Ramazā [the ninth month] of 625 H, a difference of eighteen months One of th oldest copies of the text, however, has 626 H, while the other two oldest leav out the rest of the sentence after the word "Dihlī," thus giving no date

Mīr Ma'ṣūm, in his History, says —"I-yal-timish left his Wazīr to carr on operations against Ūchchah, and returned to his capital, thus agreeing wit Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, and that it capitulated, and was taken possession of on th 28th of Jumādī-ul-Awwal [fifth month] of 625 H" It was the Wazīr wh advanced against Bhakar and penetrated into Lower Sind and, therefore, it i impossible that Sinān-ud-Dīn, Chatīsar or Jatīsar, the Sūmrah chief of Dība could have presented himself at the Shamsī Court, when the Sultān did not g farther south than Ūchchah He did so to the Wazīr probably, or to th subsequent governor of the new conquest

The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir further states that, at this time [of the Wazīr s invasio of Lower Sind], twelve celebrated forts, which had never before been acquire

At this time, emissaries from the Khalifah's Court, bearing honours rich and ample, had reached the limits of Nāg-awr; and, on Monday, the 22nd of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 626 H, they reached the Capital[2] The city was decorated [for the occasion][3] and this sovereign, and the Maliks, his sons—may they rest in peace!—and other Maliks, his suite, and Slaves likewise, were honoured through this act of policy [on the part] of the Khalifah's Court.

After so much festivity and rejoicing, in the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, of the before-mentioned year [626 H][4],

were taken possession of with Sīwastān and Lūk, as far as the shores of the ocean, and that the Khuṭbah was read for the Sulṭān, and the coin was stamped with his titles and name through *all* the countries of Hindūstān [!], and in the territories of Ḳuṣdār and Mukrān! The Wazīr, according to Mīr Ma'ṣūm, was left in charge of the government of Sind, and remained in that country up to the year 630 H, when he returned to Court, leaving Nūr-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, in charge of Sind

Our author, however, in his notice of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gazlak Khān, who accompanied the Wazīr in his advance upon Bhakar, states that he, not the Wazīr, was left in charge of the newly acquired territory, and he is, doubtless, correct The Wazīr had other duties to perform, and Mīr Ma'sūm has evidently mistaken the one for the other

No doubt the new governor extended the Shamsī authority in those parts, but it was very temporary, and ceased almost with the reign of I yal-timish. Lūk is the place referred to at page 200, and has no connexion either with the town, district, or mountains of Lakkī in Sind There is, I think, some connexion between the Lak tribe of Kurds, at that time, and subsequently, located in the southern part of Sijistān, and Kirmān, mentioned at page 317, note 6

[2] Budā'ūnī, who differs from all other writers, here, and contrary to the work of his patron, says these were 'Arab envoys from Miṣr, bearing with them a dress of honour and honorary titles [a diploma conveying them], but the 'Abbāsī Khalīfah of Baghdād, not of Miṣr, was the sender—the Khalīfah, Abū Ja'far i Mansūr, entitled Al Mustansir B'illah, the 36th 'Abbāsī—the Ubaidī Ismā'īlī Khilāfat of Misr terminated in 567 H

[3] When the inhabitants of eastern cities are ordered to decorate their houses on the occasion of rejoicings such as above indicated, the tradespeople, in particular, deck out their shops by hanging out rich shawls, brocades, fine dresses, all kinds of costly articles of merchandize, and even the ornaments and trinkets of their women Lamps and flags, attached to cords, are drawn across the streets, and the doors and lower parts of private dwellings painted in the gayest colours procurable The Ṭabaḳāt i-Akbarī, followed by Firishtah and others, says *Kubbahs*—arches, domes, &c —were erected on this joyful occasion

According to the translation of this passage in our author in ELLIOT, vol II page 326, the city was only "*adorned with their presence*," but the printed text, in this instance, is quite correct, and, like the other copies of the text, has آئين بستند which means "to prepare," "to adorn," and the like

[4] Several copies of the text, including the printed text, with but two exceptions, have خلعت—dress of honour—for خدمت — service, also action, pro-

information arrived of the decease of the august Malik, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, [the eldest son of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn], and Balkā Malik-i-Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ[5],

cedure, policy, &c It is ridiculous to imagine that honorary dresses would have been sent by the Khalīfah for *all* the Princes, Maliks, the Sulṭān's suite, and his Slaves Conferring such honours broadcast would have lessened the honour Dresses might have been sent for the Sulṭān's sons, but even this was unusual. The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir's statement about this event is the most reliable. It says that the Imām, Mustanṣir B'illah, sent I-yal-timish *a dress of honour*, and a diploma *confirming him* in the sovereignty of Hindūstān, with the title of "Great Sulṭān, which was received with much veneration Next day, 23rd of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 626 H, was fixed for a general reception, at which the Khalīfah's diploma was read in the presence of the Sulṭān, his sons, and great nobles. In this diploma it was declared that I-yal-timish was thereby confirmed in the possession of all the territory which he had subdued Great joy was manifested on this auspicious occasion, and the Sulṭān conferred robes of honour upon the Khalīfah's envoys, and his own chiefs and nobles"

What led to the arrival of these agents is not stated by historians, but it is probable that I-yal-timish sought this investiture from the Khalīfah, and a title, considering his dynasty sufficiently established to warrant it, when he, some years before, despatched an agent to the Court of Baghdād, or that the Khalīfah had some policy of his own to serve in sending it We may presume that the title bestowed was that mentioned by our author at page 624, but that is the same as bestowed by Mustanṣir's predecessor, Un-Nāṣir, upon Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām Towards the end of the reign of I-yal-timish, the Wazīr-ship is said to have been conferred upon the Fakhr-ul-Mulk, 'Iṣāmī, who for thirty years had been Wazīr of Baghdād He became irritated through some cause or other, left the Khalīfah's court, and came to Dihlī, which was not quite such an *Ultima Thule* as one modern writer supposes, the Khutbah being read weekly for the Khalīfah

[5] That is to say, Balkā Malik, *son* of Husām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ [Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ], the Khalj In some copies of the text the date is 627 H, but, in the oldest, and, in the majority, it is 628 H

The hold, acquired over the territory of Lakhanawatī by I-yal-timish, appears to have been of a very partial and temporary character, and the events, which happened subsequently to his accommodation with Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, after he extorted tribute, as mentioned on a previous page, are involved in much obscurity for many years subsequently In the first place, there is some discrepancy with respect to the year of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ's, death, which, according to some accounts, including that of the Gaur *MS*, took place as early as 617 H, after a reign of twelve years, namely, from 606 H to 617 H

I had better first mention, very briefly, what our author states, in his account of the different Maliks, with reference to the occurrences following the defeat of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, by Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, I-yal-timish's son, and Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn's being put to death by that prince, and then give the accounts of others, as our author has either suppressed some things, or his ideas of them were confused, and he does not [like other writers] even mention *where* Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, died and we must suppose it was in Awadh, not in Lakhanawatī

Our author says, in his account of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Ūchchah, but without giving any dates, that, when Sulṭān I-yal-timish led his forces into the territory of Lakhanawatī, and they had overthrown Balkā the Khalj—who, in

the Khalj, rebelled in the territory of Lakhanawatī. Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn led the contingents of Hindūstān into that country, and, in the year 628 H., that rebel was secured. The Sultān conferred the throne of Lakhanawatī upon Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī,—on whom be peace[1]—and, in the month

the list at the end of this reign, is styled Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Daulat Shah-i-Balkā, *Malik* of Lakhanawatī—he set out on his return to the capital, Dihlī, and, on the way, received intimation that, through the decease of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-GAZ LAK Khān, at Ūchchah, that province and its dependencies had been conferred upon him. Then he says, that, after the decease of the son of I-yal-timish, and that sovereign's proceeding himself into Lakhanawatī to suppress the outbreak of Balkā, the Khalj, he conferred the *throne* of Lakhanawatī upon Malik 'Alā ud-Dīn, Jānī [the same who is styled, in the list at the end of this reign, "Shāh-zādah of Turkistān"], and that, on his removal from or loss of that dignity—but no date is given—Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Yughān-Tat, got it. He greatly distinguished himself in those parts, and, on one occasion, captured a number of elephants in the territory of Bang, which he despatched to Dihlī. For this affair he received the title of Yughān-Tat. He held the government until 631 H., when he died in Lakhanawatī. On his death, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Tughril-i-Tughān Khān, was made governor of Lakhanawatī, and there he was at the time of I-yal-timish's death, after which events arose which I shall have to refer to subsequently, but, I may mention that, up to this time, the territory on both sides the Gang was not under his authority, and that he only held the Barindah side.

I will now state what other writers say on this subject. After Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, was put to death by Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, son of I-yal-timish, the former's son, styled Nāṣir-ud-Dīn-i-'Iwaẓ, by some, and Husām-ud-Dīn-i-'Iwaẓ, by others, but these latter no doubt mean Balkā Malik, *the son* of Husām ud Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, which was the father's name before he took the title of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn [see page 580], assumed the sovereignty over his father's dominions, and held it some time, and, after the death of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, who held mere nominal authority over Lakhanawatī for one year, and, according to the Gaur *MS.*, and Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh [not Rashīd ud-Dīn's], from 618 H. to 619 H., although both those works state that he died in 626 H., affairs assumed such an aspect that I-yal-timish had to march into that country with the forces of Hindūstān "to quell the sedition." No particulars are given respecting these operations, nor is the fate of Balkā Malik mentioned, but, as most writers state that he fell into the power of I-yal timish, his fate may well be supposed.

Zubdat ut Tawārīkh, in one place, says I-yal-timish entered the Lakhanawatī territory in 627 H., and, in another place, that, in 628 H., he succeeded in taking the son of Husām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, after which he gave the throne to 'Izz-ul-Mulūk, Malik 'Alā ud-Dīn, Jānī, and, in this, other writers agree.

The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, as well as Zubdat, says that 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, reigned for three years and some months, but the former and the Gaur *MS.* have "from 620 H. to 623 H." Saif ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Yughān Tat, succeeded, on the removal of 'Alā-ud Dīn, Jānī, and ruled up to the time of his death, which happened in 631 H., but the Gaur *MS.* says he ruled nine years—from 624 H. to 632 H.—till he died. Malik 'Izz ud Dīn, Tughril-i-Tughān Khān, succeeded, and held the government for nearly fourteen years. Further mention of the feudatories of this province will be found in the next Section.

of Rajab of the same year, he returned again to the illustrious capital, Dihlī

In the year 629 H., the Sultān came to the determination of undertaking the reduction of the fort of Gwāliyūr[6]; and, when the pavilion of his dominion was set up at the foot of that stronghold, Mangal Dīw[7], the accursed, the son of the accursed Māl Dīw, commenced hostilities The Sultān continued before that fortress for a period of eleven months, and the writer of these words, in the month of Sha'bān of the same year, set out from Dihlī, and turned his face towards the threshold of sovereignty, and attained that felicity The author, at certain stated periods, was commanded to deliver discourses at the private pavilion. Three times in each week discourses were fixed, and, when the month of Ramazān came round, a discourse used to be delivered daily During the whole ten days of Zi-Hijjah, and ten days of Muharram, discourses were delivered daily, but, during the other months, those same three stated periods were observed weekly, so that ninety-five times congregations were convened at the entrance of the sublime pavilion[8] On both days of the respective festivals, Fitr and Uzhā[9], in three different places, the

[6] After the decease of Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, during the convulsion that then ensued, the Hindūs recovered this fortress, which had been surrendered to Kutb-ud-Dīn, after Baha ud-Dīn, Tughril, had reduced it to extremity, as mentioned at page 546 Up to this time the Musalmāns had no opportunity of recovering it.

[7] The name of this Rāe is very plainly written in several copies of the text, including two of the three oldest and best copies, but the third—the best St. Petersburg copy—has—میگل بهو دیو – Mīgal [evidently intended for منگل—Mangal] Bhawa Dīw—being thus different to all the other copies of the text The other copies have میلگ and ملک—Mīlag or Malak, and Mīgal or Mīkal

There is equal, if not more, discrepancy with respect to the father's name also, but, while the St Petersburg MS has Māl Dīw plainly written, the other two oldest copies have بسل دیو and بسیل دیو which may be Basīl Dīw. The remaining copies of the text collated have what appear to be بسل—ملپل [I think this may be meant for Mahā pālā महोपाल]—ميل and the like, which are unintelligible

The Zubdat ut-Tawārīkh has Mangal Dīw, son of Bubal or Barbal Dīw, Tabakāt-i-Akbarī میلک دیو مل Mirat-i Jahān-Numā دیو برل the Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk ملک دیو مل and Firishtah دیو بل All these latter works, however, do not mention the father's name At page 545, note[5], the ruler of Gwāliyūr is styled Rāe Solānk Pāl, according to the Tāj ul Ma'āsir

[8] In his notice of Malik Hindū Khan, in Section XXII., our author relates these matters in quite a different manner, contradicting a good deal of what he here mentions

[9] The festival, on breaking fast after the Muhammadan fast month, is called

prayers, prescribed for the festivals, were said, in which number of places, on the greater festival of Uẓḥā, this servant of the state, who is Minhāj-i-Sarāj, was commanded to read the Khutbah for the Uẓhā festival, and the appointed prayers, at a spot opposite the northern face of the fortress of Gwālıyūr[1], on which side the town is, and he was honoured with the presentation of a valuable dress of honour.

The fortress was kept under investment, until Tuesday, the 26th of the month Safar, 630 H., when the stronghold of Gwālıyūr was acquired. During the night, the accursed Mangal Dīw evacuated the fort and fled, and about seven hundred Gabrs[2] were directed to be brought to public execution before the entrance of the sublime pavilion. After that, Amīrs and eminent men were appointed [to different offices]. To the Majd-ul-Umrā, Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Junaidī, the Sultān gave the office of Amīr-i-Dād, the Sipah-Sālār [Commander of Troops], Rashīd-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, was directed to assume the office of Seneschal, and the Maulānā, the writer of this book, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, was nominated to the offices of Ḳāzī, Khatīb, and Imām, and appointed to preside over all matters of the law, and a rich dress of honour, and an ample present, were conferred upon him[3]. May the Most High God become the sustainer of the purified soul and fragrant body of that victorious, beneficent, and just sovereign, and patron of the enlightened! On the 2nd of the month, Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, of this same year[4], the Sultān withdrew from before the fortress of Gwālıyūr, and placed the camp at about the distance of a league from the foot of the walls in the direction of Dihlī, the capital, and, at that

'Īd-i-Fiṭr, and the Uẓhā is on the tenth day of the last month of the Muḥammadan year, in commemoration of Ibrahīm's offering up his son Ismā'īl, who, according to their creed, was offered and not Isḥāk.

[1] Compare Elliot, vol ii page 327. Our author, as there stated, could *scarcely* have repeated prayers "*at the foot of Gwalior on the northern side*" *before* the fort was taken. The town is situated to the N. W. of the fortress.

[2] The word used is Gabrs, not "*p[illegible]*," and does not necessarily refer to Pārsīs, but is here applied to infidels or pagans, and, therefore, an essay on "Fire Worship" in these parts is wholly unnecessary. Some writers say 300 Gabrs, but the printed text has 800.

[3] Compare Elliot ii 101.

[4] In this year, 630 H., I yal timish purchased Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban, who, subsequently, in the year 664 H., succeeded this Sultān's son on the throne of Dihlī.

halting ground, the imper al *naubat*[5] five times daily was assumed

After he returned to the capital, in the year 632[6] H, the

[5] The imperial *naubat*, which has been already explained at page 383, note[3], is turned into "*a halt of five days*" in ELLIOT, which see

[6] In some copies the date is left out altogether, and, in others, the year 631 H is given, and, in this, several other writers agree, but Alfī has 630 H Bhīlsān, also, is not mentioned at all in some works, and, moreover, our author has confused matters here There were not two great idol temples destroyed, and it was the great temple dedicated to Mahā-kāl at Ujjain which was three hundred years in building, not at Bhīlsān—the town and fortress of that name was destroyed It is amusing to hear a *Hindū* relate that "the idol was carried off to Dihlī, and cast down before the gateway of the *jāmi' masjid* [not the present one, which was built by Shāh i-Jahān] for people to kick and trample upon "

It may interest the archæologist to know that the idol is stated, by several writers, to have been buried just beneath the surface " close to the minārah of red sandstone, which is of great height and solidity, *one of the many buildings founded* by Sultān Shams ud Dīn, I-yal timish, as is mentioned in two inscriptions in the second and third stories," but the numerous titles given to that Sultan are the mere fancy of the artist Another writer who wrote in Jahāngīr's time states that "in old Dihlī is the great Masjid, outside of which is a minārah of immense height, to ascend to the top of which is impossible Those who have measured it say it is 80 paces round at the base, and its height 130 [?] cubits [ذرع] " A third author, who wrote an account of Dihlī from a personal survey nearly a century since, confirms the above statements generally, and gives some further particulars He says —' In the *mahall* of Rāe Pithora are two minārahs, one of red sandstone, which consisted of seven [eight ?] stories or divisions and about 200 yards [cubits] in height, and 15 in thickness [sic in *MSS*] Two of the stories have fallen from the effects of lightning, and, from the building, thousands of *mans* of lead have been taken The erection of this minārah is, among many other buildings attributed to Sultān Shams ud Dīn, I yal timish, as inscribed thereon in two or three places, and close to it, on the west side, is the sepulchre of that great man This minārah is known by the name of the LATH OF KUTB SAHIB "—neither the minār nor the lath of Kutb ud Dīn, I bak, sovereign of Dihlī, the *authority* for assigning it to whom it would be curious to trace "On the north side is an obelisk of brass [برنج] about 10 cubits in height and 2 thick, of very great antiquity, and upon it is a vast deal of writing, both in the Hindū ī and Persian character In the *Kotilah* of Fīrūz Shāh is another minārah of considerable height It is said to have been constructed of corundum stone [*kurand*] ground, and mixed with lac," &c The other work previously quoted says with respect to this second minarah "Within a structure called the Shikār gah of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh is a column in height about 30 cubits [ذرع], and about 3 in thickness, which is supposed to be of one piece of stone, and that an equal length lies buried among the bricks and rubbish around it This would make it, in all, a single stone of 60 cubits in total length, which it would have been impossible to have set upright," &c

The Kutb minārah is supposed by European writers and archæologists—misled, probably, by some incorrect translation of Persian works—to have been not only named after Sultān Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the first Turk Sultān

Sultān led the hosts of Islām towards Mālwah, and took the fortress and town [or city] of Bhīlsān, and demolished the idol-temple which took three hundred years in building, and which, in altitude, was about one hundred ells. From thence he advanced to Ujjain-Nagarī, and destroyed the idol-temple of Mahā-kāl Diw. The effigy of Bikramajīt who was sovereign of Ujjain-Nagarī, and from whose reign to the present time one thousand, three hundred[7], and sixteen years have elapsed, and from whose reign they date the Hindū-ī era, together with other effigies besides his,

of Dihlī, but to have been founded by him also. The *word* Kuṯb was quite sufficient *proof* in their imaginations, but it is totally incorrect. The minārah is styled the LĀTH OF KUṮB ṢĀHIB, after a celebrated Muḥammadan saint, Khwājah Kuṯb-ud-Dīn, Bakht-yār, Kākī, the Ūshī [native of Ūsh near Baghdād], whom the Afghāns claim as their peculiar saint by the title of "the Afghān Kuṯb or Pole," the reason for which does not appear, but he probably resided for a time in the Afghān country. He came into Hind, and, first, proceeded to Multān during the reign of Sulṯān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah. Subsequently, he went to Dihlī. Such was his sanctity and the veneration in which he was held, that Sulṯān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, himself, came forth from the city to receive him and do him reverence, and accompanied him into Dihlī. The Khwājah, however, took up his residence at Gilū-kharī on account of the scarcity of water in the city. When Shaikh Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Busṯāmī, who was the Shaikh-ul-Islām, died, I-yal-timish wished him to take that office, but the Kuṯb-i-Afghān declined it. He died on the 24th of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 633 H. See the Mir'āt-ul-Afāghinah, Makhzan-i-Afghānī and Tārīkh-i-Muraṣṣa' [Pushto] of Afẓal Khan, Khatak. Dorn, in his translation of Ni'mat Ullah's work [Part II., pages 2—57], gives 603 H. as the date of his death, but, in a note, says he thinks the number *ten* has been left out, but it was *thirty*, not ten. The correct date is 633 H.

It may be asked, How is it that the name of Kuṯb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, is inscribed on the minārah, and certain dates recorded? to which the very natural reply may be given, that gratitude led I-yal-timish to record, on the monument of his erection, the name of his own master, benefactor, and father-in-law. The first date, 589 H. refers to the occupation of Dihlī as the Muḥammadan capital, the second, 592 H., to the foundation, probably, of the Kuṯbī *masjid*, the third date, 594 H., to its completion, and the fourth, 629 H., evidently refers to the year in which I-yal-timish founded the MINĀRAH OF ḲUTB ṢĀHIB.

The insertion of the name of Sulṯān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, as the Sulṯān-us-Salāṯīn or Lord Paramount at the time of the conquest, is also natural, but it is passing strange—*if* the copy of the inscription as given by Thomas [PATHÁN KINGS, pages 21-22] is correct—that the name of his brother—Mu'izz-ud-Dīn—the conqueror of Rae Pithorā, and establisher of the Muhammadan rule at Dihlī, should be *left out*. I cannot but think that the inscription is not correctly given. See also APPENDIX A., pages iv. and v.

A writer in the BENGAL ASIATIC JOURNAL, vol. xx., page 353, many years back, endeavoured to correct the great error I have referred to. He says:—"The Qotb Minar has not its name from Qotb(aldyn) Aybak as Ritter supposes, but from the *Saint*—Qotb aldyn Baktyar Káky who is buried not far from it." See also note [2], page 658.

[7] In some copies two hundred.

which were formed of molten brass, together with the stone [idol] of Mahā-kāl, were carried away to Dihlī, the capital

In the year 633 H., the Sultān led the forces of Hindūstān towards Banīān [or Banyān[8]], and, during that march, weakness subdued his blessed person, and, when, through bodily affliction, he came back from thence, on Wednesday, the first of the month, Sha'bān, early in the forenoon, the time chosen by the Astrologers, seated in a covered litter[9], he entered the capital of his kingdom, the illustrious city of Dihlī. After nineteen days, his illness having increased, on Monday, the 20th of Sha'bān[1], in the year 633 H., he was removed from the abode of mortality to the everlasting mansion[2] His reign extended to a period of twenty-six years God enlighten his understanding!

[8] This is precisely the same tract that is mentioned at page 541, and which has been turned into "*Mithan*" in ELLIOT, vol. ii page 303, and is referred to in several places in connexion with coming from Ghaznīn, Karmān and Nandanah into Sind and Multān In all the best copies it is written بنیان—Banīān—generally, but sometimes بنبان—Banbān Further research may tend to throw some light upon its exact situation, but it evidently lies in the hill tracts of the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah, or the opposite side of the Sind adjoining that part of the Do-ābah in question—the country immediately west of the Salt Range It will be referred to again farther on Niẓām-ud-Dīn, Ahmad, and Budā'ūnī, and Firishtah—the two latter copy the former—all have Multān, and are totally incorrect in this instance

[9] Turned into "*a howda on the back of an elephant*" in ELLIOT, but there is not a word about an elephant in the original or in the printed text either

ELPHINSTONE [page 323] makes very short work of the events of the last eight years of this reign After incorrectly stating that Kabā-jah was drowned in 622 H and "Bakkar" taken, he says "Altamsh" was occupied for upwards of six years in "reducing the part of Hindostan which had remained independent He began by taking Rintambór He next took Mandu [see page 611] in Malwa, Gwalior, which had revolted, was recovered, Bilsa was likewise taken, and the occupation of the ancient capital Ujen, with the destruction of its celebrated temple, completed the conquest of Malwa" All this is supposed to have taken place between 623 H, and 630 H, and yet Ujjain-Nagarī was not taken till two years after this!

[1] There is some discrepancy respecting the date of I-yal-timish's death The oldest copy of the text says the 26th, and, in this two other copies agree, but some have Saturday, the 20th Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh has Monday, the 26th of Sha'ban, Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī the 20th, Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk, the 8th of Sha'bān, and so has the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh Mīr Ma'sum in one *MS* says the 23rd, and, in two others, the 26th, and Fasiḥ-ī says the 21st of Shaibān, 634 H, and that he was buried in the old *jāmi' masjid* Firishtah follows the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, but neither Budā'ūnī, the Haft Iḳlīm, Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh, Rauẓat-uṣ-Safā, nor Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh-i-Hind, give the day of the month, and some merely mention the year 633 H

[2] Our author having given an account of the attack by the Mulāḥidah

Titles and names of the Sultān.

US-SULṬĀN-UL-MU'AZZAM,

SHAMS-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN,

ABŪ L MUZAFFAR, I-YAL-TIMISH,

NĀṢIR-I-AMĪR-UL MŪMINĪN [8]

---

heretics on the congregation in the great *masjid* in the year 634 H under the reign of Raẓiyyat, it is strange that he is silent about the attack by the same heretics on Sulṭān I-yal-timish, which is related by other writers I-yal-timish, who was considered a pattern of orthodoxy, and a most pious and God fearing ruler, was in the habit of going, without any ostentation, to the great *masjid* on the Musalmān sabbath to say his prayers along with the congregation, and to listen to the Imām's discourse The Mulḥids of Dihlī, aware of his custom, plotted to take his life, and a body of them armed, whilst the people of the congregation were occupied in their own devotions flocked into the *masjid*, drew their swords, and attempted to reach the place where the Sulṭān was, and martyred several persons in so doing The Sulṭān, however, succeeded in getting safely away, although the Mulḥids endeavoured to follow him The people now crowded the roofs and walls and gate-ways of the *masjid*, and with arrows, bricks, and stones, annihilated the heretics I-yal-timish is said to have afterwards put a number of this sect to the sword in revenge for this attempt upon his life

[8] In the work I have before referred to the following is said to have been the inscription on one of I-yal-timish's early coins,

Reverse—ضرب هذا الدينار بحضرت دهلی سنه اثنا عشر و ستمایه
Obverse—قامع الكفر و الضلاله سلطان شمس الدين جلوس احد

according to which 612 H was the *first* of his reign The inscriptions may be thus rendered —Reverse.—"This Dīnār [was] struck in the capital [city] Dihlī, in the year 612" Obverse —"The Destroyer of paganism and error, Sulṭān Shams ud-Dīn, in the first [year] of his reign" Budā,ūnī says his title was Yamīn-i-Amīr ul Mūminīn, but this is only one of the many titles given him by our author See note [4], page 597, and note [8], page 614.

Offspring.

Sulṭān Raẓiyyat.
Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh.
[Malik] Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad.
Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh.
Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad.
Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh of Lakhnawatī.
Sulṭān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh.
Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh.
Malik [Sulṭān] Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muhammad Shāh.
Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, son of Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh.

Length of his reign:—

Twenty-six years.

Ḳāẓīs of his Court.

Ḳāẓī Sa'd-ud-Dīn, Gardaizī
Ḳāẓī Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Ghaznawī
Ḳāẓī Naṣir-ud-Dīn, Kāsilī
Ḳāẓī Kabir-ud-Dīn, Ḳāẓī of the Army.

Wazīr of the Kingdom

The Niẓām-ul-Mulk, Kamāl-ud-Dīn, [Muḥammad ?] -i-Abū-Sā'id, Junaidī.

Standards.

On the right, Black: On the left, Red

Motto on his august signet.

"Greatness appertaineth unto God alone [4]."

Capital of his Kingdom.

The city of Dihlī

His Maliks [5]

Malik Fīrūz, I-yal-timish, the Sālār, Shāh-zādah [Prince] of Khwārazm [6].

[4] Or "Greatness belongs to God" [is exclusively His attribute] Ḳur'ān chap. 45, verse 36.

[5] These names are only contained in a few copies of the text, and do not agree in all points The above are contained in the two oldest copies, and the others agree except where otherwise mentioned

[6] This is the person mentioned at page 199, but he should be more correctly styled Malik-zādah as he was not a Prince, but merely connected, on the mother's side, with the Khwārazmī Sulṭān, Muḥammad, father of Jalāl-ud-

Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, Shāh-zādah [Prince] of Turkistān.

Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of 'Alī, son of Abī 'Alī, Malik of Ghūr[7].

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz[8].

Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain.

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān.

Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Daulat Shāh-i-Balkā, son of Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, Khaljī, Malik of Lakhnawatī[9].

Malik-ul-Umrā, Iftikhār-ud-Dīn, Amīr of Kaṛah.

Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Ḥamzah-i-'Abd-ul-Malik.

Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Būlād [Pūlād]-i-Nāṣirī.

The Malik of Ghūr, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mādīnī, Shansabānī.

Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Mardān Shāh, Muhammad-i-Chā-ūsh [the Pursuivant[1]].

Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn of Bindār [or Pindār], the Chā-ūsh.

Malik Nasīr-ud-Dīn-i-Tughān, Feoffee of Budā'ūn[2].

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Tughril, Ḳuṭbī [Bahā-ī].

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Bakht-yār, the Khalj[3].

Dīn. After the Ghūrīs took Nīshāpūr in 596 H. [see page 380], he came into Hindūstān with his cousin, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn, afterwards ruler of Nīmroz of Sijistān. See pages 199—202.

[7] The same who commanded the right wing of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz's, army when that ruler of Ghūr lost his life. See page 416. He is called Hasan in some copies of the text in this place. He was not Malik of Ghūr but one of the Ghūrīan Maliks. He is mentioned many times in this work.

The best Paris copy and the I. O. L. MS. No. 1952, which generally agree, have, after the above, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, Sālār-i-Ḥarabī Mihdī, which name is again mentioned in the List preceding the reign of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmud Shah, further on.

[8] Instead of this name, in the Paris copy, comes Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn-i-'Abd-ul Jalīl, brother's son of Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-Dīn, Amīr-i-Koh [Kaṛah ?], while the I. O. L. MS. has Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, brother's son of the Malik-ul-Umrā, Iftikhār-ud-Dīn, Amīr-i-Koh.

[9] In two copies styled I-rān Shāh-i-Balkā, the Khalj.

[1] In one copy, Nasīr-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Ḥariṣ-i-Mardān Shāh, and Mīrān Shāh, and, in another, as two different persons. Chā-ūsh has probably been read by the copyist as Hariṣ, but, in another, Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Mīrān Shāh, *son of* Muḥammad-i-Chā-ūsh, Khaljī.

[2] This must be meant for Malik Izz-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān, who held the fief of Budā'ūn in 630 H.

[3] This is a specimen of the dependence we can place on our author's names and statements. If he refers here to the conqueror of Bihār and Lakhanawatī, he was *dead five years before* I-yal-timish was raised to the throne, in fact, before I-yal-timish's former master received his manumission. The word Khalj occurs in every copy containing these names, with the exception of one, which

Malik Ḳarā Sunḳar-i-Nāṣirī.
Malik Nasir-ud-Dīn, Ai-yitim-i-Bahā-ī[4].
Malik Asad-ud-Dīn, Tez Khān-i-Ḳuṭbī.
Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, Āghūl-Bak, Malik of Awadh[5]
Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, Nāgawrī, Siwālikhī.

Victories and Conquests

Budā'ūn, Banāras and defeat of Rāe Mān[6], fortress of Rantabhūr [or Ranthabhūr], Jālor, victory over Tāj ud-Dīn, Yal-dūz and taking him prisoner, occupation of Lohor, victory over the hostile Amīrs in front of the Bāgh-i-Jūd [the Jūd Garden], Tabarhindah, Sursutī, Kuhṛām, victory over Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah[7], subjugation of Lakhanawatī and its territory, taking of Ḳinnauj-i-Sher-gaṛh, Lalehr or Alehr[8] [?], Tirhut, Gwāliyūr, Nandanah, Gūjah [or Kūjah], and[9] Siāl-kot, Janjer[?], and Mūndūdah or Mūdah[1] [?], Ajmīr, Bihār, occupation of the fortress of Lakhanawatī a second time, fortress of Manḍawar,

has Ghūrī If this last name be correct, of course, the conqueror of Lakhanawatī is not referred to

The I. O. L. MS. has Malik Sherān, the Khalj, after this, but he was no more one of I-yal-timish's Maliks than Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār, was.

[4] So styled from having been, at first the slave of Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Tughril, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām's slave.

[5] These two last-named personages were Maliks of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's reign, and were but nominally dependent on Kuṭb-ud Dīn, Ī-bak, whilst he was the Sulṭān's Deputy in Hind. They are the same as those referred to at page 548, and were the entertainers and patrons of Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, the Khalj, after he had been refused service at Ghaznīn, and also at Dihlī.

Of the twenty five Maliks, most of whom were the slaves of I-yal-timish, separate accounts of whom are given in the next Section, but *three* can be recognized among the twenty one here recorded, but several are mentioned here, as well as in the account of his reign, who are not mentioned in that Section, while some others, mentioned under his reign, are not mentioned here.

[6] In one copy for رای مان, is ماسان—and in another ماسار—another الال بررهر. The last three are wholly unintelligible.

[7] Two of the oldest copies have—"and taking him prisoner," but he was not taken.

[8] This is wholly unintelligible. It is written للهر and اهر and الهه. Probably کاتهر or کاتهیر—Kāthehr or Kaṭher—is meant.

[9] This place or tract is constantly mentioned in connexion with Nandanah, and lies in that direction, without the shadow of doubt. In two copies of the text, however—one the best Paris copy—it is کوهات and کهرات respectively. It cannot be intended for کوه جود—Koh-i-Jūd, for it is clearly written several times in the text. In one place—in one of the oldest copies—it is written کرجه but in several places it is کوجه as above.

[1] مودوا and موددہ and مودہ.

fort of Bhakar, Ūchchah and Multān, Siwastān, Dībal, fort of Thankīr, fort of Bhīlsān, Mālwah and the expedition against the unbelievers and extortion of tribute, fort of Ujjain-Nagarī and bringing away of the idol of Mahā-kāl, which they have planted before the gateway of the *Jāmi' Masjid* at the capital city of Dihlī in order that all true believers might tread upon it [2].

II MALIK-US-SA'ĪD, NĀṢIR-UD-DĪN, MAHMŪD SHĀH, SON OF SULTAN SHAMS-UD-DĪN, I-YAL-TIMISH

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, was the eldest son of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, and he was a beneficent, intelligent, sensible, and sagacious Prince [3], and was endowed with great energy and gallantry, and was munificent, and benevolent

The first fief which the Sultān conferred upon him was the district of Hānsī [4]; and, after a considerable time, in the year 623 H, the territory of Awadh was entrusted to his charge In that country that Prince performed numerous commendable actions, and carried on holy war, as by the tenets of the faith enjoined, so that his praise for manliness and boldness became diffused throughout the area of Hindūstān

The accursed Bartū [or Britū], beneath whose sword above a hundred and twenty thousand Musalmāns had

[2] One copy of the text, not one of the oldest three, but a good copy, has Jāj-nagar here entered as one of the victories or conquests!

The greater number of the above so-called victories and conquests are not even *mentioned* in the reign of I yal-timish, and several of those that were effected by his Maliks, but neither these nor the remainder are all mentioned in the account given of their lives. What our author often calls a victory may be judged of from the mention of Kuhram, Budā'ūn [which I-yal-timish held the fief of], Kinnauj, and several other places, which were taken in Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's reign either by himself, or Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak

[3] Our author styles him "Bādshāh," which signifies a prince, as well as a king If he had any claims to be accounted a "sovereign," beyond the assignment to him of a canopy of state by his father, he should have been included among the kings of Lakhanawatī, or styled sovereign of Awadh, for he never reigned at the capital, Dihlī His "reigning" over Lakhanawatī may be judged of from note [5], page 617 He never coined money in his own name.

[4] The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir says Lahor was his first fief. See also note [4], page 532.

attained martyrdom[5], he overthrew and sent to Hell; and the refractory infidels, who were in different parts of the country of Awadh, he reduced and overcame, and brought a considerable number under obedience.

From Awadh he resolved to march into Lakhanawatī, and the forces of Hindūstān[6], by command of the Sultān, his father, were nominated to serve under him, and Maliks of renown, such as Pūlān[7], and Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, all of them proceeded towards Lakhanawatī in attendance on him. Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, the Khalj, had marched forces from Lakhanawatī with the intention of [entering] the territory of Bang, and had left his head-quarters empty [of defenders]. When the august Malik, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, reached that territory with his forces, the fortress of Basan-kot and the city of Lakhanawatī fell into his hands.

When the news reached Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, the Khalj, he set out for Lakhanawatī from the place where he then was. Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, with his forces, proceeded against him and defeated him, and captured Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, with all his kinsmen and the Khalj Amīrs, his treasures, and elephants[8]. He had Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, put to death, and appropriated his treasures. From Lakhanawatī Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, sent sums of money in the shape of presents to all the 'Ulamā, the Sayyids, devotees, recluses, and pious men of the capital, Dihlī, and other cities and towns. When the dresses of distinction from Baghdād, the capital of the Khilāfat, reached the presence

[5] Who this Hindū chief was we have no means of discovering, I fear, as other subsequent writers do not notice these events at all. He is styled in some of the best copies as above, which is probably meant for Pṛithu—पृथु—but, in others, the word is written برتوه—which may be Bartūh, Birtuh, or Bartūah, &c., but ب is often written for پ by copyists.

[6] By the "forces of Hindūstān" are meant the contingents of the feudatories east of the Jūn and Gang. The word Hindūstān is used by our author with reference to the Antarbed Do-ābah generally, but, sometimes, to the tracts east of the Gang as well.

[7] In some copies of the text بولاں بولی and پولان. The best copies are as above, but no such person is mentioned anywhere in the whole work, and I think it may be the nick-name of some chief, who might be recognized under his right name, unless it refers to the tenth in the List, page 626.

[8] These events, and those which followed, have been detailed at length in note [5], page 617.

of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, from among them he selected one dress of great value and despatched it to Lakhanawatī along with a red canopy of state, and Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, became exalted by [the bestowal of] that canopy of state, the dress of honour, and great distinction

All the Maliks and grandees of the kingdom of Hind had their eyes upon him, that he would be the heir to the Shamsī dominions, but the decree of destiny, according to [the saying]—"Man proposes, but God disposes"[9]—harmonizes not with human conceptions! A year and a half afterwards, his sacred person became afflicted with disease and weakness, and he died[1]. When the news of his decease reached the capital [city of] Dihlī, all the people manifested great grief thereat May Almighty God make the Sultān of Islām, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, as he is the heir to his name and title, the heir, during his lifetime, of the whole of the Maliks and Sultāns of that dynasty, for the sake of His prophet and the whole of his posterity!

III SULTĀN RUKN UD-DĪN, FĪRŪZ SHĀH[2], SON OF THE SULTAN [I-YAL-TIMISH]

Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, was a beneficent sovereign, of handsome exterior, was endowed with gentleness and humanity to perfection, and in bountifulness and liberality he was a second Ḥātim

His mother, Shāh Turkān[3], was a Turkish hand-maid, and the head [woman] of all the Sultān's *haram*, and

[9] "L'homme propose, mais Dieu dispose"

[1] He died in 626 H Our author, subsequently, refers to him as the "martyred" Malik [ملک شہید an error, probably, for ملک معظم—august Malik], at least such are the words in the various copies of the text, but *why* he does not say, neither does he state how or where he died Subsequent writers who depended upon our author for information dismiss this Prince in a few words, but Firishtah states that he died in or at Lakhanawatī, but this, like a good many more of his statements, requires confirmation

[2] In the work I have previously referred to, the following is given as the inscription on the first coins of this monarch —

Reverse—تخت را چون گذاشت شمس الدین پای بر وی بشرد رکن الدین

Obverse—ضرب دهلی جلوس سنه مانوس احد مطابق ۶۳۳ هجری

which may be thus rendered - Reverse —"The throne when left by Shams-ud-Dīn his foot thereon placed Rukn ud-Dīn" Obverse —"Coined at Dihlī in the first year of his reign with prosperity associated, 633 H"

[3] In some copies styled "Khudawandah-i-Jahān, Shāh Turkān"

great was the bounty, benevolence, and charity, of that Malikah[4], towards 'Ulamā, Sayyids, priests, and recluses.

In the year 625 H.[5], Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, obtained the fief of Budā'ūn, and a green canopy of state, and the 'Ain-ul-Mulk, Ḥusain-i-Ash'arī, who was [had been ?] Wazīr of Malik [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, at this time, became the Wazīr[6] of Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh.

When Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn returned to the capital, Dihlī, from Gwāliyūr, after the capture of that fortress and country, the territory of Lohor, which had been the seat of government of the Khusrau Malikī[7] [dynasty], was conferred upon Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, and, on Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn's return from his last expedition, from the river Sind and Banīān[8], he brought along with him, to the capital, his son Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, for the people had their eyes upon him, since, after [the late] Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, he was the eldest of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn's sons[9].

When that august Sultān passed from the kingdom of this world to the throne of the world to come, the Maliks and grandees of the kingdom, by agreement, seated Rukn-

[4] At page 638, our author himself states that the mother of Raẓiyyat was the chief of all the ladies—head *wife*—of the late Sulṭān's *haram*.

The word here used signifies that she was the first concubine the late Sulṭān possessed, *not the chief wife of his haram*, nor is she entitled to be styled *Malikah*, for the married women are the first in rank, and, of these, one was Sulṭān Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, I-bak's, daughter.

[5] Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, and several others have, like our author, who was their chief authority for these events, 625 H., but Firishtah has 626 H. His authority, however, is of no importance whatever for the events of this early period—even less than I was inclined to give him credit for—for I find, on examination of his history for this and the five following reigns, that *he has boldly appropriated the text, in many places verbatim*, of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, even to the poetical quotations. The only difference is occasional verbal alterations, and that, in most instances in which the former disposes of an event in a few words, Firishtah, by exaggeration and hyperbole, manages to lengthen out his own account.

[6] Or, in other words, his governor or tutor. Our author, however, does not mean to say that he was styled Sulṭān at this period. See page 613.

[7] The last of the Ghaznīn dynasty—Sulṭān Khusrau Malik.

[8] The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī [and Firishtah, of course] has Sīwastān, which is a mistake for Banīān, which is never mentioned in the former.

[9] The people may have had their eyes upon him, but I-yal-timish had already named his talented daughter, Raẓiyyat Khātūn, as his successor. See pages 638, 639.

ud-Dīn upon the throne, on Tuesday, the 21st of the month Sha'bān, 633 H.[1], and the diadem and throne acquired beauty and splendour from his dignity[2], and excellence, and elegance; and all rejoiced at his accession, and donned honorary dresses [to testify their joy].

When the different Maliks returned[3] from the capital [to their various posts], Sulṭān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, opened the door of his treasuries, and gave himself up to pleasure, and began to expend, in the most profuse fashion, the funds of the Bait-ul-Māl[4] in an improper manner. Such was his excessive appetite for pleasure and sensual enjoyments, that the business of the country, the concerns of the state, and the regulation of the affairs of the kingdom fell into a state of disorder and confusion; and his mother, Shāh Turkān, began to assume the decision and disposal of state affairs, and used to issue [her] commands. Perhaps it was by reason of this, that, during the lifetime of the august Sulṭān, Shams-ud-Dīn, she had experienced envy and jealousy on the part of [some of the] other ladies of the *haram*[5], that she [now] brought misfortune upon that party among the inmates of the *haram*, and, by tyranny and cruelty, destroyed several of them. The minds of men in authority became troubled at their [the mother's

[1] Two copies of the text, one an old one, have Tuesday, the 29th of Sha'bān. Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī has Saturday, 633 H., without date or month, and, of course, Firishtah has the same.

[2] Their joy was soon turned into grief. His dignified behaviour, and the "adornment and splendour" the crown and throne derived from him is related farther on.

[3] When they "returned *home*," ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 330. The original is مراجعت نمودند—there is not a word of *home*—a word unknown in the East.

[4] See note [6], page 62.

[5] She, on the contrary, envied and was jealous of the others through their having taken her place. No sooner did she obtain an opportunity than she had the noble women—free-born women—who had been married to the late Sulṭān, put to death with much degradation, and the other Turkish concubines—women held in esteem by I-yal-timish—she treated with great ignominy, and wreaked upon them retribution for many years of envy and jealousy which she had nourished towards them. Our author's own words respecting her, farther on, contradict this statement as to her benevolence, unless charity towards recluses and the like—in his opinion—covered the multitude of her sins.

There is no authority whatever beyond what our author says here for styling this concubine "Queen Mother," and, at page 638, he himself says, Raẓiyyat's mother was the *chief wife* of I-yal-timish. See Thomas: PATHÁN KINGS, page 105, and Elliot: INDIA, vol. ii. page 330.

and son's] conduct, and, in the face of all these acts, they caused a son of the [late] Sultān, who was styled Kutb-ud-Dīn [6], and a youth of great worth and promise, by their directions, to be deprived of the sight of both eyes, and afterwards had him put to death. From these causes, the hostility of the Maliks, in different parts, began to be manifested.

Malik Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad Shāh [7], son of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, who was younger in years than Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, displayed his hostility in Awadh, and took possession of the whole of the treasure of Lakhanawatī which was being conveyed to the capital, and, after that, sacked and plundered several of the towns of Hindūstān. Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Sālārī, who was the feudatory of Budā'ūn, broke out into rebellion, and, in another direction, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz [8], feoffee of Multān, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Kūjī, who was feu-

[6] The youngest of Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish's sons, quite a child, by another concubine. Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ībak-i-Ūchchah, was feudatory of Ūchchah when Sultān I-yal-timish died, and, soon after, whilst Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, and his Maliks were squabbling together, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Hasan, the Karlugh, from the direction of Banīān, advanced into the Panjāb, and appeared before Multān. Saif-ud-Dīn, Ībak, marched out of Ūchchah with his forces, and gave him battle, and overthrew him. This was a great success, as, since the death of I-yal-timish, enemies had sprung up on all sides. Our author does not give the date of this success, but it must have been about the end of 633 H., or early in 634 H. In the former year Malik Hasan, the Karlugh, coined money: he then held Ghaznīn, Karmān, and Banīān.

[7] What became of him is not known. He was probably put to death. Malik Nusrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yasa'ī, was put in charge of the fief of Awadh by Sultān Raziyyat.

At this period likewise, the feudatories of Lakhanawatī and Lakhan-or were contending together, and the latter was defeated and slain by the former, and his fief seized. See next Section.

[8] In the account of him, in next Section, our author says he was removed from Multān by Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, and the fief of *Sunām* was conferred upon him instead of Multān.

Firishtah, according to the "revised text" by Briggs, and "Munshī Mīr Kheirat Alī Khan," makes a terrible mess of the names of persons here [Dow, of course, is sufficiently ridiculous in this matter, and makes them totally unintelligible], although he had the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī, in which they are pretty correct, to copy from. He could not have taken them from our author's work. For example, Sālārī is turned into Sālār, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, is turned into Sher Khānī, and Kabīr Khān into Kabīr Khānī—with ی—the *yā-i-nisbat*, signifying "*of*, or *relating to* a Khān," Khān-*ship*, &c., as if they were merely officers or slaves of a Sher Khān and a Kabīr Khān, instead of the words being their own titles, and, in the same work, the word عز as in 'Izz-ud-Dīn, is invariably turned into عزی.

datory of Hānsī, and Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, who held the fief of Lohor, united together, and began to act with hostility and contumacy[9]. Sulṭān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, with the determination of coercing them, moved an army from the capital. The Wazīr of the kingdom, the Niẓām-ul-Mulk, Muhammad, Junaidī[1], became frightened, and fled from Gīlū-kharī[2], and retired towards Kol, and from thence joined Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Sālārī; and both of them joined Malik Jānī and Malik Kūjī.

Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, led his army towards Kuhrām. The Turk Amīrs and the slaves of the household, who were serving with the centre [the contingents forming the centre][3], followed the example; and, in the

[9] Another writer says, that 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, feudatory of Multān, was incited to usurp the sovereignty of Dihlī, and was advancing for the purpose, but, *before he could reach Kuhrām, the other nobles seized* Rukn-ud-Dīn and set up his sister. Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Yūz-Bak-i-Tughril Khān, *who then held the office* of Amīr-i Majlis, was also concerned in this outbreak, but the ringleader appears to have been Malik 'Izz ud-Dīn, Balban i-Kashlū Khān, whose contumacy was continual.

[1] Styled Kāmal-ud Dīn [Muḥammad] i Abū Sā'īd, Junaidī, in the list at the end of Sultān Shams ud Dīn's reign, page 625.

[2] Elphinstone's text makes him "advance" to Gīlū kharī, as if it were a place many miles away, instead of being a suburb of the capital, Dihlī.

کیلو کهری—One of the many new "cities," so called, adjoining and included in the name of Dihlī, but more correctly a new suburb. It has been generally stated by Muhammadan writers, that it was founded by Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Kai Kubād, in 686 H., but that cannot be correct from what our author says in his account of Ulugh Khan further on, where he styles it "the Shahr-i Nau of Gīlu kharī." When it was founded "the river Jūn or Jaman flowed close under its walls, but now the river is some two *kuroh* to the east of it. The tomb of the venerated Musalmān saint, Shāh Niẓām ud-Dīn, the Budāūnī, is situated in Gīlū kharī."

[3] Compare Elliot, vol. ii. page 331. We have so little information respecting the organization of the Dihlī armies before the time of the Mughal emperors that it is difficult to understand what is really meant here, as well as in several other places, by the mere word "*kalb*." All the Musalmān armies appear to have been arranged in the field, after one and the same fashion—a centre, which was the king's post, a right and left wing, an advance guard or van, supports, &c. The 'Arabic word *kalb* signifies "heart, soul, kernel, marrow, middle," &c., and, with respect to an army, the "centre," which, according to the arrangement above mentioned, would be perfectly intelligible *with regard to an army in the field*, but here might be understood, by the reader, as if the centre division of a *corps d'armée*, under a regular military organization, was stationed at Dihlī, which is not the case, but, *from* what I gather from the Tārīkh i Fīrūz Shāhī, and other works, it evidently refers to the *contingents* which *formed the kalb or centre of the* Dihlī forces when in the field. These contingents were furnished by numerous feudatories,

vicinity of Manṣūr-pūr and Tarā'in[4], they martyred the Tāj-ul Mulk, Mahmūd, the Dabīr [Secretary][5], the son of the Mushrif-i-Mamālik[6], and Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan [Ḥusain ?]-i-Ash'arī, Karīm-ud-Dīn-i-Zāhid [the Recluse], Ẓiyā-ul-Mulk [ud-Dīn ?], the son of the Niẓām-ul-Mulk, Muḥammad, Junaidī, Niẓām-ud-Dīn, Shafūrkānī[7], the Khwājah Rashīd-ud-Dīn, Māikānī[8], Amīr Fakhr-ud-Dīn, the Dabīr [Secretary], and a number of other Tājzīk officials[9], and, in the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, in the year 634 H., Sulṭān Raziyyat, who was the eldest daughter[1] of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, entered upon open hostility with the mother of Sulṭān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, at Dihlī, and he, as a matter of necessity, returned again towards the capital. His mother had conspired against Sulṭān Raziyyat to put

great and small, whose fiefs lay in the immediate vicinity of the capital, and whose contingents could be summoned to the king's standard at a very short notice. The Turk ghulāms also formed part of the *Ḳalb*, and they served wherever the Sulṭān happened to be.

[4] Tarā'in, the place of Rāe Pithorā's overthrow, so often mentioned, the modern Talāwaṛī. There would be some difficulty in finding "Náraín" I expect.

[5] This is the person who wrote a congratulatory poem on the debauchee's accession.

[6] A number of titles and names of offices occur in the following pages, many of which, being pure old Turkish, it is impossible to fix exactly without a knowledge of the Turkish language; and, although, as far as similar names go, some few of the offices in question existed in Akbar's time, still there is much doubt whether such offices under the Mughal dynasty were equivalent to those of a similar designation during the reigns of the Turkish Slave dynasty, and would require some years of study fully to elucidate. See the note on this subject under the eighth year of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign farther on.

[7] Shafūrkānī or Shabūrghānī—a native of Shafūrkān or Shabūrghān. In some copies, Sharkānī and Saikānī. See note [1], page 127.

[8] In the best copies of the text this word is written as above, but in some others it is Mālkānī, Bāikānī, and Māukānī or Māngānī.

[9] The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī makes a terrible blunder here, and Firishtah, as a matter of course, follows, as well as Budā'ūnī. The former work states that all these persons, who were put to death, "separated from the Sultān's army, went off to Dihlī, and pledged their allegiance to Raẓiyyat Khātūn, eldest daughter of the late Sultān, and raised her to the throne"!! Several other authors who copy from the former work all fall into the same error without mentioning the names. Compare ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 331, where this very plain and easy passage, which is perfectly correct in the printed text, is construed so as to make all these Tājik officials, who were killed, the *killers* of "the Tázík," and Firishtah [Briggs ?] is quoted to prove that they deserted Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh.

[1] I-yal-timish had, himself, declared her his heir and successor, as stated farther on. She was not his only daughter it is said.

her to death The people of the city, upon this, rose, and attacked the royal Ḳaṣr [Castle], and seized the mother of Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh

When Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, reached the city[2], insurrection had [already] broken out therein, and his mother had been made prisoner. The centre contingents [of the Dihlī forces] and the Turk Amīrs all entered Dihlī and joined Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, pledged their allegiance to her, and placed her on the throne Having ascended the throne, she despatched a force consisting of the Turkish slaves and Amīrs to Gīlū-kharī, so that they made prisoner of Sulṭān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, and brought him into the city[3] He was imprisoned and confined, and, in that prison, he was received into the Almighty's mercy This circumstance of his seizure, imprisonment, and death[4] occurred on Sunday, the 18th of the month Rabī'-ul-Awwal, in the year 634 H, and his reign was six months and twenty-six days[5]

Sulṭān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, in munificence and liberality, was a second Ḥātim, and what he did, in expending wealth, in conferring so many honorary dresses, and the superfluity of presents, no king, at any time, or in any reign, had done the like of, but his misfortune was this, that his inclinations were wholly towards buffoonery, sensuality, and diversion, and that he was entirely enslaved by dissipation and debauchery, and most of his honorary dresses and his presents were made to such people as musicians and singers, buffoons and Ganymēdes[6]. His excessive waste of money was to such degree, that, while

[2] Two modern copies of the text have Gīlū kharī

[3] Whilst all this was going on at Dihlī, the feudatories of Lakhanawatī and Lakhan-or were having a private war of their own See account of Malik No VII, in the next Section

[4] If all this happened in one day, it is very certain that he must have been put to death Some copies have قتل instead of قيد

[5] Some copies have "twenty eight days" from the 20th of Sha'bān, 633 H, the date of I-yal-timish's decease, to the 18th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 634 H, is exactly six months and *twenty-seven* days.

[6] This is the person from whose dignity and elegance "the crown and throne acquired adornment and splendour"! One author states, that, during the short time he reigned, he and his mother managed to empty the treasury, and to spend all the wealth accumulated during the reign of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and Shams-ud-Dīn, I yal timish

in a state of intoxication, seated on the back of an elephant, he would drive through the bāzār of the city, scattering *tangahs* of red gold which the people in the street used to pick up, and gain advantage by. He had a passion for frolic, and for riding elephants[7], and the whole class of elephant drivers derived immense benefit from his riches and good-nature. It was not in his nature and disposition to injure a human being, and this fact was the cause of the wane of his dominion

It is essential above all things, that sovereigns should have justice in order that their subjects should dwell in tranquillity and repose, and that they possess beneficence so that their followers may be satisfied and contented, and revelry and merriment, and companionship with the base and ignoble, becomes the means of an empire's ruin The Almighty pardon him!

IV SULṬĀN[8] RAZIYYAT UD-DUNYĀ WA UD DĪN, DAUGHTER OF SULṬĀN I-YAL-TIMISH

Sultān Raziyyat—may she rest in peace!—was a great sovereign, and sagacious, just, beneficent, the patron of the learned, a dispenser of justice, the cherisher of her subjects, and of warlike talent[9], and was endowed with all the admirable attributes and qualifications necessary for kings,

[7] ELLIOT vol ii page 332—"He was very fond of *playing* with and riding upon elephants" Rather rough *play*

[8] Raziyyat has a meaning, but "*Raziya*" and "*Rizyah*" mean nothing Sulṭān, from سلط, signifies to have or possess power, to rule, &c —a sovereign —and is therefore as equally applicable to a female as a male, and does not appear to have had anything to do with "affectation of the superior sex," nor her assumption, *subsequently*, of male attire *when she rode forth* Her name or title, like that of most other Muḥammadans in these pages, is pure Arabic, the feminine form of the by no means uncommon name of RAẒĪ-UD-DĪN See Thomas PATHĀN KINGS, page 108

The following is said to have been the inscription on the first coins of this queen regnant, in which she is styled '*Umdat un Niswan*—the great, or illustrious among women —

Obverse—عمدة النسوان ملكة زمان سلطان رضية بنت شمس الدين التمش

Reverse—ضرب بلدة دهلی سنه ۶۴۳ جلوس احد

which may be translated —Reverse —"The illustrious among women, the Queen of the Age, Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, daughter of Shams ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish" Obverse —"Coined at the city of Dihli, 643 H, the first of the reign"

[9] Compare ELLIOT vol ii page 332

but, as she did not attain the destiny, in her creation, of being computed among men, of what advantage were all these excellent qualifications unto her?

During the lifetime of the august Sultān, her father, she exercised authority, and possessed great grandeur, on this account, that her mother, Turkān Khātūn, was the greatest [of the ladies] of the sublime *haram*[1], and her place of residence was the royal palace, the Kushk-i-Fīrūzī [Fīrūzī Castle][2]. As the august Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn used to notice in her indications of sovereignty and high spirit, although she was a daughter, and [consequently] veiled from public gaze, when he returned after acquiring possession of Gwāliyūr, he commanded the Tāj-ul-Mulk, Maḥmūd, the secretary—on whom be peace!—who was the Mushrif-i-Mamālik[3] [Secretary of the State], to write out a decree, naming his daughter as his heir-apparent, and she was made his heir [accordingly].

Whilst this decree was being written out, those servants of the state, who had access to the presence of the Sultān, made representation, saying: "Inasmuch as he has grown-up sons who are eligible for the sovereignty, what scheme and what object has the Sultān of Islām in view in making a daughter sovereign and heir-apparent? Be pleased to

[1] This proves what our author meant by the word مهين with respect to Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shah's mother, namely, that, in point of time or age, she was the oldest of I-yal-timish's concubines. Raẓiyyat Khātūn was his eldest child and, in all probability, her mother was Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak's daughter.

Our author is about the only authority available for the events of this period—all other works, since written, merely copy from him and add from their own fertile imaginations—and there is no *authority* for stating [Thomas: PATHÁN KINGS, page 104] that Raẓiyyat was "brought up under *a greater* degree of freedom from the seclusion enjoined for females by the more severe custom of ordering Muslim households," for our author here states she was "*veiled from public gaze*," and it was *only* just before *the end of her reign* that she assumed the dress of a male, which, really, is not very different from that of a female—the addition of a head dress and tunic—as our author states. Dow, as usual, misinterpreting Firishtah, who copies from the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī, which copies *our* author, incorrectly states that "*on her accession*, changing her apparel, she assumed the imperial robes." The "imperial robes" equally with the rest are all his own.

[2] In ELLIOT, it is made "the chief royal palace *in the* Kushk-firozi!"

[3] Tāj-ul-*Mulk* signifies the crown of the state. "Táju-l-*Malik*" nothing. The word مشرف—*mushrif*—signifies an examiner or authenticator of records and other writings, but not a *wazīr* certainly. دبير—*dabīr*—a secretary, a clerk, a scribe. مدبر—*mudabbir*—an administrator, director, counsellor, &c. Compare ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 333.

remove this difficulty from our minds, as this deed does not seem advisable to your humble servants." The Sulṭān replied: "My sons are engrossed in the pleasures of youth, and none of them possesses the capability of managing the affairs of the country, and by them the government of the kingdom will not be carried out. After my death it will be seen that not one of them will be found to be more worthy of the heir-apparentship[4] than she, my daughter." The case turned out as that august monarch had predicted.

When Sulṭān Raẓiyyat ascended the throne of the kingdom, all things returned to their usual rules and customs; but the Wazīr of the kingdom, the Niẓām-ul-Mulk, Muḥammad, Junaidī[5], did not acknowledge her, and Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Kūjī, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Sālārī, and the Nizām-ul-Mulk, Muhammad, Junaidī[6], assembled from different parts before the gate of the city of Dihlī, and commenced hostilities against Sultān Raẓiyyat, and this opposition continued for a considerable time. At this period Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yasa'ī[7], the Mu'izzī, who was feoffee of Awadh, marched with his forces from that province, for the purpose of rendering aid to Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, *in conformity with* [her] *commands*, towards Dihlī, the capital[8] After he had crossed the river Gang,

[4] The Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk says "one reason why I-yal-timish named her as his successor was, that his son, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh—the second son of that name—was so young in years, and the Sulṭān remarked to his minister, at the time, that, although in the *form* of a woman, she was in reality a man"

[5] He is styled, by some more modern writers, Chandīrī, as if he were a native of Chandīrī or that that was a by-name of his, but it is incorrect He had been I-yal timish's wazīr for a considerable time

[6] These are the same who, as stated in ELLIOT, killed "*the* Tázík"

[7] He had been made feudatory of Awadh by Raẓiyyat after Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad Shāh's rebellion See page 633

[8] Previous to these events, the feudatory of Ḳinnauj, Malik Tamur Khān-i-Ḳirān, was despatched by Sulṭān Raẓiyyat into the Gwāliyūr territory and Mālwah in command of a force, and the expedition was successful, but no particulars are given The same Malik, when feudatory of Awadh, penetrated as far as the Tirhut territory and compelled the Raes and Rānahs, and independent Hindū tribes in that part to pay tribute He plundered the territory of Bhatī-ghūn [anglicised Bhatgong] in Nipāl on several occasions, but neither particulars nor dates are given, but they all happened before this period

the hostile Maliks[9] who were before the city of Dihlī unexpectedly advanced to meet him, and took him prisoner, and affliction overcame him, and he died[1]. The stay of the hostile Maliks before the gate of Dihlī was prolonged for a considerable time; but, as the good fortune of Sultān Raziyyat was at the point of ascendancy, the Sulṭān issued from the city, and directed her sublime tent to be pitched at a place on the bank of the river Jūn, and, between the Turk Amīrs who served at the stirrup of sovereignty, and the hostile Maliks, conflicts took place upon several occasions. At last, an accommodation was arranged, but in a deceptive manner, and by the subtile contrivance of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Sālārī[2], and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr-Khān-i-Ayāz, who, secretly, went over to the Sulṭān's side, and, one night, met before the entrance to the royal tent, with this stipulation, that Malik Jānī, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Kūjī, and the Niẓām-ul-Mulk, Muhammad, Junaidī, should be summoned, and be taken into custody and imprisoned, in order that the sedition might be quelled.

When these Maliks became aware that the state of affairs was on this wise, they left their camp and fled. The Sultān's horsemen followed in pursuit, and Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Kūjī, and his brother, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, fell into their hands, and, subsequently to that, they were put to death in prison. Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, was killed within the limits of Pāyal[3], at a village named Nakawān[4], and his

[9] There is nothing about "hostile *generals*" in the whole passage.

[1] He appears to have been suffering from illness when Sulṭān Raẓiyyat summoned him to her aid.

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, who was so ambitious, and, afterwards, gave so much trouble, was taken prisoner by the hostile Maliks upon this occasion, but was subsequently released by them. He was treated with great honour by Sulṭān Raẓiyyat. Compare ELLIOT here also.

[2] The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, which copies so much from our author, asserts, however, that it was Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, who, by her able contrivance, succeeded in upsetting and confounding the disaffected Amīrs. Firishtah, of course, agrees.

[3] ELLIOT, Bábul, BRIGGS, from Firishtah, Babool, FIRISHTAH, text, Bābal —بابل—and DOW, omitted altogether. Pāyal, or Pāyil, is the name of a very old place, giving name to the district, with a very lofty brick fort visible from a great distance—I mention it as it appeared about a century since—on one of the routes from Dihlī to Lūdīānah. The ṬABAḲĀT-I-AKBARĪ gives the name of the district correctly, but leaves out the name of the place. It is in Long. 76° 5′, Lat. 30° 40′.

[4] In some copies Nakāwān or Nagāwān [نکاون], but the majority of the best

head was brought to the capital; and the Niẓām-ul-Mulk, Muḥammad, Junaidī, retired to the hills of Sir-mūr Bardār[5], and there, after some time, he died.

Now that the affairs of Sulṭān Raẓiyyat's government became arranged, she gave the office of Wazīr to the Khwājah, Muhaẓẓab[6], who was the deputy of the Nizām-ul-Mulk, and he likewise received the title of Niẓām-ul-Mulk The charge of the army, as her lieutenant, was conferred upon Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak-i-Bihak[7], who received the title of Ḳutlugh Khān, and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, received the fief of Lohor, and the kingdom became pacified, and the power of the state widely extended. From the territory of Lakhanawatī to Diwal and Damrīlah, all the Maliks and Amīrs manifested their obedience and submission[8]. Suddenly, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak-i-Bihaḳ, died, and the charge of the army was

copies of the text are as above. The I O L *MS.* No. 1952 and that of the R A. S *MS* have both تکوان

[5] See farther on, under the reign of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, respecting this tract of country

[6] He is turned into Muhaẓẓab, *Ghaznawī*, by Firishtah, and by his translators, Dow and Briggs, respectively, "Chaja Ghiznavi" and "Mihdy Ghiznivy"

Muhaẓẓab, but not *Mahzab*—which is meaningless—certainly does mean "good, sincere," &c., but in ELLIOT, vol ii page 334, this passage is rendered "*she conferred the office of wazir on an upright officer* who had been the deputy of Nizámu-l-Mulk, and he likewise received the title of Nizamu-l-Mulk," but Khwājah does not mean officer, and Muhaẓẓab—i. e Muhaẓẓab-ud-Dīn—is a proper name. Why not translate it always, and also translate Niẓām-ul-Mulk, which means regulator of the state, &c , and all other proper names in the book after the same fashion? They all have meanings, the same as Muhaẓẓab has. The amusing part of it is that four pages farther on, page 338, he is styled "the wazir *Mahzabu-d din Muhammad 'Auz Mustaufī*, and so on until that "upright officer," than whom no greater rascal is mentioned in this work, met his reward in the "*plain* Hauz-rani" See pages 651—653, 658, and 662, for the doings of that "upright officer"

[7] This word is written بہی and بہیر and is doubtful

[8] The Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī here copies our author nearly word for word, and Firishtah copies the former in the same way The Tazkarat ul-Mulūk says, "through God's assistance she reduced the disaffected Maliks to submission and *even* the Malik of Lakhanawatī became obedient to her authority"

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān, on her accession, despatched emissaries to the capital, and, to testify his homage, was continually sending offerings of great value from Lakhanawatī On this account Sulṭān Raẓiyyat conferred upon him a canopy of state, and standards, and great honour. At this period Malik Mu-ayyid-ud-Dīn, Hindū Khān, held the fief of Ūchchah, which was conferred upon him by Sulṭān Raẓiyyat

bestowed upon Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of 'Al Ghūrī [*], and he was appointed to [march and relieve] th fortress of Rantabhūr, because the Hindūs, after th decease of the august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish had, for a considerable time, invested that preserved tow and stronghold [1] Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, conducte the forces to that part, withdrew the Musalmān Amīr [and their troops ?] out of that fortification, destroye the works, and retired, and returned to the capita again.

At this time, the Malik-i-Kabīr [Great Malik] Ikhtiyār ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn [2], became Amīr-i-Ḥājib, and Malik Jamāl ud-Dīn, Yā-ḳūt, the Ḥabashī [Abyssinian or Ethiopian] who was Lord of the Stables, acquired favour [3] in attend ance upon the Sulṭān, so that the Turk Amīrs an

[*] This great noble, whose name will be found in the list at the end of I-yal-timish's reign, is styled Ḥusain as well as Ḥasan in several copie indiscriminately, but the first appears correct. Much more about him wi be found in the last Section He was forced to leave Ghūr through th power of the Mughals.

[1] After he had raised the investment and relieved the place, the garriso was withdrawn, and no effort made to hold the place The reason does no appear, and their giving up a strong place like this which had defied the effor of the Hindūs so long seems strange It was soon restored, however, by th Hindūs What a flourish might have been made of this affair in the Rājpu annals! It is mentioned in several places farther on

[2] Firishtah has not *copied* the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī correctly here, and turn him into Alb-Tigīn in the "revised text," and Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Yā-ḳūt, is turne into a Amīr-ul Umrā, which, although such a title did exist from Akbar time downwards, was *entirely unknown* in these days

[3] I think the character of this Princess has been assailed without just caus Thomas says [PATHÁN KINGS, page 106] —"It was not that a virgin Quee was forbidden to love—she might have indulged herself in a submissive Princ Consort, or revelled almost unchecked in the dark recesses of the Pala Harem—but wayward fancy pointed in a wrong direction, and led her to pref a person employed about her Court [he was Amīr-i-Ākhur, or Lord of th Stables—Master of the Horse—a high office only conferred upon distinguishe persons], an Abyssinian moreover, the favours extended to whom the Túr nobles resented with one accord"

Elphinstone, who draws his inspiration from Briggs, is *more* correct in h estimation of her character [and both Dow and Briggs are more correct tha usual in their rendering of Firishtah's words here] and says [page 32 Third ed] —"But her talents and virtues were insufficient to protect her fro a single weakness It was shown in the extraordinary [?] marks of favou which she showered [?] on her Master of the Horse, who, to make h partiality more degrading, was an Abyssinian slave [Who says he was slave? If he was, he was only a slave like most of her other Maliks an Amīrs] It does not appear that her fondness [?] was *criminal*, since t

Maliks began to be envious thereat; and it so chanced to happen that Sulṭān Raẓiyyat laid aside the female dress and issued from [her] seclusion, and donned the tunic, and assumed the head-dress [of a man], and appeared among the people, and, when she rode out on an elephant, at the time of mounting it, all people used, openly, to see her.

At this period she issued commands for her troops to proceed to Gwāliyūr, and bestowed rich and valuable presents. As disobedience was out of the question[4], this servant

greatest breach of decorum alleged against her is her allowing the Abyssinian *to lift her on her horse* [a horse she never rode—always an elephant]"

Here is a proof of what a deal may be made out of a little. Our author is the sole authority for these statements in the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, Firishtah, and Budā'ūnī, each of whom, in rotation, enlarge upon, and exaggerate our author's words—the last reverses them by saying that when she mounted an elephant *or* horse she *leant upon him*, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Yā-ḳūt, the Abyssinian. He was Amīr-i-Ākhur before she came to the throne apparently, for she does not seem to have raised him to that office, and it was only in the last year of her reign that she assumed male attire, *when she appeared in public* Our author does not say so, but all the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī mentions is, that Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Yā-ḳūt, was treated with favour, a mere transliteration of our author's words—تربیت اعتماد—the same term as he uses with respect to Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's favour towards his slave, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak—and that the Turk Maliks and Amīrs were envious in consequence All that that work states, *in addition* to our author's words—*for he does not say so*—is, that when she mounted to ride forth, the Master of the Horse, who had become Amīr-ul-Umrā [such an office did not exist in those days, and our author never mentions such an office], used to aid her to mount by taking her under the arm-pit [بغل]—but leaning on his arm or shoulder, in mounting, would seem to be nearer the intended meaning Now it is very possible that it was part of the duty of the Lord of the Stables, or his privilege, to assist his sovereign to mount when he or she rode forth, and that such an act might not have been occasioned through any undue familiarity, only what was applicable to a male sovereign, according to Musalmān ideas, was not so to a female However, the Lord of the Stables being an Abyssinian, this was, with her assumption of male attire, plea sufficient to the rebellious Turk Maliks—the remainder of the "Chihil-gānī Mamlūks," of whom more hereafter—to rebel against a sovereign too energetic for them in their ambitious designs. The Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh makes no reference to the Abyssinian whatever

[4] I cannot conceive why our author should be styled a *rebel*—"a forgiven rebel"—because of this sentence in the text. Gwāliyūr had a governor or seneschal placed therein by Sulṭān Raẓiyyat's father in 630 H, and our author was Ḳāẓī there When Raẓiyyat came to the throne, she sent a force under Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar [No XIV in the next Section], and relieved the garrison, and, as the governor—Rashīd-ud-Dīn, 'Alī—from our author's invocation respecting him, appears to have died there, a new feudatory was despatched, at the same time probably, although he is not mentioned, as, after the death of Rashīd-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, the next official in authority was the Amīr-i-Dād, Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Junaidī, who, being a kinsman of

of the victorious kingdom, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, in conjunction with the Malik[5]-ul-Umrā [the chief of Amīrs] Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Junaidī, who was the Amīr-i-Dād [chief magistrate] of Gwāliyūr, and with other persons of note, came out of the preserved fortress of Gwāliyūr on the 1st of the month Sha'bān, 635 H., and returned to Dihlī, the capital, and, in this same month, Sulṭān Raẓiyyat committed to the charge of this servant [the author] the Nāṣiriah College at the capital, to which was added the Ḳāẓī-ship of Gwāliyūr[6].

In the year 637 H. Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, who was the feudatory of Lohor, began to show a rebellious spirit[7]. Sulṭān Raẓiyyat led an army towards

the rebel Wazīr, who refused to acknowledge Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, may have been suspected of disaffection. No cause for rebellion appears, neither is any rebellion mentioned; and, on our author's arrival at Dihlī, another office was bestowed upon him, *in addition* to his Ḳāẓī-ship of Gwāliyūr, which he still held. See Thomas: PAṬHĀN KINGS, page 105.

"In 631 H. some emissaries from Balkā Khān, son of Tūshī [Jūjī], son of Chingiz Khān, arrived at the Court of Sulṭān I-yal-timish from Ḳifchāḳ, bringing presents for him, but, as that Sulṭān had refrained from holding any intercourse whatever with the Mughal Khāns, and was wont to send their agent out of his territory when they came, he would not put these emissaries to death, and desired to dismiss them kindly. They were sent to Gwāliyūr, however, [this was one way of dismissing them kindly], and the party, being all Musalmāns, used to present themselves in the Masjid there every Friday, and said their prayers behind the author of this book [he acting as Imām], until the reign of Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, when the author, after six years' absence, returned to Dihlī from Gwāliyūr, and was promoted, by the favour of that sovereign. At this time directions were given for these emissaries of Balkā Khān to be removed to Ḳinnauj, and there detained, and there they were kept until they died."

[5] In some copies, Majd-ul-Umrā, but the above seems the correct title. Majd signifies glory, grandeur—the glory or grandeur of Amīrs does not sound very correct. It was an honorary title merely.

[6] In this case he—"the pardoned" rebel—must have performed one of these two offices by deputy.

[7] In the account of this Malik our author states that Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz began to act contumaciously in 636 H., in which year Sulṭān Raẓiyyat advanced at the head of her troops into the Panjāb against him. He retired before her towards the Indus, until he reached the neighbourhood of the Sūdharah [he could not go much farther, for immediately to the west he would have fallen into hostile hands]. When the royal troops crossed the Rāwī, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz made his submission, but he was removed from the fief of Lāhor, and Multān was placed in his charge, and the feudatory of the latter—Malik Ḳarā-Kush Khān—sent to Lāhor.

In this year, 636 H., Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Ḳarlugh, hard pressed by the Mughals, had to abandon his territories, and he retired towards the territory of Multān and Sind, in hope, probably, of being more successsful on

that part from Dihlī, and followed in pursuit of him. At last an accommodation took place, and he presented himself; and the province of Multān, which Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Ḳarā-Ḳush Khān-i-Aet-kīn, held, was made over to the charge of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz. Sulṭān Raẓiyyat returned again to the capital on Thursday, the 19th of the month of Sha'bān [8], 637 H

Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūnīah, who held the fief of Tabarhindah [9], broke out into rebellion, and, secretly, some of the Amīrs of the Court abetted him in this treason. Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, on Wednesday, the 9th of the sacred month Ramazān of this same year [637 H], set out from the capital, with numerous forces [1], for the purpose of putting down Malik Altūnīah's rebellion When she reached that place [Tabarhindah] [2], through circumstances which supervened, the Turk Amīrs rose against her, and put to death [3] Amīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Yā-ḳūt, the Ḥabashī, seized Sultān Raẓiyyat and put her in durance, and sent her to the fortress of Tabarhindah [4].

this than on the former occasion Ḥasan's eldest son, whose name has not transpired, taking advantage of Raẓiyyat's presence in the Panjāb, presented himself before her, was well received, and the fief of Baran, east of Dihlī, was conferred upon him. Soon after, however, he left, without leave and without the cause being known, and rejoined his father, who still was able to hold Banīān, and, soon after, the Karlughs gained possession of Multān. At this period Malik Mu ayyid-ud-Dīn, Hindū Khān, held the fief of Ūchchah

[8] Ramaẓān, in some copies of the text.

[9] Altūnīah was only lately made feudatory of Tabarhindah, for, when Raẓiyyat came to the throne, she gave him his first fief, that of Baran. Briggs styles him "of the Toorky *tribe* of *Chelgany*"—a nice blunder, but Dow leaves this part of the sentence out. See last para of note [3], page 643, and the meaning of Chihil-gānī in next Section

[1] In some copies of the text, "with the forces composing the *kalb*" or centre, the signification of which has been given in note [3], page 634.

[2] But not "on the way" thither as in Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī and Firishtah

[3] Our author says "martyred," here equivalent to his being put to death unjustly Rauẓat uṣ-Ṣafā says, Yā-ḳūt commanded her troops, a very unlikely thing, when the Turk Maliks and Amīrs hated him so greatly He *may have* commanded Raẓiyyat's own personal followers Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, indeed, says so For the detail of these events see the account of Malik Altūnīah in the next Section

[4] Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī and Budā'ūnī have Tarhindah—ترهنده—in all cases, and Firishtah ["revised text"], wherever this place is mentioned, under whatever reign it may be, has Pathindah—پتهنده Pathadah—پتهده and Bathindah—بتهنده

Among the events which happened in the beginning of Sulṭān Raẓiyyat's reign, the greatest was that the Ḳirāmiṭah and Mulāhidah heretics of Hindūstān, incited by a person, a sort of learned man, named Nūr-ud-Dīn, a Turk [5], whom they used to style Nūr, the Turk, collected together at Dihlī, from different parts of the territory of Hind, such as Gujarāt, and the country of Sind, and the parts round about the capital, Dihlī, and the banks of the rivers Jūn and Gang. In secret they pledged themselves to be faithful to each other, and, at the instigation of Nūr, the Turk, they conspired against Islām. This Nūr, the Turk, used to harangue, and the mob would collect around him. He used to call the 'Ulamā of the orthodox people [6] *Nāṣibī* [setters-up], and to style them *Murjī* [7] [procrastinators], and used to incite the common people to animosity against the orders of 'Ulamā of the sects of Abū-Ḥanīfah and Shāf'ī until a day was fixed upon. The whole of the fraternities of the Mulāhidah and Ḳirāmiṭah entered the *Jāmi' Masjid* of the city of Dihlī, on Friday, the 6th of the month of Rajab, in the year 634 H., to the number of about one thousand persons, armed with swords and shields. Having divided into two bodies, one body, from the side of the Ḥiṣār-i-Nau [the new Citadel], entered the gateway of the *Jāmi' Masjid* on the northern side, and the second body, passing through the Bāzār-i-Bazāzān [the Bāzār of the Cloth-Merchants], entered the gateway of the Mu'izzī College under the supposition that it was the *Jāmi' Masjid*, and, on both sides, fell upon the Musalmāns with [their] swords. A great number of people, some by the swords of those heretics, and some [trodden] under people's feet, attained martyrdom.

On an outcry having arisen from the city on account of

[5] He was not called "Nur Turk," but he was *a Turk*, and his *name* was Nūr-ud-Dīn.

[6] That is the *Sunnīs*, in contradistinction to the *Shī'as* and other schismatics. Neither Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, Budā'ūnī, nor Firishtah, refer to this "outbreak," but other writers do. The fact of Firishtah's being a Shi'a may account for his eschewing the matter.

[7] The name of one of the heretical sects among the Muhammadans, who procrastinate, and consider good works unnecessary, and faith sufficient, and that all Musalmāns will be saved, as hell is only reserved for infidels. See Sale KUR'AN, Preliminary Discourse, for an account of these different sects of schismatics, pages 122, 130, and 131.

this outbreak, the warriors of the city, such as Naṣir-ud-Dīn, Ai-yitim, the Balārāmī, and Amīr, Imām-i-Nāṣirī, the Poet, and other armed men, from different directions, rode fully equipped [as they were] with cuirass, and other defensive armour, steel cap, spear, and shield, into the *Jāmi' Masjid*, by the *minārah* entrance [8], and plied their swords upon the Mulāḥidah and Ḳirāmitah heretics, and the Musalmāns, who were on the roof of the *Jāmi' Masjid*, poured down stones and bricks upon them, and sent the whole of the Mulāḥidahs and Ḳirāmiṭahs to hell, and quelled that outbreak. Thanks be to God for the blessing of safety and the honour of religion!

When they imprisoned Sultān Raziyyat within the stronghold of Tabarhindah, Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūnīah, entered into a matrimonial contract with her, and espoused her [9], and marched an army towards Dihlī, in *order to take possession of the kingdom a second time.* Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Sālārī, and Malik Ḳarā-Ḳush rebelled and quitted the capital, Dihlī, and went and joined them.

Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh [Raziyyat's brother [1]], was [at this time] seated on the throne, and Ikhti-

[8] Compare ELLIOT, vol ii page 336

[9] The Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk *and* some other works state that Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūnīah, contracted marriage with Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, *nolens volens*. He then took up her cause. He was no longer a rebel, because he imagined he would get the upper hand of his brother rebels, and Raẓiyyat now managed to raise a considerable force consisting of Khokhars [this large tribe appear to have extended, at that period, a considerable distance *east* of the Bīāh, and the good horses to be obtained in the Talwandhīs of the Khokhars are often mentioned], Jats, and others of the tribes about Tabarhindah, and some Amīrs likewise, from the adjoining fiefs, went over to her. The Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, and *Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh*, also mention Khokhars, but Firishtah, here, as well as elsewhere, not knowing the difference between کهوکهر and ککهر turns the former into Ghakars, a people, in his time, in some repute, and when a chief or two of the tribe were serving the Mughal emperors.

ELPHINSTONE states that "*Reza*"—he refers to Raẓiyyat—"when force failed her had recourse to *art*, and *she so far gained* over Altunia *by the influence of love or ambition*, that *he agreed* to marry her," &c. I wonder what "*authentic history*" that is recorded in, or how proved? The reason of the change in Malik Altūniāh's policy is apparent, as shown by a Muḥammadan writer in a following note. Others had obtained power at Dilhī and he had been left out in the cold after being made a tool of, and now, therefore, he who formerly rebelled against Sulṭān Raẓiyyat became, out of revenge, her champion.

[1] Half-brother apparently.

yār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib, having been assassinated, Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, the Rūmī, had become Amīr-i-Ḥājib. In the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, in the year 638 H., Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, led [2] an army out of Dihlī for the purpose of resisting Sulṭān Raẓiyyat and Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūnīah, and they were routed, and, having reached Kaithal, the troops along with them all abandoned them [3], and Sulṭān Raẓiyyat and Malik Altūnīah fell captive into the hands of Hindūs, and attained martyrdom.

Their defeat took place on the 24th of the month, Rabī'-ul-Awwal, and the martyrdom of Sultān Raẓiyyat took place on Tuesday, the 25th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal [4], in the year 638 H. Her reign extended over a period of three years, six months, and six days [5].

[2] The author of the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī, who seems to know—without naming any authority—better than those persons who were eye-witnesses of what they relate, and other authors who preceded him, asserts that Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, sent an army against Raẓiyyat under Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban [in some copies Tigīn], who afterwards attained the title of Ulugh Khān, and Firishtah, of course, follows. The amusing part of it is that our author's patron was neither styled 'Izz ud-Dīn, at this time, nor at any other, and he had not attained such a high position at that period as to be put in the command of an army, as may be gathered from the account of him in the next Section. He was, at first, Khāsah-dār to Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, and, afterwards, during her reign, became Amīr-i-Shikār. The above-mentioned work also places this defeat and death of Raẓiyyat in 637 H.—a year too soon.

[3] The Zubdat ut-Tawārīkh, as well as the Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, makes two affairs of this, and says that it was *after the first defeat*, but gives no date for it, that Raẓiyyat raised a force of Khokhars and other tribes, and that the second defeat took place near Kaithal, on the 4th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 638 H., after which the Khokhars and others abandoned her, and she and her husband fell into the hands of the Hindūs, who put them to death on the 25th of the same month. See further details of these transactions in the account of Malik Altūnīah in the next Section.

[4] In come copies, Saturday, the 29th of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, but the date cannot be correct. See also the account of Malik Altūnīah in the next Section, where the 25th of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir is given as the date.

[5] IBN-BATŪTAH, who is sometimes quoted as an authority on Indian history, says [Lee's translation] that Raẓiyyat's brother, having "polluted his reign by killing his *brothers*, was, therefore, *killed* himself. Upon this, the army agreed to place his sister, El Malika Razia, upon the throne who reigned four years. This woman usually rode about among the army, *just as men do*. She, however, *gave up the government*, on account of some circumstances that presented themselves. After this, her younger brother, Nāsir Oddin, became possessed of the government, which he held for twenty years." !! So much for Ibn Baṭūṭah's authority on Indian history.

V SULṬĀN MU'IZZ-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN, BAHRAM SHAH SON OF THE SULṬĀN [I-YAL-TIMISH]

Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh—on whom be peace!—was a conquering monarch, fearless and full of courage, and sanguinary, but he was endowed with some laudable attributes and excellent qualities He was in nature unassuming and frank, and never had about his person jewelry and finery after the custom of the kings of this world, nor did he ever evince any desire for girdles, silken garments, decoration, banners, or display

When they imprisoned Sultān Raẓiyyat in the preserved city of Tabarhindah, the Maliks and Amīrs, in accord, despatched letters to the capital city of Dihlī, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, on Monday, the 28th of the month Ramaẓān, in the year 637 H, they raised to the throne of sovereignty When, on Sunday, the 11th of the month of Shawwāl of that same year, the Maliks and Amīrs and the rest of the forces returned to the city again, they publicly pledged their allegiance to his sovereignty within the Daulat Khānah [Royal residence] on the stipulation of the Deputyship being conferred upon Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn[7] and, on that day, after [pledging] allegiance, the writer of these words, by way of benediction, in order to congratulate him [on his accession], recited this strophe —

"Well done, on thy account, the upreaing of the emblems of sovereignty
Bravo to thy good fortune heaped up, the ensigns of dominion!
Mu'izz-ud-Dunyā wa ud Dīn, Mughīs ul-Khalk bi'l haḳḳ,
Of dignity like Sulīmān under thy command are both *jinn* [genii] and mankind
Though the sovereignty of Hind be the heritage of the Shamsī family,
Praise be to God, a second I-yal-timish, of its sons art thou
When the whole world saw thee, that, by right, thou art the kingdom's heir,
They made thy diadem then *kiblah-gah*, for thou art all powerful and wise

---

[6] The inscription given as that of his first coming is as follows —

Obverse—رالدرهم و الدينا اسم سلطان معز الدنيا والدين بهرام شاه ... سبع و ثلثين و ستمائة

Reverse—ضرب بحضرة الاولى بدهلي دار الملك

which may be thus translated —Obverse—"The name of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahram Shāh, conferreth glory on dīnār and diram Year 637" Reverse—"Struck at the seat of empire, Dihlī, in the first year [of the reign]"

[7] He was to act as Deputy or Regent for one year See the account of this Malik in the next Section Firishtah turns this name into "Alp Tigin," but Dow leaves out the titles altogether and makes Ziggy of him

Like as Minhāj-i-Sarāj's, for thee the creation's prayer is this :—
'O God! mayest thou on the kingdom's throne to eternity continue
Straight like the spear may the universe during thy reign become,
So that, save in the hair-tuft of thy standard, no one may disorder behold[8]!'"

When Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn, became Deputy[9], by virtue of his deputy-ship, he took the affairs of the kingdom into his own hands, and, in conjunction with the Wazīr, the Niẓām-ul-Mulk, the Khwājah, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-'Iwaz, the Mustaufī[1], assumed control over the disposal of state affairs[2].

After a month or two had passed away, this fact began to press heavily upon the noble mind of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and a sister of the Sultān, who had been married to the son of the Ḳāẓī, Naṣīr-ud-Dīn[3], and had, at her own request, been repudiated[4] by him, the Deputy [Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn], having taken to wife, assumed the triple *naubat*, and stationed an elephant at the entrance of his own residence[5] [out of parade], and the grandeur of his

[8] I have translated and inserted this strophe here, not for any particular merit it possesses, but to show the style of our author's unctuous and flatulent poetical effusions. Although his work was completed twenty one years after this event, and the true character of the Prince he composed those lines upon was then known to him, whatever good opinion he may have had of him at the time of his accession, he did not think it necessary to omit this piece of fulsome adulation to this "Sulīmān in dignity," this "second Iyal-timish." This translation will not be again burdened with any more of our author's own poetry.

[9] On account of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh's youth, as was determined when the Maliks agreed to raise him to the throne. He was to act as Deputy one year.

[1] Mustaufī is not a proper name. It signifies the head clerk of a department, an auditor, &c., and to the office previously held by "*the upright officer*," as Muhazzab has been translated, or by his father or ancestors. See Blochmann's translation of the Ā'īn for the meanings of such words, and compare Elliot: INDIA, vol. ii. page 338.

[2] That is, he, in concert with the Wazīr, ruled the country, whilst the "Sulīmān," whose commands swayed "the *jinn* and mankind," was king in name merely.

[3] Turned into Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn by Firishtah—in the "revised text"—who turns the Malik of that name into Alb Tigīn!

[4] She had been repudiated by her own desire from aversion to her husband. In such cases the wife resigns the dowry and all presents made to her, &c.

[5] In the account of this Malik in the next Section, our author states that he applied for permission to use the *naubat*—already described in note [3], page 383—on becoming Deputy. At this period kings only were allowed to have elephants in this way, unless specially granted, as in Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān's case, mentioned in the account of him in the next Section.

affairs and the execution of his mandates lasted until the month of Muḥarram of the year 638 H., when, unexpectedly, on Monday, the 8th of that month, by command of the Sulṭān, a discourse was delivered within the Ḳaṣr named Safed[6] [the White Castle]. After the termination of the discourse, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, from the upper part of the palace, despatched two reckless Turks, after the manner of *Fidā-īs*, so that, in front of the dais, in the royal Audience Hall of the Ḳaṣr-i-Safed, they martyred Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn, by the wound of a knife.[7] They inflicted on the Wazīr, the Nizām-ul-Mulk, Muhaẕẕab-ud-Dīn, two wounds in the side; but, as his appointed time was not come, he got away from them and escaped outside. Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, the Rūmī, became Amīr-i-Ḥājib, and assumed the direction of

[6] The printed text has قصر سفید بام instead of قصر سپید نام as above, and so the former is rendered in ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 338, "the Palace of the White-*roof*." I hope the Archæologists will not search for it under the latter name. The 'Arabic word ḳaṣr, and its Persian equivalent kūshk, does not mean a palace exactly, but, more strictly speaking, a castle—a fortified residence. Windsor Castle, for example, in the feudal times, was a ḳaṣr. See also note [2], page 331.

[7] Our author makes a totally different statement in his account of this Malik in the next Section. There he says that the Sālār, the late Aḥmad-i-Sa'd, came secretly to the Sulṭān and instigated him to this act.

The Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī cuts this matter very short, and Budā'ūnī perpetrates the blunder of killing Aet-kīn and the Wazīr both at one time. Firishtah here makes an altogether different statement to our author's, but does not quote his authority, and, as our author is about the only one for the reigns of the Shamsī dynasty, the Dakhanī historian's statement may be valued accordingly. He says Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, instigated two Turks among his confidants to feign drunkenness, and to assassinate Alb-Tigīn [Aet-kīn] and the Wazīr. They entered the royal Audience Hall of the Kasr-i-Safed for this purpose, and Alb-Tigīn [Aet-kīn], who was standing up in the row of Amīrs before the Sulṭān—who is made out to have been present by Firishtah—moved to stop them and prohibit their approach [seeing the condition they pretended to be in, as if the guards were not enough for the purpose], when, having the opportunity they wanted, they slew him with their "life-taking daggers," and then attacked the Wazīr, Muhaẕẕab-ud-Dīn, and inflicted two wounds on him. The other nobles present now making a rush, Muhaẕẕab-ud-Dīn managed to escape. The Sulṭān, that day, ordered the two Turks to be imprisoned for their act, but very soon released them. The Lubb-i-Tawārīkh-i-Hind gives a similar account, but the names are correctly given.

Fidā-ī is the name applied to the agents of the Chief of the Assassins, or Shaikh-ul-Jibāl, who carried out his decrees against people's lives. Fidā means a sacrifice, one who is devoted to carry out any deed.

It was Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn, who incited Malik Altūniah to revolt against Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, and so he met his deserts.

state affairs; and, when Sultān Raziyyat, along with Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūniah, from Tabarhindah, determined to move towards Dihlī, and revoked that intention, and withdrew, and Sultān Raziyyat and Altūniah attained martyrdom at the hands of the Hindūs, as has previously been recorded, the affairs of Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar[8], took a new turn. Moreover, because, in the execution of his own mandates, and the administration of the affairs of the kingdom, he did not possess the authority of the Sultān of Islām, and used to seek to acquire superiority over the Wazīr, the Nizām-ul-Mulk, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, and used to issue his own orders, the Wazīr, secretly, was in the habit of influencing the Sultān's disposition against Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, to such degree, that the Sultān's temper became quite changed towards him.

When Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, discovered this fact, he grew apprehensive of the Sultān. He was desirous by some suitable means of removing the Sultān and placing one of the latter's brothers upon the throne. On Monday, the 17th[9] of the month of Ṣafar, 639 H., at the residence of the Ṣadr-ul-Mulk[1], the Sayyid, Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, Mūsāwī, who was the Mushrif-i-Mamālik [Secretary of the Kingdom], Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, convened a party of the Ṣadrs and chief men of the capital, such as the Kāẓī-i-Mamālik [Kāẓī of the Kingdom], Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Kāsānī[2], Kāẓī Kabīr-ud-Dīn, Shaikh Muhammad-i-Shāmī [the Syrian], and other Amīrs[3] and important personages. When they had assembled, and deliberated respecting the change of government, they despatched the Ṣadr-ul-Mulk [Sadr of the State—Chief Ṣadr] to the presence of the Wazīr, the Nizām-ul-Mulk, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, in order that he

[8] This Malik was the patron of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Balban, subsequently, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, and, when the former became Amīr-i-Ḥājib, through his patronage, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Balban, who, up to this time, had not attained a higher office than that of Chief Huntsman, was promoted to the dignity of Amīr-i-Ākhur [Lord of the Stables].

[9] In other places, the date of this event, in some copies, is the 14th, and in others the 10th.

[1] Sadr-ul-Mulk signifies Judge or Administrator of the State, but here it is only his title or degree, as his office is Mushrif-i-Mamālik.

[2] A native of Kāsān.—Kazan of modern maps.

[3] The word Amīr here, it will be seen, is applied to Kāẓīs and ecclesiastics.

might be present [with them], and that, in accord with him, they might carry out their object effectively.

One of the Sultān's favourites and confidants was at the Wazīr's side when the Ṣadr-ul-Mulk reached his residence; and when the Wazīr, the Nizām-ul-Mulk, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, heard the announcement of the Ṣadr-ul-Mulk's coming, he concealed that confidential person of the Sultān in a place where he might hear their conversation. The Ṣadr-ul-Mulk entered, and stated to him all about the [proposed] change in the state of the highest personages of the sublime Court, and craved the Khwājah, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, the Wazīr's attendance. The Khwājah, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, replied: "It behoveth that you should return again, so that I may perform afresh the ablution of purification, and follow [you] to the presence of the grandees." When the Sadr-ul-Mulk retired, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn brought forth the Sultān's confidant, and said to him: "Didst thou hear what the Ṣadr-ul-Mulk said[4]? Proceed quickly to the royal presence and represent that it is advisable that the Sultān should mount and come upon that seditious party so that they may not have dispersed"[5].

[4] The difference of idioms in the text, so often mentioned, is considerable here also.

[5] The Dakhanī historian—who has made "*such conscientious and excellent use of his predecessors*," and whose works he has "*so entirely exhausted of all prominent facts mentioned by them*," as to have rendered their works "almost useless"—FIRISHTAH, by his wholesale appropriations of the text of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī—in many places verbatim, although he pretends, now and then, to differ from it, whilst copying the identical statement at the same time—has, in this instance, "*exhausted*" that work so faithfully and conscientiously that he betrays himself, and endorses the same great blunder that the author of the Tabaḳāt-i Aḳbarī perpetrates here, even to the incorrect name given to one of the parties, which is totally contrary to our author's account, and which the other's *own words subsequently contradict*, and then his statement agrees with our author, from whose work he took it, for there is no other contemporary writer to recur to. The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī says, after Aet kīn had been assassinated and Muhazzab wounded, that "Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunḳar, the Rūmī, became Amīr-i-Ḥājib, and he administered the affairs according to the old laws and usages. It so happened, that, at the instigation of a clique of the seditious, he took counsel with the Sadrs and conspicuous persons respecting a change of sovereignty. On Monday, the 18th of Ṣafar, all the chief men assembled *at the abode* of the Ṣadr-ul-Mulk, Taj-ud-Dīn, who was the Mushrif-i-Mamālik, and there held counsel respecting the proposed change in the government. They despatched the Ṣadr-ul-Mulk [Tāj-ud-Dīn] to the presence of the Niẓām-ul-Mulk, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, the Wazīr, in order that

When they stated this matter to the Sulṭān, he, at once, mounted, and that disaffected party became struck with amazement, and Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, joined the Sulṭān, who returned, and held a council in his own royal residence, and forthwith a mandate was issued that Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, should proceed to Budā'ūn, and that district was made his fief Ḳāzī Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Kāsānī, was removed from the chief Ḳāzī-ship, and Ḳāzī Kabīr-ud-Dīn, and Shaikh Muhammad-i-Shāmī, together with him, became apprehensive, and left the city

After a period of four months, Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, returned to the capital [6], and, as the Sultān was incensed against him, he ordered him to be imprisoned, and the Sayyid, Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, Mūsāwī [7], was also ordered to be imprisoned, and, at last, both of them were martyred [8] This occurrence totally changed the disposition of the Amirs, and all of them became frightened and apprehensive of the Sultān, and not one among them

he also might attend the meeting and take part in the consultation At once, the *Sedr-ul-Mulk gave intimation* to Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, and, having placed a confidential follower of the Sulṭān's *in a place of concealment*, [where ? in another man's house to betray *himself* ?] *went* to the Nizām-ud-Mulk's [Muhazzab, the Wazīr's] abode and informed him of the presence [*at his own house* ?] of Ḳāẓī Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Kāsānī, Ḳāẓī Kabīr-ud-Dīn, Shaikh Muhammad, and other personages there assembled [and asked him to come along with him], but Muhazzab-ud-Dīn put off his coming to the time of afternoon prayers The Ṣadr-ul Mulk represented what was doing by means of the Sulṭān's servant, whom *he had concealed*, and apprised that monarch of the state of affairs, who, that very hour, set out, and came upon them," &c &c The Sadr-ul-Mulk, Tāj-ud-Dīn, as mentioned in the next page, was imprisoned and put to death for his share in this affair Some others of the smaller fry of historians copy this blunder from the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī as well as Firishtah, and, from the fact of the latter making the very same blunder as the former—he, indeed, uses his very words—I am much inclined to doubt whether Firishtah *ever saw* our author's work, and I think that nothing will be found in Firishtah, taken from our author's history, but such as is contained in the Tabakat-i-Akbarī Compare ELLIOT here also

[6] He took up his residence in the dwelling of Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn This is the illustrious Ghūrī chief, Malik Kutb ud-Dīn, Husain, son of 'Alī, whose execution is recorded at page 702 He is again mentioned in the last Section

[7] See note [6], preceding page

[8] Whether in prison or out is not said Compare ELLIOT here In the next Section it is said to have taken place on Wednesday, the 14th of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 639 H, but in some copies Rabī'-ul-Awwal is stated to have been the month, but this is impossible as Rabī'-ul-Awwal follows next to the month Ṣafar, and Jamādī-ul-Awwal is only the third month after Ṣafar, and from what is stated just before Jamadī-ul-Ākhir would be most correct

placed any further confidence in him. The Wazir, too, in order to avenge the wounds he had received, desired that all the Amirs, the Maliks, and the Turks should rebel against the Sultān[9]. He continued to raise the Sultān's apprehensions against the Amirs and Turks, and was exciting the fears of the Amirs against the Sultān, until, at last, this fact spread abroad like a pestilence, and was the cause of the dethronement of the Sultān, and rebellion among the people

Among the calamities which happened during the reign of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, was the matter of the city of Lohor, when an army of the infidel Mughals from the direction of Khurāsān and Ghaznīn appeared before that city, and, for a considerable time, carried on hostilities The feudatory of Lohor was Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Ḳarā-Ḳash[1], and he, by nature, was very warlike, energetic, intrepid, and fearless, but the inhabitants of Lohor did not act as the conditions of union demanded, and in fighting, and in keeping guard at night, showed much neglect When that disposition became evident to Malik Ḳarā-Ḳash, he put his retainers in motion, and, at night, evacuated the city, and set out towards the capital, Dihlī The infidel Mughals pursued him, but the Most High God preserved him under His own guardianship, and he escaped in safety from them. As no ruler remained within the city of Lohor, on Monday, the 16th of the month of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 639 H, the infidel Mughals obtained possession of that city[2], martyred the Musalmāns, and made captive their dependents.

[9] Compare ELLIOT, vol ii page 339

[1] Dow turns him into "*Malleek*," as if that was his name, and Briggs always into "*Mullik Kurragooz*"!!

[2] As usual with our author, instead of giving the details of this affair here, he postpones it, gives a few additional particulars in his account of Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Ḳarā-Ḳash Khān, in the next Section in his account of the various Maliks, but leaves the details for the last Section Alfī says it was in 638 H

The Mughals, at first, intended to attack Multān—which was still held by Malik Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz—but, finding they were likely to meet with a warm reception, turned their faces towards Lāhor, at that time, totally unprepared to offer an efficient defence, being without stores of provisions or munitions of war Many of the principal inhabitants of Lāhor at this period were merchants, who had travelled into Upper Khurāsān and Turkistān with

When the dreadful intelligence of this calamity reached the capital, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, assembled the people of the city of Dihlī in the Ḳaṣr-i-Safed [White Castle], and to the author, the writer of these lines, he gave command to deliver a discourse, and the people pledged their fealty [anew] to the Sultān[4]

their merchandize, and had provided themselves with letters of protection from the Mughal rulers, and they seemed not to care what happened, and the remainder of the chief inhabitants were also remiss Seeing this, Malik Karā-Kash determined to leave them, more particularly as there was but little chance of being succoured from Dihlī The Turk and Ghūrī Maliks, being disaffected towards Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, were not very active in obeying his summons to assemble their followers, and the "*upright officer*"—the arch rebel [referred to in note [6], page 641], Muhazzab ud-Dīn, the Wazīr—even after the army had reached the Biāh, instead of pushing on to Lāhor, was occupied in plotting the destruction of his master Finding resistance hopeless, Malik Ḳara Kash, under pretence of making a night attack upon the Mughal camp, assembled his family and followers, cut his way out, and made towards Dihlī After he had left, when too late, the inhabitants made some effort to defend the place, under the guidance of the Kot wāl [Seneschal], Aḳ-Sunkar, and a few others During the fighting that went on in the streets of the city, after the Mughals effected a lodgment, the BAHĀDUR, TĀ IR, the Mughal commander, according to our author, was encountered, lance to lance, by Ak Sunkar, and each wounded the other so severely that both died of their wounds

There is considerable discrepancy here between our author and Fasiḥ ī and others which will be noticed in the last Section, and as to the Bahādur, Ṯā ir, being killed, according to Faṣih ī and others, he was alive in 644 H, and, moreover, the Nū yin, Mangūtah, was the commander of the Mughals, and the Bahādur, Ṯā-ir, was under him After the departure of the Mughals, the Khokhars, and other Hindū Gabrs, seized upon Lāhor, and, after this, we no more hear of a feudatory of Lāhor in the whole work

Briggs, in his version of Firishtah's history, *but not on his authority*, assures us that the Mughal in question was "a famous *Toorky* leader named *Toor-mooshreen* [sic] Khan"[1] Dow, however, turns Malik Ḳarā Ḳash into "*Malleck*, the viceroy," but leaves out this "famous *Toorky* leader"

Lāhor was sacked, numbers of its people were massacred and carried away into captivity

At the time of this invasion, Kabīr Khān i-Ayāz, whom Sulṭān Raẓiyyat had removed from the fief of Lāhor to that of Multān, assumed a canopy of state and independence, and took possession of Ūchchah and its dependencies. He however died shortly after this act of disloyalty, in 639 H His son, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, brought Sind under his authority, and several times attacked the Karlughs before the gate of Multān More respecting these events will be found in the next two Sections

[1] Compare ELLIOT, ii 340

ELLIOT—"He had lived for some time quietly *in* the Sultán's *water palace*" The *Kasr* or castle here mentioned had been erected on the edge, or, more probably, in the midst of the *Hauẓ* which I-yal-timish made, which was named the Hauẓ-i Sulṭan, and Hauẓ i Shamsī It is often mentioned, and,

There was a Darwesh, a Turk-mān, who was named Aiyūb, a hermit clothed in garb of hair-cloth, who, for some time, dwelt, engaged in his devotions, at the Hauz [reservoir] of the Kaṣr-i-Sulṭān [the Sulṭān's Castle], and there he acquired intimacy with Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, and the Sulṭān manifested a partiality for him. This Darwesh began to interfere in state affairs Before this the Darwesh in question had dwelt at the town of Mihir, and had been persecuted by Kāzī Shams-ud-Dīn of Mihir At this time, that the Darwesh's words were revered by, and he had acquired ascendancy over, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, he used his endeavours until the Sulṭān had Kāzī Shams-ud-Dīn of Mihir thrown before the feet of an elephant[4]

As soon as this catastrophe became known, the people again became wholly afraid of the Sulṭān In order to repel the infidel Mughals who were then before the gates of the city of Lohor, the Sulṭān nominated Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of 'Alī[5], the Ghūrī, along with the Wazīr[6] [the Khwājah, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn], and several Amīrs and Maliks, with the forces of Hindūstān, to advance towards Lohor, for the purpose of guarding the frontiers[7]. At this period, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, on

in after times, Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh repaired it, as well as many other buildings, *masjids*, tombs, &c.

Darweshes of this kind, however, do not *live* in palaces, they would not be Darweshes if they did this one took up his residence *near* the building, in some small *masjid* or other religious building

[4] Here likewise, because the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī makes a mistake in including Kāzī Shams-ud-Dīn among those connected with the plot mentioned in note [9], page 653, and throws him at the elephant's feet *then*, Firishtah, of course, does precisely the same , but this Darwesh is not mentioned in either work The Kāzī's death does not appear to have been connected, in any way, with the plot in question

[5] The "STUDENT'S MANUAL OF INDIAN HISTORY," however, assures us, contrary to the Muhammadan historians, that his name was "*Iekhtar ood Deen*, the vizier," whilst DOW, on the other hand, is more correct, according to Firishtah, and calls him "Hassen Ghori," but puts an additional piece upon it, and says he was "*chief secretary* of the empire" !

[6] Kuṭb ud Dīn, Husain, commanded this force, the Wazīr merely accompanied him in a civil capacity Compare Thomas "PATHAN KINGS," page 118

[7] Above, our author states it was to repel the Mughals but here, from what he says, the relief of Lāhor was not the object but merely the guarding of the frontiers The Mughals took the city on the 16th of Jamādī ul-Ākhir, 639 H

Saturday, the 10th of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, in the year 639 H, entrusted this author with the Ḳāẓī-ship of the empire, together with the Ḳāẓī-ship of the capital, and conferred upon him a robe of honour and liberal presents. After this, the troops received orders [to move]

When the forces assembled on the bank of the Bīāh[8], the Khwājah, Muhaẕẕab-ud-Dīn, the Wazīr, in order to take vengeance upon the Sultān, so that, by some means or other, he might oust him from the throne, indited a representation secretly to the Sultān from the camp, saying "These Amīrs[9] and Turks will never become obedient. It is advisable that an edict should be issued by His Majesty[1], that I, and Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, should destroy all the Amīrs and Turks, by such means as may be attainable, in order that the country may be clear [of them]" When that representation reached the Sultān, he, according to the way of precipitancy and youthfulness, did not take this order into consideration nor deliberate upon it, and commanded so that an edict of the desired form was written out and despatched to the camp

As soon as the edict reached the camp, Muhaẕẕab-ud-Dīn showed the very edict itself to the Amīrs and Turks, saying "The Sultān writes and commands respecting you on this subject" All of them became excessively incensed against the Sultān, and, at the suggestion of the Khwājah, Muhaẕẕab-ud-Dīn, the Wazīr, they pledged themselves to effect the expulsion and dethronement of the Sulṭān When the news of this disaffection on the part of those Amīrs and troops reached the capital, the Shaikh-ul-Islām[2]

[8] Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī says "when the army reached the banks of the river Bīāh, near which, at this period, the town of Sulṭān-pūr has been founded." Firishtah has precisely the same words

[9] Compare ELLIOT "Amīrs" does not mean "*generals*"

[1] Ṭabaḳāt i-Akbarī says that Muhaẕẕab—the "*upright* officer" of ELLIOT [vol ii page 334]—requested the Sulṭān to come himself, or permit him," &c Firishtah follows "The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā says, contrary to others, that Muhaẕẕab ud-Dīn included Malik Kuṭb-ud Dīn, Hasan [Husain], among the number he asked leave to put to death, but this is not correct

[2] The Ṭabaḳāt i Akbarī says the Sulṭān despatched *Shaikh* Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Bakht-yār, Ūshī [i e of Ūsh near Baghdād] to the insurgents, and Firishtah adds a little and makes him the Shaikh-ul-Islām besides Dow, translating Firishtah, calls him [vol i page 177] "*Islaam*, a venerable and learned *Omrah*" I wonder what "Omrah" can mean I have heard of Umrā, but that is the *plural* of Amīr This first statement, however, is an error, and he is

[the Muhammadan Patriarch] of the capital was Sayyid Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, and him the Sulṭān despatched to the army for the purpose of allaying that sedition. He proceeded to the camp, and used his endeavours in stirring up and augmenting that sedition, and came back again, and the army followed after him, and arrived before the gates of Dihlī, and fighting was commenced

This servant of the state, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, and [several] priests of eminence of the city, used the utmost endeavours to make peace and allay the disaffection, but in no manner could an agreement be effected. The arrival of the forces before the gate of the city of Dihlī happened on Saturday[3], the 19th of the month of Sha'bān, 639 H, and, until the month of Zī Ḳa'dah, hostilities were carried on against the fortress, and, on both sides, a great number of people perished and others were disabled[4]. All the environs of the city were destroyed, and the cause of the prolongation of this sedition was this. There was a head Farrāsh[5] in the Sultān's service whom they used to style Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mubārak Shāh, Farrukhī, who, in the employ of the Sulṭān, had found favour, and had acquired complete ascendancy over his mind, and whatever he said to the Sulṭān that the Sultān would do, and this Farrāsh would, in no way, assent to an accommodation[6]

On Friday, the 7th[7] of the month Zī-Ḳa'dah, the depen-

a different person from the *Sayyid* Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn here referred to by our author The former, whose full names are, Khwājah—*not* Sayyid—Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Bakht-yār, Kākī, Ūshī, after whom the Ḳuṭb minārah at Dihlī is named He died *six years previous* to this time. See note [6], page 621, para. 3.

[3] In some copies, Monday

[4] Among those of the great Maliks who supported Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, was Malik Ḳarā-Ḳash, feudatory of Bhīānah, and Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Yūz-Bak-i-Ṭughril Khān They were both imprisoned however, on the 9th of Ramaẓān, at the instigation of the Farrāsh, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mubārak Shāh, and only obtained their release when Dihlī was taken by the confederate Maliks.

[5] Farrāshīs are servants of the houses of great men who spread the carpets, make the beds, and pitch the tents on journeys. This head Farrāsh is styled Mihtar Mubārak in the next Section

[6] Nothing of this affair of the head *farrāsh* is mentioned in Rauẓat-uṣ Ṣafā, or in the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, and, consequently, not in Firishtah either, but the Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh and some others refer to it See the account of Malik Yūz Bak-i-Ṭughril Khān in the next Section Our author was so intent upon his own tale here that he has left out most of the particulars

[7] In some copies the 17th of Zī-Ḳa'dah.

dents of the Khwājah, Muhaẕẕab-ud-Dīn, gave 3000 *jītals* to a body of stupid fellows, and stirred up some of the same cloth as the author, who were persons of position at the capital, and, after the conclusion of the Friday prayers, they rose in the *Jāmi' Masjid*, and drew swords upon the author By the favour of the Most High God, he had with him a staff containing a knife, and drew it, and was accompanied by a few armed slaves, and succeeded in getting out of the tumult On the following night the Amīrs and the Turks took the fortress, and, next day, Saturday[8], the 8th of Ẕī-Ḳa'dah, 639 H, they gained possession of the whole city, and imprisoned the Sultān Mubārak Shāh, the Farrāsh, who used to endeavour to stimulate the rebellion, they made a public example of and executed, and, on the night of Tuesday, the 13th of the month before-mentioned, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, attained martyrdom—may he rest in peace!—and the period of his reign was two years, one month, and a half

VI SULTĀN 'ALĀ-UD-DUNYA WA UD-DĪN, MAS'ŪD SHĀH[9], SON OF SULṬAN RUKN-UD-DĪN, FĪRŪZ SHĀH

Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, was the son of Sulṭān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, and was a beneficent Prince and of good disposition, and was endowed with all noble qualities

On Saturday, the 8th of Ẕī-Ḳa'dah, 639 H, when the city of Dihlī passed out of the possession of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, the Maliks and Amīrs, with one consent, brought forth, from confinement[1], all three Princes

[8] In another place, in the next Section, it is said, *Tuesday*, the 8th, but neither of these days can be correct, if the 13th was Tuesday In this case, the 8th would be Thursday, and, if Saturday was the 8th, the 13th would be Friday A few lines farther down Saturday is again said to be the 8th

[9] The following is given, in the work previously quoted, as the inscription on the coins first struck in 'Alā-ud-Dīn's reign

Obverse—العز ونظام الملك من عند الله سلطان علاء الدين مسعود شاه

Reverse—ضرب بلدة دهلي سنه اربعين و ستمائة جلوس احد

which may be thus rendered —Obverse—"The prosperity of the government of the state through God Sulṭān 'Alā-ud Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh." Reverse—"Struck at the city of Dihlī [in the] year six hundred and forty, the first of the reign."

[1] Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, was also one of the ringleaders in this outbreak against Mu'izz-ud Dīn Early in the day on which

[the sons and grandsons of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish], namely, Sultān [subsequently] Nāṣir ud-Dīn, Malik Jālal-ud-Dīn, and Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, and conducted them from the Ḳaṣr-i-Safed [White Castle] to the Ḳaṣr-i-Fīrūzī-i-Daulat-Khānah [the Fīrūzī Castle, the royal residence], and agreed to the sovereignty of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, after that Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, had assumed the throne within the royal residence, and after he had been proclaimed outside the Ḳaṣr, and a proclamation, in his name, respecting his [assumption] of the sovereignty, had been once published about the city. In that matter the other Maliks, not having agreed, placed Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, upon the throne, and administered a public pledge of fealty to the people. Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of 'Alī, the Ghūrī, became Deputy of the kingdom, the Khwājah, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, the Niẓām-ul-Mulk, was [again] made Wazīr, and Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Ḳarā-Ḳash, became Amīr-i-Ḥājib [Lord Chamberlain]. The provinces of Nāg-awr, Mandaur, and Ajmīr[2], were made over to Malik 'Izz-ud-

the Turk Amīrs took the city—our author says in another place—Malik Balban entered it, and proceeded to the royal Ḳaṣr, and issued a proclamation intimating his *assumption* of the sovereignty, but, immediately on this becoming known, Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Ḳīḳ-luḳ, and others, assembled at the mausoleum of Sultān I-yal-timish, and repudiated that proclamation, and, in concert, went, and brought forth from their confinement in the Kaṣr-i-Safed, which appears to have been used as a state prison, the princes in durance there, the sons and grandson of I-yal-timish, and set up 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh. When Malik Balban became aware of this, he joined them, and acted in concert with them. This can scarcely be called "*the elevation of two kings in one day*." [Thomas: PAṬHÁN KINGS, page 120.] The new Sultān conferred the fief of Nāg-awr upon Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, together with permission to have an elephant, which was equivalent to his being considered as belonging to the royal family, and the first Malik of the kingdom; and it is he who must have been I-yal-timish's son-in-law—if either of the two Balbans were—or the husband of his sister—for [illegible] means both—and *not* Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Balban, afterwards Ulugh Khān, which latter, the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī—and Firishtah likewise, as a matter of course—invariably confuse with 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān. In neither of these works is he called by his correct name. The first calls him 'Izz-ud-Dīn, [illegible]-i-Buzarg, and gives the same title of *'Izz-ud-Dīn* to Balban-i-Khurd [i. e. Ulugh Khān] whose title was Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and never 'Izz-ud-Dīn. The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī confuses one with the other. Firishtah [revised text however], as previously mentioned, uses the word [illegible] for [illegible] in both their titles.

[2] Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī says Nāg-awr, *Sind*, and Ajmīr, and Firishtah copies

Dīn, Balban-i-Kas͟hlū K͟hān, and the territory of Budā'ūn was given to Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Ḳīk-luk. The writer of these words, on the fourth day from the capture of Dihlī, requested permission to resign the Ḳāzī-ship, and, for a period of twenty-six days, the office was in abeyance until the 4th of the month of Ẕī-Ḥijjah, when the office of Ḳāzī was entrusted to Ḳāzī 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, the S͟hafūrkānī[3]

The K͟hwājah, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, the Niẓām-ul-Mulk, acquired complete power over the kingdom, and appropriated [the district of] Kol as his own fief Previous to this he had established the *naubat*[4], and stationed an elephant at the gate of his own residence He took all functions out of the hands of the Turk Amīrs, so that their hearts became greatly irritated [against him], and those Amīrs, in concert together, put him to death, within the camp before the city [of Dihlī], in the plain of the Rānī's Reservoir[5], on Wednesday, the 2nd of the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 640 H[6]

At this period, the author determined to undertake a proposed journey to Lakhanawatī, and, on Friday, the 9th of the month of Rajab[7], 640 H, he quitted Dihlī In the territory of Budā'ūn, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Ḳīk-luk, and, in Awadh, Malik Ḳamr-ud Dīn, Ḳīr-ān-i-Tamur K͟hān, showed him abundant kindness—Almighty God immerse the both of them in forgiveness! At this time, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ṭug͟hril-i-Tug͟hān K͟hān, the feudatory

its text verbatim here, as in most other places, with but very slight verbal alterations

[3] See note at foot of page 128

[4] Described in note [3], page 383 See Elliot also. INDIA, vol ii page 343—"Previous to this he had caused *music* to play," &c The translator I trow never heard such music himself—music not capable of "charming the savage breast," but of making any breast, however charming, *savage*

[5] I wonder what "*Hauz-rānī*" may be, but Hauẓ-i-Rānī signifies the *Reservoir* of the Rānī or Queen—Rānī being the feminine form of Rānā and Rājah See ELLIOT, ibid A little before, the Ḳaṣr-i Ḥauẓ-i-Sulṭān is rendered "the Sultan's *water* palace"

[6] See the account of Malik Tāj ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Ḳīḳ luḳ, and Malik Badr ud-Dīn, Sunḳar, the Rūmī, in the next Section

[7] The month previous to this, in Jamādī-ul Ak͟hir, 640 H, the K͟halīfah Abū-Ja'far-i-Manṣūr, styled Al-Mustanṣir B'illah, died, and was succeeded by his son, the last of the 'Abbāsis of Bag͟hdād—Abū-Aḥmad-i 'Abdullah, entitled Al-Musta'ṣim B'illah

of Lakhaṇawatī, advanced to the frontiers of Kaṛah wi troops and vessels, and the author joined him from Awadh Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn returned again to Lakhanawatī, an the writer went along with him thither, and, on Sunday, tl 17th of the month of Ẕī-Ḥijjah, reached the Lakhanawa territory. The writer left all his children, family, an dependents, in Awadh, and, subsequently, confidential pe sons were sent, and his family [and children] were remove to Lakhanawatī From Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān tl author experienced the utmost generosity, and received inn merable gifts—the Almighty reward him [8]—and he remaine in the territory of Lakhanawatī for a period of two years

During those two years Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ū Shāh, effected, in different parts of the kingdom, man victories[9], and, after the Khwājah, Muhaẕẕab-ud-Dīn, wa put to death[1], the office of Wazīr passed to the Ṣadr-u

[8] It was at this time that Malik Ṭughril i-Tughān Khān, the feudatory Lakhanawatī, instigated by his adviser, Bahā-ud-Dīn, Hilāl, attempted take possession of the territories of Awadh, Kaṛah, and Manikpūr, and Upp An-des See next Section

[9] It is strange that these "many victories" are not named by our authc They must refer to some minor affairs which he refers to in the next Sectio and which may be summed up in a few words In 640 H Malik Tāj ud-Dī Sanjar-i Ḳiḳ-luḳ, the feudatory of Budā'ūn, overthrew the infidels of Kāthel and a namesake of his, Malik Tāj ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gurait Khān, gain some successes over the Hindūs in Awadh, and, subsequently, is said to ha "entered Bihār and plundered that territory, and was killed before the fortifi city of Bihār" In this case it is evident that the Hindūs had regain possession of it from the Musalmāns immediately after the death of Ḳuṭ ud-Dīn, Ī bak, or, possibly, only after the decease of I-yal-timish See note page 633

About the same period, the son of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān i-Ayā feudatory of Multān, who had thrown off his allegiance on the invasion of t Panjāb by the Mughals in 639 H —Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū Bikr—who remain in possession of his father's fief after his decease, several times attacked and c feated the Ḳarlughs who had advanced to the very gates of Multān In 642 the infidels of Jāj-nagar were defeated, and the author was present This is t affair which the I O L copy of the text, No 1952, and the R A S *M.* through the carelessness or ignorance of their copyists, turn into "Mughals Changiz Khān," referred to farther on

In the account of Ulugh Khān, in the next Section, some successes are sa to have been gained over the independent tribes in the Do āb in 642 H

These are the only successes which appear to have been gained during tl period, as a set off to so many disasters and disturbances

[1] One of the best and oldest copies of the text, as well as the more mode ones, have "*two years after* the Khwājah, Muhaẕẕab-ud-Dīn, was put death," but this can scarcely be correct, as, in such case, the Wazīr-ship mi have been in abeyance

Mulk, Najm-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, and the office of Amīr-i-Ḥājib of the capital was entrusted to Ulugh Khān[2]-i-Mu'azzam —may his good fortune continue[3]!—and the fief of Hānsī was assigned to him, and, at this time, many holy expeditions, as by creed enjoined, were undertaken, and much wealth came in from all parts.

When Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān, returned from Karah towards Lakhanawatī, he despatched the Sharf-ul-Mulk, the Ashа'rī[4], to the capital to the presence of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, and, from the capital, Ḳāzī Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Kāsānī, who was the Ḳāzī[5] of Awadh at this period, was nominated to proceed to Lakhanawatī with a red canopy of state, and an honorary robe. On Sunday, the 11th of the month of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 641 H.[6], the envoy's party reached Lakhanawatī, and Malik Tughril-i-Tughān Khān was honoured by being invested with that honorary robe.

At this time, among the praiseworthy incidents which

[2] In ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 343, he is turned into Dáru-l Mulk Báligh Khán! Dār-ul-Mulk signifies "the seat of government," "capital," &c. Ulugh in Turkī signifies "great," "the greater," &c., what "Baligh" may be intended for who knows?

[3] In some of the more modern copies of the text the invocation, here used for Ulugh Khān's prosperity or good fortune, varies, through carelessness or ignorance on the part of copyists, and in place of دولته they have ملکه and occasionally سلطنه and, in consequence of this last blunder, some modern writers on Oriental subjects jump at the conclusion that the whole work "*must have been* written" after Ulugh Khān ascended the throne, but, had those writers gone a little farther on, they would have found, in several places, both at the end of this Section, and in the next, that our author distinctly states that Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmud Shāh, was reigning when he finished his work, and he continued to reign for nearly six years more. See Elliot: INDIA, vol. ii. note [2], page 362.

[4] The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī gives this name, as it does *most* names, correctly—Asha'rī—but Firishtah turns it into Sankurr, Dow leaves it out and a great deal more of the reign, and Briggs turns it into Shunkry, thus making a Hindū of him, and he invariably turns 'Izz-ud-Dīn into Eiz-ood-Deen.

[5] The Tabakāt-i-Akbarī quotes our author very correctly here, with the exception of turning the Kāẓī into a Hākim, but the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī's *shadow*—Firishtah—although using nearly the same words, makes a terrible hash of the names.

[6] See the account of Tughril-i-Tughān Khān in the next Section. There it is stated that he despatched his agent, the Sharf-ul-Mulk, to the Court for aid, *after* having been repulsed before Katāsin, the frontier post of Jāj-nagar, and that happened on the 6th of Ẕī-Ka'dah—the eleventh month—of 641 H., whilst Rabī'-ul Awwal is the *third* month. 642 H. must be meant.

happily occurred during Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh's reign was this, that, in concurrence with the Maliks and Amīrs of the Court, he commanded both his uncles to be released, and they were brought forth accordingly. Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn was given the province of Ḳinnauj, and the preserved city of Bharā'ij with its dependencies was conferred upon Sultān[7] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, after which, both of them, in their respective districts, in carrying on holy war, as by creed enjoined, and in [attending to] the prosperity of the peasants, exhibited commendable examples.

In the year 642 H. the infidels of Jāj-nagar appeared before the gate of Lakhanawatī[8], and, on the 1st of the

[7] Subsequently, when he succeeded to the throne. This uncle had then attained the *mature* age of fifteen, the other was younger still.

[8] Most authors, with the exception of the one who was living at the time, and even *staying in* the Lakhanawatī territory, and along with the Musalmān army—our author—and a few others, such as the authors of Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī, Rauzat-uṣ-Ṣafā, and Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh, who could discriminate, and did so, before they entered events in their writings, and did not jump at conclusions—have perpetrated a ridiculous blunder here, which has been handed down by those Musalmān writers who copied the events in their histories from the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, like Badā'ūnī, and Firishtah in particular. From the version of this last-named writer the blunder, like the "*Pathān Dynasty*," has been made over to English writers by its translators, and, in all the Histories of India, and Manuals of Indian History, up to this hour, the blunder is duly recorded.

There was *no invasion* of Bangālah nor of Lakhanawatī by the Mughals of Chingiz Khān—*who died eighteen years before*—in fact, no invasion of the kind ever occurred.

Some careless copyist of the identical copy of the text of our author's work [such an imperfect copy for example as the I. O. L. *MS.* 1952, or the R. A. S. *MS.*, on which first-mentioned copy the Calcutta printed text is chiefly based] which fell under the notice of Niẓām-ud-Dīn, Aḥmad, the author of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, when compiling his work—instead of copying our author's words which occur in every other copy of the text, which are as follow:— کفار جاجنگر بدر لکھنوتی آمدند —did not think it fit or advisable to read it the right way but in the wrong—like the editors of the Calcutta printed text, although the right reading *was before them*, in at least one *MS.* copy they had to refer to, namely:— کفار جکرمان بدر لکھنوتی آمدند —leaving جاجنگر for a note.

It is hardly correct to say that Niẓām-ud-Dīn, Aḥmad "*reproduces it*," for it will not be found in any *prior* history; still, if the author of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, Abū-l-Faẓl, and the rest of those who copy the blunder, and if the editors of the Calcutta printed text likewise, had used *a little discrimination*, they might have seen that, in the two separate accounts of Malik Ṭughril-i-Tughān Khān, and Malik Ḳi-rān-i-Tamur Khān, the correct reading is given, as both the I. O. L. *MS.*, the R. A. S. *MS.*, and the Calcutta printed text *also have* it in the accounts of those Maliks. The

month of Ẕī-Ḥijjah, Malik Ḳamar-ud-Dīn, Ḳī-rān-i-Tamur Khān[9], with troops and Amīrs, in conformity with the commands of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, arrived at

Muḥammadan writers who lighted upon this incorrect passage also speculate upon the route by which Chingiz [his ghost?] came, and they—one following the other the blind leading the blind—come to the conclusion that it must have been by the same route as that by which Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, the Khalj, penetrated into Tibbat!! Firishtah also enters upon—or rather *copies*—the same speculations, and this fact tends to confirm me in my suspicions that he *never saw* our author's work, but merely "*exhausts*" him from his predecessors, including the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī.

STEWART, in his History of Bengal, noticed [page 97] that Firishtah was wrong, but did not know that the Ṭabaḳat-i-Akbarī was his source of information, and Thomas [PATHÁN KINGS, page 121], very properly, totally discredits the statement as rendered *from the printed text*, in Elliot [INDIA, vol. ii pages 264 and 344]. This invasion, I expect, took place much about the same time that Changiz struck that very *rare* coin given in THOMAS [page 91], styling himself by an *Arabic title*, and acknowledging the Khalīfah of Baghdād—"*Nāsir-ud-Dīn Ullah, Amīr-ul-Mūminīn*"! More on this head in last Section.

ELPHINSTONE, however, boldly asserts on the faith of the translations of Firishtah—for there is no doubt expressed about it—that the Mughals penetrated "*through Tibet into Bengal*."

The facts are that the Rāe of Jāj-nagar, in 641 H., began to molest the Lakhanawatī territory, and, in Shawwāl of that year, Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān marched towards Jāj-nagar to avenge this hostility, and ***our author accompanied him***. An engagement took place on the frontier of the Jāj-nagar state, in the following month. After the infidels were routed they rallied on finding the Musalmāns off their guard, and victory was turned into a reverse. Malik Tughril sent to Dihlī for aid, and Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, sent it, but, with the object of ousting Malik Ṭughril, who, it appears, was too strong to be ousted except by treachery. so, immediately after defeating the infidels of Jāj-nagar [the Mughals of Chingiz Khān of the Calcutta text, and I. O. L. *MS.*, No. 1952, and R. A. S. *MS.*, and ELLIOT], who had advanced opposite to the city of Lakhanawatī itself, and fled on the approach of the forces under Tamur Khān-i-Ḳī-rān from Awadh, he possessed himself of Lakhanawaṭī, by treachery, and Malik Ṭughril had to relinquish the city and territory and return to the capital. This last event happened in the last month of 642 H. See next Section. Malik Ṭughril, shortly after, was appointed to the fief of Awadh and proceeded into that territory, but died in Shawwāl, 644 H. His riva', Tamur Khān, died the very same night in Lakhanawaṭī. See Maliks VII and VIII in next Section.

[9] The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī turns him into 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ṭughān Tīmūr Khān Karā-Beg, and makes him quarrel with himself under the name of Malik Ḳī-rān, by confusing and incorrectly copying his names and titles, but Firishtah, copying from that work, adds from his imagination, and states that the Sulṭān despatched Malik Karā-Beg, Timūr Khān, who was one of the Khwājah-Tāsh slaves [see note [8], page 665], and that between him and [illegible] 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Tughān, and Malik Ḳarā-Beg hostilities arose. he does not mention the name Ḳīrān at all!! The correct details will be found in the account of Malik Ṭughril-i-Tughān Khān in the next Section.

Lakhanawatī. Between him and Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān distrust showed itself, and, on Wednesday, the 6th of the month of Zī-Ḳa'dah of the same year, an accommodation took place, and he [Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān] relinquished Lakhanawatī to Malik Ḳī-rān-i-Tamur Khān, and determined to proceed to Dihlī. The writer of this book, in his company, reached the capital on Monday, the 14th of the month of Ṣafar, 643 H., and permission to pay homage at the sublime Court was obtained. On Thursday, the 17th of the month of Ṣafar, through the patronage of Ulugh Khān-i-Mu'azzam[1]—the Almighty perpetuate his vicegerency!—the Nāṣarīah College, together with the superintendence of its endowments, the Ḳāẓī-ship of Gwāliyūr, and the lecture-ship of the *Jāmi' Masjid*, all these, were confirmed to the author, according to former grant, and that Malik [Ulugh Khān-i-Mu'azzam] conferred upon the author a special honorary robe, and a caparisoned horse, such as no other among his brethren of the same profession[2] had ever obtained. God reward him for it!

In the month of Rajab[3] of this same year, news was received, from the upper provinces, of an army of infidel Mughals which had advanced towards Ūchchah, and of which force the accursed Mangūtah was the leader. Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, for the purpose of repelling the Mughal forces, assembled the troops of Islām from various parts[4]. On their arrival on the banks of the Bīāh, the

[1] In the year 642 H., Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban, who, up to that time, was Amīr-i-Ākhur, became Amīr-i-Ḥājib. The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, however, assures us that Malik Balban [in some MSS. Tigīn]-i-Khurd, who *then held the title* of Ulugh Khān, became Amīr-i-Ḥājib. Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban, did not obtain that title until *five years* after this, in 647 H. Our author does not mean that he was styled Ulugh Khān *at this time*, although he calls him so: he was Ulugh Khān *when our author wrote* his book.

[2] The word here used does not mean "*family*." ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 344.

[3] Previous to this the royal forces went on an expedition in the Do-āb of the Jūn and Gang, the particulars of which, or rather some meagre particulars, will be found in the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section.

[4] The particulars of these events which happened in 643 H.—not 642 H.—will be found in the last Section of this work, and referred to in the next. Mangūtah, the Nū-yīn—whom the translator of this passage of our author's work, in ELLIOT [page 344], has been pleased to turn into Mangú Khán *here*, but leaves him under the name of *Mankúti* farther on [page 364], not being aware, seemingly, that they were one and the same person—was one of Chingiz Khān's own immediate followers and confidants, now grown old. He was very thin, tall, and blind of an eye. Mangū Ḳā'ān, the grandson of

infidels withdrew from before Ūchchah, and that success was gained. The writer of this work was in attendance on the sublime Court on that expedition, and persons of understanding and men of judgment agreed, that no one could point out to view anything of an army like that host and gathering in years gone by. When information of the number and efficiency of the victorious forces of Islām reached the infidels, they decamped and retired towards Khurāsān again[8].

A number of very worthless persons in that army had clandestinely gained access to the presence of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, and used to influence him in the committal of unworthy acts and habits, so much so that

Chingiz, did not succeed to his father's sovereignty until some time after this event, and was *never east of the Indus in his life*. It is strange how people will jump at impossible conclusions, and, because one of the Mughal sovereigns was called منکو immediately they see منکوته they at once assume that the former *must* be meant, just in the same way as the Khalj Turks have been turned into Ghalzī Afghāns.

Ūchchah was invested for some time, and therefore the Mughals did not retire without fighting as in Thomas [PAṬHÁN KINGS, page 121], and they made several unsuccessful attempts to storm it after they had reached the walls, in the last of which, at night, the greatest champion of the Mughal army, in attempting to descend from the breach into the interior of the place, fell into a ditch filled with mud, which the defenders had made in rear of the breach, and was smothered. Soon after this unsuccessful attempt, hearing of the flank movement of the Dihlī army, and its advance along the banks of the Biāh, the Mughals raised the investment and retired, and, subsequently, the Dihlī army advanced as far as the banks of the Sūdharah. In the account of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban, afterwards Ulugh Khān-i A'ẓam, and in the last Section, the prompt advance of the Dihlī army is ascribed entirely to the energy of that Malik, but, under this reign, in which these events happened, our author does not mention even his name! See the notice of him in next Section, under this date.

Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū Bikr, the son of Malik Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, was now dead, and Ūchchah was in the hands of a slave of his father's, an eunuch named Mukhliṣ-ud-Dīn, and gallantly he defended it. Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, at this time, held the fief of Nāg-awr, and he joined the Sulṭān's army, with his contingent, upon this occasion.

At this period, Lāhor was in ruins, and Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Hasan, the Karlugh, who, on account of the pressure of the Mughals, had been obliged to leave his own territories, was in possession of Multān, and, on the Mughal invaders approaching the Indus, by our author's account, he embarked, with his family, dependents, and effects, on board of boats and dropped down the river towards Sīwastān and Dīwal. See also next Section, Malik, No. XX, and the last Section, where a different statement is made.

[8] The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī copies our author verbatim here, and Firishtah, of course, agrees.

[the custom of] killing and seizing his Maliks was gaining a place in his nature, and he was steadfast in resolve [in that habit]. All his good qualities turned away from the laudable path and inclined towards sensuality, pleasure, drinking, and the chase, to such a degree of excess, that disaffection began to spread through the country, and the affairs of the kingdom to be neglected. The Maliks and Amīrs agreed together, and despatched letters secretly to Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn—the Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty!—and prayed for the appearance of his auspicious retinue, as will, subsequently, be recorded, please God! On Sunday, the 23rd of the month of Muḥarram[6], 644 H., Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, was imprisoned, and during that confinement he was received into the Almighty's mercy.

His reign extended to a period of four years, one month, and one day.

VII. US-SULṬĀN UL-A'ZAM UL-MU'AZZAM, NĀṢIR-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN, ABŪ-L-MUZAFFAR-I-MAHMŪD SHĀH, SON OF THE SULTAN, KASIM-I-AMIR-UL-MŪMININ[7]

The birth of the Sultān-i-Mu'azzam, Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh[8], took place at the Ḳaṣr-Bāgh [the Garden Castle[9]] of Dihlī, in the year 626 H., and, as his birth took

[6] Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh states that he died on the 23rd of the month of Muḥarram, and, if this be correct, he must have been put to death on the same day as he was imprisoned, but no other writer gives the precise date of his death. A single copy of our author's text, not a very old one, has—"after a month he was received," &c.

[7] In the following pages, a totally different title is given to him. This is a title given to his father at page 624. According to the Khulāṣ-ut-ul Akhbār, Sulṭān Barkīārūḳ, the Saljūḳ [see note [2], page 143] also held the title of Ḳasīm-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn previous to the Shansabānī Sulṭāns. See page 316, and page 368, note [3].

[8] ELPHINSTONE turns him into "a *grandson* of Altamsh," and MARSHMAN, following him in that also, turns his name into *Nazir*-ood Deen. These are some of "the facts" in his "History" probably, of which he is "prepared to vouch for the accuracy."

Ibn Baṭūṭah, who is quoted by some as an authority on the history of India, and makes I-yal-timish Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak's *son*, says Nāṣir-ud-Dīn succeeded his sister Raẓiyyat. He is the ninth of Thomas's PAṬHĀN KINGS.

[9] The garden with the Ḳaṣr or Castle in it.

place after the decease of the august Malik, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh[1]—on whom be peace!—at the seat of government of the august Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish—The Almighty illumine his tomb!—this sovereign [Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh]—May his sovereignty long continue!—was distinguished by the title and name of the [late] eldest son [of the Sultān]. His mother [with her infant] was sent to the Ḳasr [Castle] at the town of Lūnī[2], so that there he was brought up in the hall of dominion and the lap of sovereignty, and, thank God! the foster-mother of the Most High Creator's grace nourished him in such wise that he became endowed with all laudable qualities, and from the breasts of humanity he imbibed the milk of benevolence to such degree that all his affairs and all his deeds became the means of the stability of his kingdom, and the glory of his sovereignty[3].

In every matter which becomes unfolded to illustrious monarchs in their old age, after the experiences and incidents of time, all such matters—indeed, twice as much—became realized and conceived in the auspicious constitution and august soul of this monarch of blooming prospects, of Saturn[-like] throne[4], in excellence a Jupiter, in sternness a Mars, in mien a Sun, in beauty a Venus, in intelligence a Mercury, in majesty a Moon in the outset of its youth and the morning of its existence, in firmness, steadfastness, and sedateness, like Bū-Ḳais and Ḥirā[5], and in liberality and beneficence [he] became the envied of 'Ummān's [pearl-giving] sea; and the most excellent service is that of that sublime Court—May it never experience wane, and may its grandeur ever increase!

Every one of the learned [personages] of the realm, and eminent men of the kingdom, have composed benedictions and panegyrics [in his praise], and particles of those odours they have threaded on the string of recital and writing, and

[1] Firishtah asserts that "Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh," was the youngest son of I-yal-timish. he was the youngest of that name and title, but Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, the child put to death by Shāh Turkān, mother of Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, was the youngest of all the sons.

[2] A well-known place a few miles north of Dihlī. It is sometimes called Lonī.

[3] Compare ELLIOT, vol. ii, page 345.

[4] That is, in the seventh heaven.

[5] In Arabia.

this frail one, who is the servant of this court of glory and altar of felicity, by way of felicitation, has composed some poetry and prose. Of these poetical [compositions], one, after the manner of a *Ḳasīdah*[6], and the other, in the manner of a *mulamma'*[7] strophe, have been inscribed in these pages, in order that, when the notice of observers may glance over them, they may utter a prayer for the sovereign of Islām, and invoke a blessing on the author of them[8].

[These fulsome poems may be judged of from what is foregoing, and still more so from what follows, and need scarcely be inserted here[9]].

Titles and Names of the Sultān

US-SULṬĀN-UL-A'ẒAM-

UL-MU'AẒZAM,

NĀṢIR-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN,

ABŪ-L-MUZAFFAR-I-MAḤMŪD SHAH

SON OF THE SULṬĀN, I-YAL-TIMISH,

YAMĪN-I-KHALĪFAH ULLAH,

NĀṢIR-I-AMĪR-UL-MŪMINĪN[1].

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[6] A poem, a eulogium, a long ode.

[7] *Mulamma'* means "of different colours," but, in poetry, it is applied to verses alternately 'Arabic and Persian, but our author's strophe is not exactly in accord with that description.

[8] The text varies here, and, in some copies, there is a longer prayer for the Sulṭān.

[9] If anything were wanting to *convince* me that Firishtah's knowledge of our author's work was derived *solely* from what he copied out of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, it would be found with respect to these poems. The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī copies the first four lines of the ḳaṣīdah, and Firishtah has precisely the same and no more, and this plainly shows whence he obtained them.

[1] The I. O. L. *MS.* No. 1952, instead of this last title, has Ḳasīm-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn. See note [4], page 310.

Offspring:

Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, the late[2].
Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Ibrāhīm Shāh, the late.
Malik Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, the late.
Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad[3] Shāh, the late.

Length of his reign:

Twenty-two years.

Motto on the Royal Signet:

"Greatness belongeth unto God alone[4]."

Standards:

On the right, Black. On the left, Red.

The following is given as the inscription on two of his first coins, a *dirham* and *dīnār* —

Obverse—هذا الدرهم مسكوك با اسم سلطان العادل الباذل ناصرالدين محمود شاه
Reverse—ضرب بلده دهلی سنه ۶۴۴ جلوس احد

which may be thus translated —Obverse—"This diram [is] stamped wit the name of the Just and Beneficent Sulṭān, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh" Reverse—"Struck at the city of Dihlī, in the year 644 H., the first of th reign"

The other runs thus —

Obverse—الناصر لاحكام الشريعة حق المبين سلطان ناصرالدين جلوس ا
Reverse—ضرب هذا الدينار بحضرت دهلی سنه اربع و اربعين و ستمائة

which may be rendered thus —Obverse—"The defender of the ordinances o the Law for the sake of the true [faith], Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn. The first yea of the reign" Reverse—"This coin, a dīnār, [was struck] at the capital Dihlī, in the year six hundred and forty-four"

[2] The oldest copies have اولاد—offspring—and not اقربای—kinsmen, kindred relations—as in some modern copies of the text, and the printed text. Afte each name the invocation—"on whom be mercy or compassion"—equivalen to "the late"—occurs, thus showing that they were dead when our autho wrote, but this is left out in the best Paris MS In the account of the Sulṭān' reign, the birth of a son is recorded in the fourteenth year, but no more Two of the above names are certainly similar to those of *two* of his brothers—the first and third—but the other two are not the names of any of his othe brothers, who, in all, were *six* Had six been mentioned here, and all th names agreed, we might suppose that the brothers were referred to, but, suc not being the case, we can only suppose that these are the names of sons bor to Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, and that they died young, but it is remarkable th our author is silent as to their births after mentioning their names.

[3] In one copy of the text, Maḥmud

[4] Just the same as his father's

His Maliks[5].

On the right :—

Malik-al-Kabīr, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Ḳulich[6] Khān, son of [the lat] Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī-i-Ghāzī, Malik of Lakh[ana]watī and Karah.

Malik-al-Kabīr, Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Sher Khān, Sun[ḳar]-i-Saghalsus, Malik of Sind and of Hind[7].

Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Bat[8] Khān -i- Ī-bak, the Khi[tāī], Malik of Kuhrām.

Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Buktam-i-Aor Khān.

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn [Tāj-ud-Dīn ?], Arsalān K[hān], Sanjar-i-Chast[9], Malik of Awadh.

Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Balkā Khān, Sanā'ī[1].

Malik Tamur Khān-i-Sunḳar, the 'Ajamī, Malik Kuhrām

Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Yūz-Bak-i-Ṭughril Khān, late, Malik of Lakhanawatī.

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd[2], Ṭughril-i-Alb Khān

On the left :—

Malik-al-Kabīr-ul-Mu'azẓam, Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, of 'Alī, the Ghūrī

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sālārī, Mahdī.

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān, Malil Lakhanawatī

Malik-al-Karīm, Ḳamar-ud-Dīn, Tamur Khān-i-Ḳī- Malik of Awadh and Lakhanawatī.

[5] This list is evidently defective. No Wazīrs or Ḳāẓīs are given, several eminent Maliks, mentioned in the following account of the reign, as No XXI in the next Section—Malik Nuṣrat Khān, Badr-ud-Dīn, Su i-Ṣūfī, the Rūmī, No XXII.—Malik Saif-ud Dīn, Ī-bak, the Shamsī chief Dād-Bak, the son of Kashlī Khān, Ulugh Khān's nephew, and s[everal] others, and no list of victories is given in any copy of the text. All this s[hows], I think, that our author intended to continue his work as he afterwards s[tates].

[6] In some copies, Ṭughril and Khalj, but these can scarcely be co[rrect], and Ṭughril is most likely the name of the third Malik below, which, fro[m the] names being sometimes copied in a circle, or one after the other, ha[s been] mixed up one with the other

[7] In nearly every copy of the text containing this List

[8] This word is doubtful. See Malik No XVI in the next Section.

[9] This word is doubtful also See Malik No XIX

[1] ثنائی—Sanā'ī—doubtful. in one copy ی — and in another سائی

[2] In one or two copies, Naṣr-ud Dīn, Muhammad, &c

Malik-al-Kabīr, 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, Malik of Sind and of Hind[3].

Malik Ḳarā-Ḳush Khān-i-Aet-kīn, Malik of Lohor.

Malik-al-Kabīr-ul-Mu'aẓẓam, Bahā-ul-Ḥaḳḳ wa ud-Dīn, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Ulugh Khān[4], Malik of the Siwālikh and Hānsī.

Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Kashlī Khān, Mubārak-i-Bār-Bak, the late

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Kuret Khān, Malik of Awadh

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Tez Khān, Malik of Awadh

Such attributes of the saints, and endowments of the prophets, which the Most High God hath implanted in the great soul of this monarch and son of a monarch, and instilled into his august nature—piety, faith, probity, abstinence, compassion, clemency, mercy, beneficence, impartiality, bounty, generosity, humility, purity, constancy, steadfastness, fasting and prayer, the perusal of the Holy Word, forbearance, gentleness, benevolence, harmlessness, justness, the love of the learned and of learning, regard for ecclesiastics, along with other admirable principles and inestimable qualities which are the requirements of sovereignty and principles of government, such as vigour, dignity, manliness, ardour, spirit, impartiality, kindness, liberality, and the conferring of obligations, with the concurrence of the people of the time—will not be found united in the person of any of the monarchs among the Sulṭāns of by-gone days, or of the Maliks of past ages—The Almighty sanctify their tombs!—and the purity of the garment, and [other] admirable qualities, both external and internal, of this Sulṭān, and son of the Sulṭān—The Almighty exalt his dignity and enlighten his understanding!—are so abundant that they cannot be comprised

[3] Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Sher Khān-i-Sunḳar, as well as Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, is called Malik of *Sind and Hind*. This may be in some way connected with the terms applied to the country east of the Sind or Indus, in the map of Sind in the MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK, in which the country S. E. of Manṣurah is called Bilād-us-Sind, and that immediately north of it, Bilād-ul-Hind.

[4] The best Paris *MS.*—the "autograph" probably—and two or three others which are also comparatively modern, invariably make the great blunder of styling Ulugh Khān—الغ خان—"Ulū Khān"—الو خان!

within record or recital. The Almighty God preserve him on the throne of his dominion continual and perpetual[5]!

Inasmuch as the accession of this Sulṭān, the son of the Sulṭān, to the throne of dominion took place in the beginning of the year 644 H.,—the Almighty perpetuate his sovereignty!—and that up to the period of this Chronicle will be fifteen years, each year thereof has been separated in order that the events may be more accessible to the understanding.

FIRST YEAR: 644 H.

The Sultān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, under a happy conjunction of the planets, with auspicious fortune, at a propitious time, and, with daily-increasing prosperity, ascended the throne of sovereignty within the Ḳaṣr-i-Sabz [Green Castle] in the capital city of Dihlī, on Sunday, the 23rd of the month of Muḥarram[6], in the year 644 H.; and the Maliks and Amīrs, the Ṣadrs and Grandees, and the Sayyids and 'Ulamā, hastened to present themselves[7] at the sublime Court—may its sublimity never decrease!—and performed the ceremony of kissing the blessed hands of this king of kings

[5] Several of the words used by our author to express all these perfections, the like of which no other son of Adam ever possessed, are of the same signification, and, therefore, I have not repeated their meanings again, but the context shows, that, however amiable and harmless he may have been, he was by no means fitted for his position, and was a mere tool or puppet. Our author's flattering account of him must have been intended for Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's own perusal. Compare ELLIOT here.

The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī states that he copied Ḳur'āns, and completed two in each year—not excessive work—which were sold, and the proceeds he subsisted on. The author then goes on to say that he had but one wife, and no servant or slave girl, and that she used to cook his victuals and do all the work. This story, however, is very *stale* indeed—as stale as the days of one of the early Khalīfahs. It is not likely that Ulugh Khān would have allowed his daughter to be treated after that fashion, but the account of the brilliancy of the Court of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, which may be gathered from the account given by our author at the end of the next Section, belies such a statement. The Sulṭān was God-fearing and pious—in the Musalmān sense of the word—and no doubt copied Ḳur'āns, but that he lived on the price they fetched, and that he could not afford to purchase a slave woman to do the household duties is absurd, when he could present *forty head of slaves* to our author to send to his "dear sister" in Khurāsān. See page 686, and the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section.

[6] The first month of the Muḥammadan year.

[7] Compare ELLIOT: vol. ii. page 346.

of august footstep; and all of them, each in a manner befitting his own position, tendered the homage of congratulation on his accession to the throne. On Tuesday, the 25th of this same month, the Sulṭān held a public reception in the audience-hall of the Kūs͟hk-i-Fīrūzī [the Fīrūzī Castle]—the royal residence; and all the people[8] made public pledge of allegiance to the sovereignty and of submission to the mandates, of the beneficent monarch of excellent disposition and kingly countenance. All were rejoiced at the reconstitution of this dynasty, and all parts of the territory of Hindūstān were pleased at this prosperous[9] reign; and may it be prolonged to the utmost limits of possibility!

When the Sulṭān of Islām, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd S͟hāh, set out from Dihlī towards Bharā'ij on that fief being assigned to him [by his nephew, Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd S͟hāh[1]], his mother, the Malikah-i-Jahān, Jalāl-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn—may her prosperity endure[2]!—accompanied him. He undertook many expeditions against the infidels[3] in that territory and the mountains [adjacent]; and the province of Bharā'ij, through his auspicious arrival there, assumed a most flourishing condition.

When, on account of those holy expeditions, and the flourishing condition [of the province], the fame of his government became diffused through the different parts of Hindūstān, the Maliks and Amīrs of the kingdom, having become apprehensive of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd S͟hāh, secretly despatched, to his presence, a written petition [to the effect] that, if the sacred footstep should turn towards the capital, Dihlī, it would be a source of congratulation[4].

[8] The "approval" of "the people" was neither asked nor required; in those days there was not so much fuss made about "the *people*" as at present.

[9] This prosperous reign may be judged of from the following pages—constant outbreaks, and continual inroads on the part of the Mug͟hals, and Sind, Multān, and Lāhor lost, or very nearly so, and not recovered for a long period.

[1] See page 665

[2] Who his mother was is not known, but it does not follow that she was a "princess" as in ELLIOT in all probability she was a concubine She caused trouble enough afterwards

[3] This maker of holy war upon the infidels was then fifteen years old—a very experienced warrior doubtless

[4] A few copies have "and solicited his auspicious departure towards the capital."

The Malikah-i-Jahān, his mother, adopting a good expedient, represented to the people to the effect that her son was going to the city of Dihlī for the purpose of obtaining medicine and remedy for sickness; and she placed the Sulṭān in a litter; and the Malikah, his mother, taking him along with her, and, attended by a great number of domestics on foot and on horseback, set out from Bharā'ij towards the capital, Dihlī. When night came on, they covered the blessed face of the Sulṭān with a woman's veil and placed him on horseback, and, proceeding with the utmost expedition, in a short space of time they reached Dihlī on such wise that not a living being had information of the arrival of the august cavalcade of this monarch of felicitous reign until the day that he ascended the throne.

After the seat of dominion became beautified and ornamented by the grace and splendour of his person, in the month of Rajab, in the year 644 H., he raised his imperial standards and brought out his forces for the purpose of marching to the banks of the river Sind, and Banīān [5], and the destruction of the infidels of Chīn [the Mughals], and moved by successive marches [6]. On Sunday, the 1st of

[5] The I. O. L. *MS.*, No. 1952, and R. A. S. *MS.* have Multān!

[6] This passage plainly indicates that Banīān must be the hilly tract west of the upper part of the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah. It is not known by that name now. For the events of the Shamsī dynasty, after I-yal-timish himself, as I have before stated, the only *contemporary* authority then living in the kingdom of Dihlī was our author, but, for reasons we are not cognizant of, scarcely from want of information, he has not given many details respecting the different Mughal invasions and other events which took place in these reigns, and above we have a specimen of his concealment of facts. He gives some details, however, in the last Section in his account of the Mughals, for which place I shall reserve my remarks, merely mentioning here that, in the beginning of this year, 644 H., the Mughals extorted 100,000 *dirams* from Multān, then moved on to Lāhor, and extorted 30,000 *dirams*, 30 kharwārs of soft goods [cloths], and 100 head of captives. Our author must have passed all this over, as well as much more, to feed the vanity of his patrons. See also his account of Ulugh Khān for a few more details. In Elliot's INDIA, all the important events in our author's work concerning the Mughal raids on the frontiers of India have been ignored.

The Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī, copied in the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, and its followers, would make us believe, contrary to our author, that, at the very outset of his reign, Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, assigned a canopy of state, a *dūr-bāsh*, and the dignity of Khān to Ulugh Khān, but this is incorrect. Had the two former been allowed him, our author was not one to conceal such honour towards his great patron.

In this part of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn's reign, the Dakhanī historian, in his

the month of Zī-Ḳa'dah, 644 H., he crossed the river of Lohor [Rāwī], and issued commands to the forces of Islām to ravage the Jūd Hills and around Nandanah[7]. Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam[8]—may his good fortune[9] continue!—who held the office of Amīr-i Ḥājib, was nominated to the head of that army, and the Sulṭān with the camp, the followers, heavy material, and the elephants, encamped on the bank of the Sūdharah[1].

Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam took that army, and, by the favour and aid of the Creator, he ravaged the Jūd Hills and Jilam [Jhilam], and the Khokhars, and other con-

endeavours to spin out his tale, inserts the nonsense about the removal of the feudatories of the Panjāb, and with it quotes the stale story about Alexander's message to Aristotle for advice, which is related in Guzīdah and others long before Firishtah wrote, respecting a king of Khwārazm.

[7] See Elliot here also [INDIA vol ii page 346], where the editor, in a note, says "the text [*printed* text?] has ىندنه *nandna*, but it is evidently a mistake for سنده "*Sindh*," or the river Indus, which agrees with what follows, and with *Firishta's statement*" When NANDANAH, in some places, is turned into "*Nārdīn*," and in one place is made "a fortified village near Kanauj," we can scarcely expect to find it in its right place The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī copies our author quite correctly and has Nandanah likewise, and Firishtah—the *MSS* copies of the work—follows the former likewise, with some additions of his own concoction, but in the "revised text" of BRIGGS Nandanah is turned into *Multān*, and that text has neither "Nandna" nor "Sindh," and both Dow and Briggs, in their versions of Firishtah, have "territories near the Indus," and "provinces on the Indus," respectively. The words in our author's text are بنهب كوه جود و اطراف ىدنه فرمان داد See also the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section for further particulars.

[8] معظم Mu'aẓẓam signifies *great* عظم—A'ẓam is the comparative of عظيم—'Aẓīm, and signifies *greatest*, and Ulugh is Turkish, and signifies *great*, being equivalent to the Persian *buzurg* Dow, referring to his appointment as Wazīr—as Firishtah styles him Balban-i-Khūrd, copying the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, to distinguish him from Balban-i-Buzurg, as 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān is styled in the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī—calls him "*young* Balin"! Ulugh Khān, or Balban the *Lesser* or Minor, as the term signifies, was then only past *forty*! This however is not so absurd as LEE, who, in his translation of Ibn Ba'uta [Ibn Baṭūṭah], [page 114] quoting the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, to prove Dow wrong in calling him Balin, says that he was called *Balaban the Dwarf*, and actually gives the words بلبن خورد to prove his words, خورد being *a dwarf* in his vocabulary!!

[9] The printed text has سلطنة here for دولت and constantly makes the same mistake

[1] Or Sūdharā—سودهرا—"is a town two and a half *kuroh* to the north-west of Wazīrābād. In former times, the river Chināb—which, at this place, is also called the Sūdharā—flowed close to the place, on the northern side, but now it is a *kuroh* to the north of it There is no river "*Sodra*." See the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section

tumacious infidels[2] in great numbers he sent to hell. He pushed on as far as the bank of the river Sind and ravaged and plundered those parts, and returned again from thence on account of the difficulty of obtaining subsistence and necessaries for his troops. When he presented himself at the sublime Court after such success, and such a great renown, on Thursday, the 25th of Zī-Ḳa'dah of this same year, the auspicious standards moved from the bank of the river Sūdharah, and the force set out on its return towards the illustrious capital, the city of Dihlī The prayers for the 'Īd-i-Aẓḥā were said in the *karah*[3] [the hall of a Kārwān Sarāe or of a College] of Jalandar [Jalhandar], and from thence, stage by stage, the capital was reached.

On this day, likewise, this servant of the state, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, who is the writer of this [work], was presented [by order of the Sultān] with a cloak[4], a turban, and a horse, with ornamented stirrups and bridle befitting a king[5].

SECOND YEAR: 645 H.

The capital city Dihlī was reached on the 2nd of Muḥarram, 645 H., and the Sultān remained at Dihlī on account of the abundance of rain and severity of the rainy season. In the month of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir of this same year, the camp and the royal pavilion were pitched in the direction of Pānī-pat, and, in Sha'bān, [the Sultān] returned again [to Dihlī], and the sublime standards moved towards the part of Hindūstān situated in the Do-āb Within the limits of [the district] of Ḳinnauj there was a fortified place and strong fort, the name of which was Talsandah[6],

[2] And yet the Dakhanī historian, Firishtah, in his account of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī's reign, says the Khokhars were converted to Islām at that time.

[3] The *printed* text has کره—mountain, range of hills or mountains, instead of کره as above, and, consequently, in ELLIOT, the Sultān "offered up *his* prayers *on the hills* of Jálandar," which lies in a perfectly level tract of country, with no hill whatever within some *forty miles* of it. *Karah* and *ḥujrah* are of very nearly the same signification.

[4] Such as Ṣūfīs and Darweshes wear

[5] In this year Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Ḳarā-Ḳush Khān-i-Aet-kīn, the feudatory of Karah, was killed in that territory, but how, or by whom, is not said.

[6] This place which is plainly written تلسنده—Talsandah in *all* the copies of the text—with two exceptions, where it is تلنده — Talandah — and تلبنده — Talbandah—is turned into *Nandana* in the printed text and in ELLIOT, and THOMAS follows the incorrect reading [PATHÁN KINGS, page 125], *and although Nandanah*, which is not only impossible, but does not occur in any copy of

which was reported to be as stout as the wall of Sikandar[7]. In that fort a body of infidel Hindūs sought a place of security, and washed their hands of their lives. For a period of ten days, the troops of Islām in attendance at the august stirrup carried on the conflict against that place with the Hindūs until they despatched the whole of those rebels to hell, and the place was taken.

[An account of] this holy war, as by the faith prescribed, this servant of the realm has composed in poetry on five or six sheets[8] of paper; and all that happened on this expedition—the ravages by the way, the onslaughts and the slaughtering of the contumacious infidels, and taking of that stronghold, the successes which attended Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam in the slaying [of infidels] and taking Dalkī and Malkī[9], are, in those sections [of paper], fully

the text, Gen. Cunningham [see THOMAS: *ibid.*] *identifies* it "as *Deo-kali* or NO-PO-TĪ-PO-KĪN-LO of Huen Thsang, i. e. *Nava* deva kala, close to Rájgir, the fort of Alha and Udal, about four miles S.E. of Kanauj." I, however, fail to find the latter places even in the Indian Atlas.

The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī does not mention the name of this place, but Firishtah [BRIGGS "*revised text*"] has بهره which may be anything almost, but Dow, in this instance, is much more correct here, and has *Tilsindah*, thus showing that the *MSS* of Firishtah used by him, although not "revised," were correct, whilst Briggs, in his version of Firishtah, styles it "*Bitunda*" and *identifies* it with Bulandshahr [Anglicized into *Booloondshuhur*], the former name of which was Baran. The latter place is some forty miles S E. of Dihlī, while Bithanḍah is about 200 miles to the N W. of it!

There is TILSURRA—what the vernacular form of it is I do not know—about twelve miles S S W of Ḳinnauj, but off the present high road, and *Thuttea*, about eight miles S., and *Tiroon* about ten miles S W of Ḳinnanj. The first mentioned place if written in the vernacular with ڑ = ڑ—which, in all probability, it is, *might*, by a foreigner, be written تلسنده for تلسڑه. See also the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section.

[7] The Sadd-i-Sikandar, Sadd-i-Yājūj Mājūj [wall of Gog and Magog], or Bāb-ul-Abwāb, the bulwark built to restrain the incursions of the northern barbarians into the Persian empire, and attributed to an ancient king, Alexander, not Alexander of Macedon

[8] A sheet of paper folded to make a *jus* or eight pages

[9] Every copy of the text here has و between the words دلکی and ملکی which seems meant for the copulative conjunction, but, farther on, under this reign, and also in the account of Ulugh Khān, *there is no* و. If و is correct, and is intended for *and*, "Dalkī *and* Malkī" cannot possibly be the name of *one person*, and we are plainly told that *a* Rānah is referred to Without the و the passage could be read Dalkī *of* Malkī, the latter would then refer to his stronghold or territory, the former being the most probable, or Dalkī *the* Malkī, and the last word would then refer to some office or title of the Rānah in question The best St. Petersburg

and completely described in verse, and, after the name of the Sultān, it was entitled the NĀSIRĪ NĀMAH. In satisfaction thereof the author received from his Majesty the Sultān-i-Mu'azzam—may his sovereignty continue!—a permanent grant which should be received yearly; and, from the Khākān-i-Mu'azzam [10], Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam — the Almighty prolong his power!—he obtained the grant of a village within the Hānsī province—may the Most High God preserve and continue the both of them on the seat of sovereignty and cushion of vicegerency! I now return to my Chronicle again.

On Thursday, the 24th of the month of Shawwāl, 645 H., that fort, after much fighting and great slaughter, was captured [1], and, after that, on Tuesday [2], the 12th of the month of Zī-Ka'dah of the same year, the territory of Karah was reached Thirty [3] days previous to that, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, with the whole of the Maliks and Amīrs and forces appointed to serve under him, had been despatched on an expedition; and that lion-hearted Khān, of Rustam-like nature, like Suhrāb in battle, and of elephant-like person [4], during that movement, showed such proofs of spirit and skill, as cannot be sufficiently praised, in important battles, the capture of strongholds and forts,

MS, however, has only the following words here: "*the slaughtering of the contumacious, and the taking of Dalkī and Malkī*," respecting which passage see note [6], page 682.

[10] Because our author, in his usual fulsome manner, styles him Khākān-i-Mu'azzam, signifying great king or emperor, it does not follow, nor does it mean, that he was king when this was written Our author generally uses the word دولت with respect to Ulugh Khān, which has many significations, and, as he ruled Nāṣir-ud-Dīn as well as the country, it would not be a matter of surprise to find "rule" or "power" used here, without its being turned into a proof that he must have been on the throne when the identical passage was written.

[1] In the account of Ulugh Khān it is stated that he rejoined the Sultān, with his force, on his return from this expedition, on the last day—the 29th—of the month Shawwāl, and that, after the festival of the Azhā—10th of Zī-Hijjah, the last month of the year—the forces set out towards the capital, which was reached on the 24th of the first month of the following year—646 H See page 683

[2] Some copies of the text have Monday Tabakāt-i Akbarī says the Sultān moved towards Karah on the 10th of that month.

[3] In some copies of the text *three* days, but that is evidently too short a time, as the context proves.

[4] Strong like an elephant he probably means See Ibn Batūtah's account of Ulugh Khān in a note to the account of that Malik in the next Section

making way through forests and wilds, the slaughter of obdurate infidels, the acquirement of booty and captives, together with making prisoners of the dependents of great Rāes and Rānahs such as cannot be fully contained in the writing of the scribe nor the narrative of the detailer: a little has been rendered into verse in the book [entitled] the NĀSIRI NĀMAH.

There was a Rānah in those mountains and that tract [of country] which they were wont to call Dalkī and Malkī[a],

[a] Here, contrary to the preceding passage just noticed, no و is used in the majority of the copies of the text, including the oldest and best ones, and in the account of Ulugh Khān also, in the next Section, no و is used. There our author says that "دلکی ملکی was a Rānah in the vicinity of the river Jūn *which is between Kālinjar and Karah*," and evidently referring to the country, not the Rānah. He then says that: "this stronghold was taken, together with the whole of the Rānah's family, kinsmen, and children, &c." Ropes and ladders had to be used in gaining access "*to the place*." It is scarcely probable that our author would write two or three different versions of this affair—he wrote one in verse, as mentioned above—without referring to the name of the country or the place taken, and this tends to prove that one of these names at least, if not both, refers to the Rānah's country or fortress. They cannot possibly both refer to the name of *one* man: that is simply impossible, as "*a* Rānah" is plainly indicated both here and farther on. Without the و the words would form a very improbable Hindū proper name, but they might then be read Dalkī *of* Malkī, the last word being the name of his stronghold or country, which is possible, *or* Dalkī *the* Malkī, when the last word would refer to some title or office, which seems improbable. As no vowel points are given, and as ك may stand for *g* as well as for *k*, the words may be Dulkī, Dalakī, Mulkī, and Malkī, or Dulgī and Mulgī or Dalagī and Malagī, and the like. The more correct spelling may be ڈھلکی—Dhalkī or Dhulkī, and مهلکی—Mhalkī or Mahalkī, as foreigners are very apt to leave out the ه—*h*—in Hindī words, and to write د—*d*—for ڈ—ḍ. There is a place similarly named مهلکی in the Antarbed Do-ābah, thus showing that it is not uncommon. See the note to this passage in the account of Ulugh Khān in the following Section.

In the best St. Petersburg copy of the text, which I have found particularly correct in most instances where others have been most defective, and also in the best British Museum copy, this passage is different from that in all the other copies of the text collated, and throws quite a different light upon the matter by the mere difference of the pronoun, they having آن—*that* instead of او—*he*, &c., and I have, consequently, taking the reasons above stated with this rendering of the passage in those two first-named copies, no hesitation in adopting this solution of this very tedious passage, which is as follows:—

و رانه بود درآن جبال و نواحی که آن را دلکی ملکی [or دلکی و ملکی] میخواندی

and as I have rendered it above. The only doubt remaining is, whether the word دلکی may refer to the Rānah or not, as with, or without the و both words might refer to the country.

The Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī copies from our author here, but merely says that "the Rānah's موضع [district, place, town, &c.] of دلکی و ملکی was taken."

with numerous dependents, and fighting men beyond compute, and possessing dominions and wealth unlimited, and strong places, and defiles and passes of excessive strength, the whole of which he [Ulugh Khān] devastated, and captured all the dependents, together with the women and children of that accursed one, and obtained great booty Of one description of horses alone, fifteen hundred head fell into the hands of the Musalmān forces, and, from this, one may infer the extent of other booty. After he [Ulugh Khān] thus felicitously had rejoined the sublime Court, all expressed exultation at these successes; and the imperial standards, on Thursday, the 12th of the month of Zī-Ḥijjah, 645 H, returned from that territory [Karah [6]].

On this march, Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ud Shāh, who was the feudatory of Kinnauj, and the Sultān's brother, presented himself at the Court He accomplished [the ceremony of] kissing the sublime hand, and returned, and the army of Islām and the imperial standards, by regular marches, continued moving towards the illustrious capital, Dihlī, until the

THIRD YEAR 646 H.

When, on Wednesday, the 24th of the month of Muḥarram, 646 H, the Sultān [with his forces] reached the seat of empire again on his return from this expedition. The city was decorated for the occasion, and with felicity and majesty he took his place in the seat of sovereignty [7] At this period, Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh [the

Firishtah copies from it in the same manner nearly, with some additions of his own, but he *does not mention* anything whatever *of two* rājahs, as rendered by BRIGGS, "*the Rajahs Dulky and Mulky*," but, on the other hand, "*a* rājah."

The situation of this Rānah's country is plainly indicated in the passage in the account of Ulugh Khān, and refers to the tract immediately west of the S W Tons river I think "Garwa near Sheorajpur [Shiw rāj pūr?] in Parganah Bárah of Allahabad," referred to by Mr I L Atkinson in the proceedings of the ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL for June, 1874, pages 123-4, is too far east to have been one of the places destroyed by Ulugh Khān.

[6] Compare ELLIOT here

[7] In ELLIOT this sentence is rendered, "On Wednesday, &c, the Sultān reached Dehlī, and took his seat upon the throne with great state" I have already mentioned how oriental cities are decorated, note [3], page 616

Sulṭān's brother], who, when he presented himself to the Sulṭān [on his march back from Kaṛah], had been nominated to the fiefs of Sanbhal and Budā'ūn, became suddenly filled with fear and terror, and from Sanbhal and Budā'ūn proceeded towards Lohor[8], by way of the hills of Sihnūr.

The Sulṭān-i-Mu'aẕẕam continued at the capital for a period of seven months, until the month of Sha'bān, 646 H., when the sublime standards moved out of Dihlī, and [the Sulṭān] gave directions for undertaking expeditions against the infidels in different parts of the hills and plains, and, having nominated Amīrs to proceed to different parts, he returned to the capital; and, on this expedition, the Sultān did not happen to proceed a greater distance. On Wednesday, the 9th of the sacred month of Ẕi-Ḥijjah, in felicity and power, he reached the capital[9].

The forces of Islām pushed on towards the Koh-pāyah [skirts of the hills—of Mewāt] and Rantabhūr. On this

[8] Rendered in ELLIOT, "When Malik Jalalú-d dín waited upon the king as he was returning, he was appointed governor of Sambal and Badáun, but he all at once *took alarm about these two districts and came to the capital*." The I. O. L. *MS.*, the R. A. S. *MS.*, the best Paris *MS.*, and the Calcutta printed text, are *minus* one line or more here. There was no cause of alarm about those districts, and the capital was the place, above all others, that he would avoid. Our author makes a mystery of this affair. In his account of Ulugh Khān, he says, the Dihlī troops marched to the banks of the Biāh and back again in 646 H., but no reason is given; and this movement was evidently connected, in some way, with the Prince's flight. In the account of 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, and Nuṣrat ud-Dīn, Sher Khān-i Sunḳar, in the next Section, and in the last Section, some farther references will be found to this matter. It is said he fled to the Mughals.

[9] Compare ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 349. This passage is certainly imperfect, for, on turning to the corresponding month and year, in the account of Ulugh Khān, it is in a manner explained. It was in Sha'bān, 646 H., that Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, moved towards the upper provinces, referred to in the preceding note, which evidently was connected with the flight of his brother to Lāhor. The paragraph mentioning this circumstance might almost be inserted above, and it would make the matter clear. It is as follows:—"In the month of Sha'bān, 646 H., the royal standards moved towards the upper provinces, as far as the extreme frontiers, and the bank of the river Biāh, and from thence returned to the capital." It was after this that Amīrs were sent on the expeditions against the infidels, it not being considered advisable, seemingly, to pass beyond the Biāh, and therefore Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, returned to the capital again, after appointing some of his Amīrs to move against some of his contumacious Hindū subjects.

It is remarkable that, since the year 639 H., after the sack of Lāhor by the Mughals, we do not find it again mentioned as a province of the Dehlī kingdom, and this passage confirms it.

expedition, and during the stay of the Sulṭān at the capital, two events occurred. The one was this, that Ḳāẓī Jamāl-ud-Dīn, the Shafūrḳānī [i.e. Shabūrghānī] was accused, and, from Friday, the 9th of the month of Zī-Ḥijjah, in the Ḳaṣr-i-Safed [the White Castle], was removed from his Ḳāẓī-ship, and, by command, left the city and departed towards Budā'ūn; and, on the 12th of Zī-Ḥijjah, by the endeavour, of 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān, he was put to death [1]: the other was that Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the Khwājah, in the vicinity of the fortress of Rantabhūr [2], attained martydom at the hands of the infidel Hindūs, on Sunday, the 11th of the month of Zī-Ḥijjah—may he receive grace and forgiveness!

FOURTH YEAR: 647 H.

On Monday, the 3rd of the month of Ṣafar, 647 H., Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, with the forces of Islām, and the sublime standards, returned in triumph to the capital again [3]. As Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam was the asylum of the Sulṭān's dynasty, the prop of the army, and the strength of the kingdom, with the concurrence of all the Grandees and Maliks of the realm, it was his daughter's good fortune to become the Malikah-i-Jahān [4] [Queen of the Universe—the Royal consort], and this marriage took place on

[1] Compare ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 349. 'Imād ud-Dīn did not kill him.

[2] For further particulars of this expedition, meagre as they are, see the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section.

[3] This is the first occasion that the "sublime standards" are said to have accompanied Ulugh Khān.

[4] This passage is inverted altogether in ELLIOT [page 349]. The printed text is perfectly correct here, and has, like the *MSS* copies of the work, the words—مزید او ملکهٔ جهان گشت—which have been rendered totally contrary to their meaning, viz. —the Sulṭān "*gave his daughter to the son of the Khān*"! Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, was, at this time, in the 21st year of his age. Thomas [PATHÁN KINGS, page 125], led astray by the above translation probably, falls into the same error.

Our author has forgotten to state here, although he has remembered it in his account of him, that it was shortly after this event that Malik Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban, was dignified with the title of Ulugh Khān, the Deputy-ship of the kingdom, and leadership of the troops, and that his brother, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Kashlī Khān, was made Amīr-i-Ḥājib, and, on Nāg-awr being taken from Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, that fief was made over to the new Amīr-i-Ḥājib. See the account of him in next Section.

Monday, the 20th of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir[5], 647 H. May the Most High God preserve all three, the protection and prop of the Muḥammadan faith, in sovereignty, honour, and prosperity!

In this year likewise, on the 10th of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, Ḳāẓī Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Kāsānī, arrived from Awadh, and became Ḳāẓī of the realm. On Monday, the 22nd of the month of Sha'bān[6], the imperial standards moved out of the capital, Dihlī, and, on Sunday, the 4th of the month of Shawwāl of this same year, crossed the Jūn, for the purpose of undertaking a holy expedition against the Hindūs, and forces were told off to operate in that tract

Letters from the sister of this frail individual [the author] arrived from Khurāsān, and they were represented to the sublime consideration, and the Sulṭān—Long may his Khilāfat continue! through the recommendation of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam—may Almighty God long preserve and prolong both their lives!—conferred an honorary robe, a *misāl* [royal grant] for forty head of captives[7], and a hundred *khar-wārs* weight of gifts

[5] Some copies have the 6th of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, but the date and month above is confirmed in the account of Ulugh Khān

[6] Farther on, in the next Section, our author says that Ulugh Khān moved from the capital on Monday, the 9th of Sha'bān, and the camp was pitched at the ford over the Jūn, and hostilities at once commenced against the infidels

[7] The translator of this passage in ELLIOT [vol ii page 350] turns 40 captives into 100 *beasts of burden!* The words in the text, the Calcutta printed text included, are perfectly plain, and to make it unmistakeably so, the word نفر—*nafar*, applied *solely to human beings*, is used. The passage is thus rendered in Elliot—"*he* [the Sulṭān] *was pleased to give* HER *one hundred* BEASTS OF BURDEN, *and one hundred ass-loads of presents*" In a foot note, the Editor states "the word used is برده for which the dictionaries give the meaning [it is an every-day word almost in the Persian of the *East*] of 'captive, slave, servant' It can hardly bear this meaning here, and in other places it is connected with [*] *asp* (horse) so *I* have translated it 'beast of burden,' from the verb *burdan* to carry"!!

If *bardah* cannot bear this meaning here, how is it that, at page 371 of the same work, the Editor does not translate the same word, printed in italics, *beast of burden?* Why cannot it bear this meaning? Was it *too shocking* to think that captives should thus be sent away to be sold? It was a common practice nevertheless, and the meaning is *captives* who had been made slaves of Our author, in the next Section, gives the particulars of his proceeding to Multān with his slaves, to despatch them to his "dear sister" in Khurāsān, and there he uses the word غلامان—*ghulāmān*, an Arabic word, whilst برده—*bardah* is pure Persian, and, in his account of Ulugh Khān, in the next Section, but which identical part has been omitted in ELLIOT [page 368] as

On Wednesday, the 24th of the month of Zī-Ḥijjah, the august standards returned to the capital; and, on Monday, the 29th of the same month, the author set out from Dihlī for the purpose of proceeding to Multān, in order to despatch the captives to Khurāsān. When he reached the Hānsī district, by the sublime command of the Khān-i-Mu'azzam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, the author took possession of the village conferred on him by Ulugh Khān[8], and opportunity offered of proceeding to Multān by way of Abūhar[9], and, in the

FIFTH YEAR: 648 H.,

On Sunday, the 11th of the month of Ṣafar, 648 H., an interview was obtained with Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunḳar, on the bank of the Biāh[1], and from thence, proceeding

"*matters personal of the author*,"—but not more so than a vast deal more in this work, and as personal here as there—our author again mentions *forty head of captives*, &c. Khar-wār, although literally an *ass-load*, is here used to signify the weight of an ass-load, but it does not follow that the loads were carried by asses.

[8] Further details respecting these matters will be found in the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section.

[9] Ibn Baṭūṭah, who proceeded "from Multān, the principal city of Sind," towards Dihlī, says, "the first city [town?] we reached appertaining to Hindūstān, and the first in this direction, was Abūhar. It is of small size and closely built, and has much water and cultivation."

This statement of our author respecting this interview proves beyond a doubt, that, at this period, the Biāh flowed *in its old bed*, between the present Sutlaj and the Chināb, as it would have been impossible, in proceeding direct from Abūhar to Multān, to have otherwise met Sher Khān on the Biāh. See remarks on "The Lost River" in last Section.

[1] The I. O. L. *MS.* No. 1952, and R. A. S. *MS.*, and Calcutta printed text, here have لب آب سند و بیاه—*the bank of the water* [*river*] *Sindh and Biāh*—and the words are thus translated in ELLIOT [vol. ii. page 350] "on the banks of the *river* SIND *and* Biyáh," but for two persons to hold an interview on these *two* rivers at the same time is *rather* difficult from three other rivers and vast tracts of country—in fact the whole Panjāb—intervening between them. Our author's words are perfectly clear and intelligible, but the words سند و—"*Sindh and*"—are not contained in the text. One modern copy has لب سند بیاه—the bank of the *Sind-i-Biāh* [i. e. the river of Biāh], which probably the editors of the Calcutta text took for the Indus, as the term is used—in a proper sense of course—both to signify *the* Indus, and also *any* river, its proper Sanskrit meaning.

In a note to the above passage in ELLIOT, the Editor says, with reference to the words—"mulāḳāt-i-Sher Khān hāṣil shud"—"our text has *no nominative* in this sentence," and, that "the words show that the person who had the interview *was not superior in rank* to Sher Khán." As the subject.

onwards towards Multān, the author, on Wednesday, the 6th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal of that year, reached it. Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū[2] Khān, arrived that same day from Ūchchah for the purpose of taking Multān, and there was an opportunity of an interview with him. The author continued to remain there up to the 26th of the month of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, and the capture of Multān, which was in the hands of a retainer of Malik Sher Khān, was not effected. The author set out to return to the capital, and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, retired towards Ūchchah. The author returned by the route of the fort of Marūt[3] to Sursutī and Hānsī, and reached Dihlī again on the 22nd of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir

In the month of Shawwāl of this same year, Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn-i-Kurez, from Multān, made a great number of Mughals captive, and sent them to the capital; and the city of Dihlī was decorated for this success of the Nāṣirī dynasty[4]. In this year likewise, on Friday, the 17th of

a mere continuation of the sentence above there can be no doubt as to who is referred to, and, as the nominative to a *passive verb* is never expressed in the Persian language, it is not astonishing that our author does not use it here The words above are "the interview with Sher Khān [lit. *of* Sher Khān] WAS attained or acquired," *not* "had an interview," but what *proves*—except the previous sentence, which is clear enough—the superiority or inferiority of the two persons, I am at a loss to discern

It is the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, *not* Firishtah—for he is a mere copyist of the former work, as I have often shown here already—who takes the Sulṭān, who never left Dihlī that year, to the Bīāh, and says that Sher Khān joined him there, but does not mention anything about 20,000 horse The same work takes the Sulṭān to Multān and Ūchchah, the former of which places he is therein stated to have reached on the 6th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 648 H In this case *our author has only been mistaken for the Sulṭān!* See the account of Malik 'Izz ud Dīn, Balban-i Kashlū Khān, in the next Section

[2] The printed text turns Kashlū Khān i-Balban into Lashkar Khān, and in ELLIOT [vol ii page 350] it is so translated, and Thomas [PATHÁN KINGS, page 125] turns Sher Khān into the *brother* of Ulugh Khān! He was his *uncle's son*—his cousin merely

[3] Marūt is a well known place on the route from Dihlī to Ūchchah. "*Mirat*" is utterly impossible One is W of Dihlī, and the other E A person would go a *little* out of his way to go to Multān from Dihlī by way of "*Mirat*" See the account of Ulugh Khān, and ELLIOT, vol ii page 350. Our author went as far as the river Jhilam to see the captives off

[4] It is strange that no particulars are given respecting the capture of these Mughal prisoners by Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn i-Kurez *from*, not *at*, Multān, which caused Dihlī to be decorated It is not even referred to in the account of Ulugh Khān It was quite time to gain some success—although this is a very doubtful one—over the Mughals, for they were continually encroaching

the month of Zī-Ḳa'dah, Ḳāẓī Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Kāsānī, resigned his existence to the most sublime dynasty—the immaculate Ruler of the Universe.

SIXTH YEAR: 649 H.

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, having commenced to act in a refractory manner at Nāg-awr, in this year the august standards moved towards that place, upon which Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, presented himself and made his submission, and the sublime standards returned [to the capital [5]]

Subsequently to this, Malik Sher Khān marched from Multān [6] against Ūchchah, and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, pressed on from Nāg-awr towards Ūchchah, and went to Malik Sher Khān [in his camp] and was detained, and relinquished the fort of Ūchchah to him [7], and, leaving it, turned his face towards the capital.

upon the Panjāb, and by and by we shall find them permanently located on the banks of the Bīāh. This is the affair out of which Firishtah, but not the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, makes Sher Khān take Ghaznīn from the Mughals referred in note [8], page 690, and in the account of Sher Khān in the next Section

Some time previous to this, in 647 H., Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Hasan, the Ḳarlugh, who was able to hold his territory of Banīān notwithstanding the Mughals, advanced from that tract to attack Multān, which fief Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān then held, together with Ūchchah He advanced from Ūchchah to drive away the Ḳarlugh army An engagement ensued near Multān, Ḥasan, the Ḳarlugh, was slain, but his people kept his death secret—although a party of horsemen, in Malik Balban's army, devoted themselves to kill the Ḳarlugh chief—and Malik Balban was under the necessity of delivering up Multān, which he had entered after the engagement We must suppose that Ḥasan's eldest son—the Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad—hereafter to be mentioned, took the command of the Karlugh army, to whom Malik Balban had to surrender Multān, which Malik Sher Khān shortly after recovered from them, when he installed there his own retainer—Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn-i-Kurez, above alluded to See the account of Sher Khān in the next Section

I have already mentioned how eastern cities are decorated Compare ELLIOT also here

[5] Ulugh Khān's brother was put in charge of Nāg-awr

[6] In his account of Malik Balban, in the next Section, our author says Sher Khān advanced from Tabarhindah and Lāhor upon Uchchah.

[7] In ELLIOT, vol ii. page 351, this is rendered "but *he was captured in his encounter with* Sher Khán and quietly surrendered the fort." No encounter whatever took place between them, and the event happened precisely as our author relates above The details of it will be found in the account of Balban-i-Kashlū Khān and of Sher Khān in the next Section, which see.

On Sunday, the 17th of the month of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 649 H., he presented himself at the sublime Court, and the fief of the district and city of Budā'ūn[8] was assigned to him.

In this year, likewise, on Sunday, the 10th of the month of Jamādī ul-Awwal, for the second time, the Ḳāẓī-ship of the realm, together with the jurisdiction of the capital[9], was entrusted to this servant of the state, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, by the sublime command; and, on Tuesday, the 25th of the month of Sha'bān, the sublime standards moved towards Gwāliyūr, Chandiri, Nurwul[1] [Nurwur], and

The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī places this event immediately *after* the taking of the stronghold of Nurwur, instead of before, although our author says that the Sulṭān set out for Chandirī and Mālwah in Sha'bān, which is the eighth month of the year

[8] One of the two most important fiefs of the kingdom of Dihlī in those days.

That *exceedingly trustworthy* historian, Firishtah, perpetrates a nice blunder here He states immediately after the Nurwur affair, that "Sher Khān took Ghaznīn from the Mughals, and, for some time, read the Khuṭbah and coined the money there in the name of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn"!! All this ridiculous nonsense is concocted from the affair of Ikhtiyār ud-Dīn-i-Kurez and the Mughals mentioned previously by our author ELPHINSTONE is also led away by this nonsense, through the translations of that writer's work, and MARSHMAN and some others of the *compilers* of Indian history follow suit of course The last-named writer adds that it is the only irruption recorded from that quarter during the period of "*authentic history*" So much for the authentic history. See page 694, and account of Sher Khān in the next Section.

[9] This refers to his duties as Ḳāẓī no doubt, but the word used in the text is حکومت—jurisdiction, authority, sway, &c., and does not mean *magistrate*, although it might, in a proper place, mean *magistracy*.

[1] There is no doubt respecting the name of this place. Nurwul and Nurwur, or Nirwul and Nirwur, are one and the same thing, the letters ر and ل in Hindī being interchangeable. It is no doubtful place, and lies some 40 miles east of Bhūpāl, in Lat 23° 18', Long 78° The other places mentioned with it indicate its whereabouts The majority of the best copies of the text have چاهر اجار Chāhar-i-Ajār, and one چاهر but in MSS ر and و are often confounded It is probably the manner in which a Musalmān, and a foreigner, would write چاهڑه [चाहड]—Chāhaḍah—by putting ر to represent the sound of Sanskrit ड The word here written اجار—*ajār* or *achār*, in one copy of the text, in the account of Nuṣrat ud-Dīn, Tā-yasa'ī, in the next Section, has اجارنه—*ajārnah*, which may be meant for اچاریه—*achāryah*, ر standing for ـ

This Rājah is, probably, "Chāhaḍa Dīva," as referred to by Thomas [PATHAN KINGS pages 69 70], but it seems very doubtful whether he was ever tributary to I-yal-timish The second word is, probably, meant for आचार्य—Achārya—spiritual guide, or teacher, &c., *only*, in other places farther on he is styled رانه اجار—Rānah *of* Ajār, and آن هندو اجاری—that Hindū fellow, *the* Ajarī, or, *of* Ajārī, and رانه اجاری—Rānah *of* Ajārī, and

Mālwah, and, on this expedition, they reached near unto Mālwah. Chāhar, the Ajār, who was the greatest of all the Rāes of that tract of country, who had about 5000 horsemen well trained to arms, and 200,000 footmen, was routed; and the fortress which had been constructed by him, among defiles and passes, was taken and plundered, and booty and captives fell into the hands of the Musalmān army. During this expedition the Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, displayed proofs of much energy and skill; and, in safety, and under the protection of God,

جاهر اجاری and چاهر Chāhir and Jāhir *the* Ajārī, who was a Rānah, &c., all of which various designations make the identification difficult.

In Sanskrit, Achārī means strict in the observance of religious ceremonies, and Achāraj and Achārya mean a spiritual guide or preceptor. Hodgson, in his "*Sketch of Buddhism*" contained in Part I., Vol. 2nd, of the "TRANSACTIONS OF THE RO. AS. SOC. for 1829," pages 231 and 245, mentions the *Vajra Achāryas*. He says "The *Bandyas* are divided into two classes; those who follow the *Váhya-charya*, and those who adopt the *Abhyantara-charya*—words equivalent to the *Grihastha ásram* and *Vairági ásram* of the *Bráhmanas*. The first class is denominated *Bhikshu*, the second, VAJRA ÁCHÁRYA." This last term is evidently similar in some way to the same name applied to this great "Rāe." See also the account of this affair, in the notice of Ulugh Khān in the next Section, and compare ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 351.

The Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī styles him هرجا دیو—Harjā Dīw, and the Taẓkarat ul-Mulūk حاهر دیو—Ḥāhir Dīw—but in all probability the ح is merely چ or ج with the points omitted, as no Hindū name would have the peculiar 'Arabic ح—and says he had 60,000 horse and 200,000 foot, but these latter would be mere rabble in any case, that he was *one* of the Rājahs of Chandīrī and Mālwah, and that, on the *way back* from this expedition, the fortress of Nurwur or Nirwur was taken.

The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī states that the Sulṭān marched against اچار دیو—Achār Dīw, with a large army, on the 6th of Sha'bān of this year, mentions the number of the hostile troops as given by our author, and that a great battle took place in which Achār Dīw was overthrown, after which his stronghold was taken by assault, and the Sulṭān returned to Dihlī.

Firishtah copies the above, but styles him حاهر دیو [the *MS.* used by Dow however appears to have had ساهر دیو—Sāhir Dīw] and adds that he had very recently built this stronghold of Nurwur or Nirwur, which, in BRIGGS' *revised text*, is turned into تیرور—Tirūr, which, of course, is totally incorrect.

According to TOD [vol. i. page 89], this stronghold was erected by a branch of the *Cushwaha* [he probably means the کچهواهه—Kachwāhah—Rājpūts] and was "a celebrated fortress" and "the abode of the celebrated Raja Nala, whose descendants *continued to hold possession throughout all the vicissitudes of the Tatar* and Moghal dominion, when deprived of it by the Mahrattas," &c. Of course: who ever heard of Rājpūts being overcome by Musalmāns except by accident or mistake or some black treachery, according to the Rājpūt romances? Our author, consequently, must be wrong, and the Rājpūts right. It seems strange that such a great Rānah as this was is not mentioned by the Rājpūt annalists.

the sublime standards moved back again towards the capital.

SEVENTH YEAR: 650 H.

The sublime standards returned to Dihlī on Monday, the 23rd of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 650 H., after which, for a period of seven months, attended by auspicious fortune and increasing felicity[2], the Sulṭān continued at the illustrious seat of government, and, during this period, was engaged in the diffusion of goodness and establishing usages of justice and equity.

On Monday, the 22nd of the month of Shawwāl of this year, the Sulṭān departed in the direction of Lohor with the intention of marching to Ūchchah and Multān[3], and at the time of bidding farewell, in the vicinity of Kaithal, the Sulṭān bestowed upon the author a special honorary robe, together with a horse with complete furniture and trappings ornamented with gold and a saddle.

During this march all the Khāns, Maliks, and Amīrs of the adjacent parts, assembled and attended the sublime stirrup, and Kutlugh Khān from the territory of Bhīānah[4],

[2] Rendered in ELLIOT, "in great *comfort* and splendour." The original is—با غبطت فرخنده و دولت افزاينده

[3] The I. O. L. *MS.*, R. A. S. *MS.*, the best Paris *MS.*, and printed text here, have "the Sulṭān departed towards Lohor and GHAZNĪN by the way of Ūchchah and Multān"!! The Editors of the printed text must have had peculiar ideas of their own on geographical matters not to have detected this blunder of the copyists. Where Ghaznīn? where Lohor? The word عزيمت in the original text has been turned into غزنين by the copyists of the three former, but a very little discrimination would have convinced any one of the utter impossibility of its being correct. The Calcutta text, however, is faithfully followed in ELLIOT. See vol. ii. page 352.

What was the object of proceeding in the direction of Lāhor with the intention of marching to Multān and Ūchchah does not appear, unless it was to deprive Sher Khān, Ulugh Khān's kinsman, of these places and their dependencies, and restore them to Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān [which was done], and that this was the first move in the Rayḥānī plot, which the latter Malik supported against Ulugh Khān; for, as yet, Malik Sher Khān had not left the country, and Malik Balban was feudatory of Budā'ūn. The Mughal raids *may* possibly have been the cause; but, whatever it may have been, the Biāh was the furthest point reached upon this occasion. See the account of Balban-i-Kashlū Khān in next Section.

[4] Turned into "Sihwān" and "Sihwīn" respectively in the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī and Firishtah, and the latter has the impossible امر for عز in the title of 'Izz-ud-Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū Khān.

and 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū[5] Khān, from Budā'ūn, with their respective followings, accompanied the sublime standards to the boundary of the river Biāh. 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān [at this time] secretly subverted the mind of the Sulṭān and the Maliks towards Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, and their minds were greatly changed.

EIGHTH YEAR: 651 H.

When the new year came round, on Tuesday, the 1st[6] of the month of Muḥarram, 651 H., command was given to Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, from the encampment at Hasīrah[7], to proceed to his fiefs[8], the territory of Siwālikh and Hānsī. When the Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, in conformity with that command, reached Hānsī, the Sulṭān, with his forces, in the beginning of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal of this same year, returned to the capital, and changed the feelings of the grandees [as well as] the offices [they held[9]]

In the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, the *masnad* of the Wazīr-ship was transferred to the 'Ayn-ul-Mulk[1], the Niẓām-ul-Mulk, Muhammad, Jūnaidī[2], and to Malik

[5] The Calcutta text turns him into *Lashkar* Khān, but such a name does not occur throughout the whole of our author's work

[6] In the next Section, the *last* day of Muḥarram

[7] This name is doubtful, and I fail to recognize the place. It is scarcely written twice exactly alike in any of the copies of the text collated, but it certainly is not "Rohtak" In the different copies of the text it is حصیرہ—حصیرا—سمیر—مرد—سیوا or سیهد and تله' or اتله and the like.

[8] Both here and in the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section, in ELLIOT [vol ii pages 352 and 370], this is translated "his *estates* in the Siwālik *hills*," but they were exceedingly extensive *estates* Ulugh Khān held the *province* of Hānsī and the Siwālikh in fief, which then appears to have been the peculiar appanage of the Amīr-i-Hājib

[9] In ELLIOT, "directed his attention to the nobles and public affairs," but the context plainly shows what is meant, and it is to be presumed that the Sulṭān, during Ulugh Khān's tenure of office, directed his attention to public affairs and to the great also

[1] This title, signifying *the eye of the state*, like the following, signifying *the regulator of the country*, &c., is a mere title peculiar to Wazīrs. Muḥammad was the name of the person in question

[2] Firishtah asserts that 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān was a protégé of Ulugh Khān's, but, as this is not contained in the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, and is not referred to by our author, I am inclined to doubt its correctness. The Dakhanī historian also refers to the 'Ayn-ul-Mulk, as if he were a foreigner whom chance had brought to Dihlī

Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Kashlī Khān, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib and Ulugh Bār-Bak [the Lord Chamberlain and Chief Master of the Ceremonies[3]], who was the brother of the Khān-i-Mu'azzam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, the fief of Karah was given, and he was sent thither. In Jamādī-ul-Awwal likewise, 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān became Wakīl-i-Dar[4] [Representative in Dar-bār], and the Sulṭān [and his forces], with the object of removing Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam—may his power endure!—moved from the capital towards Hānsī[5]. 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayhān brought Ḳāẓī Shams-ud-Dīn, of Bharā'ij [to the capital], and on the 27th of the month of Rajab, 651 H., transferred to him the Ḳāẓī-ship of the realm[6]. Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam moved from Hānsī and

[3] Compare ELLIOT here, where Malik Kishlī Khān is divided into *two*, and one half of him is *made* "lord chamberlain," instead of his being deprived of the office because of his relationship to Ulugh Khān, and his other half, as "Ulugh Mubarak Aibak," is sent to Karra!! *Bār-Bak* is an officer, equivalent to the Bār Begī of the Persian Court.

[4] BRIGGS is perfectly correct in reading Wakīl-i-Dar, since "*wakīldar*" is meaningless, but he is wrong in translating it "*officer of the door*," one "who superintends the ceremonies of presentation," for the meaning assigned to the words by VULLERS is correct—procurator palatii regii, i. e. *vicarius*. Wazīr no doubt means Prime Minister from the time of the first Khalīfahs down to the present time, as in Turkey and Persia at this moment. BLOCHMANN, in his translation of the Ā'īn-i-Akbarī [vol. i. page 527], translates "*Vakīl*" [Wakīl] as "prime minister," and "*Vazīr*" [Wazīr] as "minister of finances." I refer to the pre-Mughal period; but even as regards the reign of Akbar, who, being half a Hindū, and not half a Musalmān, and who, hating the very name of Muḥammad and Aḥmad, delighted in making innovations contrary to Muḥammadan usages, this rendering would furnish matter for much argument; but what I refer to in this place is WAKĪL-I-DAR, or WAKĪL-I-DAR-BĀR—for the two are equivalent—to which the Musalmān writers assign the following significations —وکیل در بمعنی وکیل دربار و نائب مناب—

A Wakīl is, essentially, a person entrusted to act *in the absence* of another—a substitute, *alter ego, locum tenens*; but, at the same time, it must be remembered, that the office of Wakīl-i-Dar is different from that of Nāyab-i-Mamlikat—Deputy or Lieutenant of the kingdom—as shown distinctly at page 702. Ulugh Khān was made Nāyab-i-Mamlikat in 647 H., and not Wakīl-i-Dar, which office 'Imad-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān obtained after Ulugh Khān was sent to his fief; but 'Imād-ud-Dīn did not become Wazīr, for the first line of this paragraph of the text above shows, that Muḥammad, Junaidī, was the Wazīr. The term, Rayhān, is applied to a slave or eunuch generally. See also note [6], page 635.

[5] This is related differently in the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section, which see.

[6] Our author's own office. See also the account of Ulugh Khān farther on. It was in this year, 651 H., that he gained great successes over the Rājpūts.

retired to Nāg-awr, and the fief of Hānsī, together with the office[7] of Amīr-i-Ḥājib, was entrusted to Prince Rukn-ud-Dīn [Fīrūz Shāh[8]], and in the month of Sha'bān [on the 17th] the Sulṭān [with his forces] returned to the capital.

In the beginning of Shawwāl of this year, the Sulṭān marched from Dihlī for the purpose of securing[9] Ūchchah and Multān. On arriving in the vicinity of the river Biāh, a force was despatched towards Tabarhindah.

Previous to this, Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunḳar had withdrawn from an engagement on the banks of the Sind[1], and had retired towards Turkistān; and Ūchchah, Multān, and Tabarhindah, had been left in the hands of his dependents. On Monday, the 26th of the month of Zī-Ḥijjah of this year, they were gained possession of, and were made over to the charge of Arsalān Khān, Sanjar-i-Chast[2], and the

[7] The word here used—شغل—does not mean "*interest*"

[8] Among the names of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn's *offspring* in the list, at page 672, this name is given, together with the names of three others These must have been mere children, as Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, himself, was only born in 626 H., and now only in his twenty-sixth year The fief as well as the office of Amīr-i-Ḥājib must have been held by Deputy in this case, by some creature of 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān's clique, but only for a very short time The mention of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's offspring fully disproves the statement of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, and some other works, as to his having had but one wife—he may have had only one at a time—for, as yet, Ulugh Khān's daughter had borne him no offspring See page 714.

[9] The word فتح is here used, which has different meanings. "*Subduing*" is rather too strong, as the object was merely to obtain possession of those places from Malik Sher Khān's dependents, and to place them under the charge of Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, as will be detailed in the account of him farther on. Malik Kurez, Sher Khān's deputy at Multān, had, only two or three years before [in 648 H.], sent Mughal captives to Dihlī, which caused such rejoicing

The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī says "Sher Khān sustained a defeat at the hands of the Sindīān," and Firishtah copies with some blunders of his own; but, as the first mentioned work agrees in every other respect with our author's statements here, "the banks of the Sind" have, evidently, been mistaken for Sindīān.

[1] A few copies of the text, but of the more modern ones, including the best Paris *MS*., have "Sher Khān had retired from an engagement with the infidels of Sind"—كفار سند—but those words appear to be a mistake for كنار سند as in the translation above.

[2] Our author, in the next Section, says nothing about this movement towards Ūchchah and Multān, merely that the fief of Tabarhindah was assigned to him, and that previously [subsequently ?] he held the office of Wakīl-i-Dar. He joined Ulugh Khān from Tabarhindah, when the latter marched from Nāg-awr to oust 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān from power

In the account of Malik Balban it is stated that he, having been ousted from

Sulṭān [with his forces] retired from the banks of the Bīāh [3], and, in the same manner, returned to the capital.

NINTH YEAR: 652 H.

When the year 652 H commenced, the river Jūn was passed, and, in the vicinity of the Koh-pāyah [skirt of the mountains] of Bardār and Bijnor [4] many successes were gained, and vast booty acquired.

Ūchchah by Sher Khān, who had previously obtained possession of Multān, went to Court and was made feudatory of Budā'ūn, and that, subsequent to this, hostility having arisen between Sher Khān and the Maliks of the Court, Sher Khān left the country and retired into Turkistān, but *no battle* whatever is referred to Subsequently—previous to the year 655 H, in 653 H or 654 H.—Malik Balban had been again put in charge of Ūchchah and Multān, and had made overtures to Hulākū Khān, the Mughal, who ruled over Ī-rān on the part of his brother, the Great Ḳā'ān, Mangū, and had asked for a Mughal Shaḥnah, or Commissioner

In the account of Malik Sher Khān on the other hand, our author states that the reason, why Sher Khān retired towards Upper Turkistān to proceed to the *urdū* of Mangū Kā'ān, was, that, when his cousin, Ulugh Khān, was banished from the Court through 'Imād ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān's intrigues, and proceeded to Nāg-awr, strife went on between the cousins on the banks of the Sind

In the account of Ulugh Khān, the march towards the upper provinces in 650 H is mentioned when the Rayḥānī plot took place, but no reference whatever is made to Sher Khān's retirement, nor to any fighting Under any circumstances Sher Khān could not have remained long absent from Hind, as he joined the Sulṭān's brother, Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, in 652 H, at Lāhor, which territory, a fact to which I have before drawn attention, appears to have been then severed from the sovereignty of Dihlī There is a great deal of mystery about Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh's movements, but further mention of him, with reference to the Mughals, in the last Section, will throw some more light upon them

[3] It must be borne in mind that all the references in these pages to the Bīāh, and the banks of the Bīāh, refer to that river when it flowed in its *own bed* which ran about midway through the Bārī Dō-ab, and Shamalī Kachhī Dō-ab, and joined the other rivers of the Panjāb ten miles north of Ūchchah otherwise, to advance to the Bīāh as it now flows, to operate against Multān and Ūchchah, would be of no more effect than advancing to the Gang or Jūn for the purpose I shall have to refer to its change of bed farther on

[4] As in all the copies of the text—بجنور Bijnor and بجنور—Bījnor [the Bijnour of the Indian Atlas] It is a place of considerable antiquity, with many ruins still to be seen

The very "candid" writer, our author, makes no other mention of this affair in the account of Ulugh Khān—in fact, it is not even alluded to The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, however, refers to it, but is evidently quite at sea as to the geography, as I shall clearly prove That work states, that, in 652 H, the Sulṭān "marched an army into the boundaries of the Koh pāyah [skirt of the

On Thursday, the 13th of the month of Muḥarram o this year, the river Gang was crossed [by the Sulṭān an his troops] in front of Mīā-pūr, and in the same manne keeping along the skirt of the mountains, the force pro ceeded as far as the banks of the river Rahab. Durin these holy expeditions, on Sunday, the 15th of the mont of Ṣafar, at Tiklah-Bānī[5], Malik Rażī-ul-Mulk, 'Izz-ud Dīn, Durmashī[6] [Durmashānī ?], attained martyrdom O

mountains] of Bijnor, and, *having* obtained great booty, crossed the river Gan at the Mīā-pūr [another *MS.* Mahā-pūr] ferry, and, keeping along the skirt o the mountains, reached the river Bihat [which is the Jhilam]," and that, "a Talkah-mānī—تلكه مانى—[another *MS* تكله مانى], on Sunday, the 15th of Ṣafar of that year [652 H.], Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Rażī-ul-Mulk, whilst *in a state o intoxication* [?] was martyred by the Zamīndārs of Kaithal and Kuhṛām Th Sulṭān, to avenge his blood, having gone to Kaithal and Kuhṛām, inflicte chastisement upon the contumacious of that part, and then proceeded toward Budā'ūn," &c. If any one will take the trouble to look at a map, it will b at once seen what utter absurdity this is, and what ignorance it displays. Th author of that work evidently wrote without attending to the geography, an has mistaken Kāṭheher for Kaithal—had he not added Kuhṛām by way o riveting his blunder, I should have imagined Kaithal an error of the copyist—and so made a precious hash of the two expeditions, and made *one* of them, a well as mistaking a place situated in Lat 29° 49, Long 76° 28′, for another—tract of country—more than three degrees farther east Firishtah follows implicitly, thus proving that, in this instance certainly, he did not see ou author's work He, however, leaves out the name of Tīklah-Bān altogether The simple mention of Budā'ūn should have been sufficient t have guided the author of the first work to كتهير—Kātheher, or كٹهير—Katheher, as it is also written

[5] In the original تكله بنى In some copies Tiklah Mānī [تكله مانى], Tilkah or Talkah-Bānī [تلكه بانى], Tiklah Bamī [تكله بامى], Tanklah Bānī [تنكله بنى] Tanklah-Pānī [تنكله پانى], and also Sakah Mānī [سكه مانى] The first men tioned is contained in the majority of the best copies The identification o places is very difficult in the Indian Atlas sheets, as well as in other les valuable maps, from the manner in which the names of places are written For example, in Sheet No 67, the word Tilak, in the name Tilak-pūr, i written *Tillok*-poor, *Tilek* poor, *Tille k* poor, and the like, just according to the fancy of the different surveyors or engravers In my humble opinion, in the case of survey maps, at least, the local name, written in the vernacular should be first obtained, and then after transliteration, inserted in the map, the long and short vowels being properly marked, as well as guttural, nasal, as pirated, and other peculiar, letters, and then the public would not be at the mercy of Gazetteer writers and their crude theories A recent article in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, No. ix of 1874 by Mr F. L. Growse, is very much to the point

There is a place called *Tigree Barekna* in the sheet referred to in Lat 29°, Long 79° 40′, what the vernacular may be I cannot tell

[6] That most absurd blunder, whereby an innocent man is turned into a *drunkard*, occurs in the above passage The author of the Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī read the word درمشى—Durmashī [which signifies that he was a native of درمش,

ıe following day, the 16th of Ṣafar, the Sulṭān of Islām, order to avenge that act, inflicted such a chastisement ›on the infidels of Kāṭheher as [the people of] that rritory will remember for the rest of their lifetime, and fterwards] departed towards Budā'ūn, and, on Thursday, ıe 19th of the month of Ṣafar, the district of Budā'ūn ecame adorned with the magnificence and dignity of his ıspicious canopy of state and sublime standards. The ultān halted there for nine days, and, after that, decided ›on a return to the capital.

On Sunday, the 6th of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, the 'azārat-ı-Mamālık [7] [Wazīr-ship of the realm] fell to the ıarge, for the second time, of the Ṣadr-ul-Mulk, Najm-ud-īn, Abū-Bıkr, and, on Sunday, the 20th of Rabī'-ul-wwal, within the limits of Kol, the Sultān honoured this ıssal of the dynasty [the author] with the title of Ṣadr-i-ıhān [8]—the Almighty long preserve him in the sove-ıgnty!—and, on Saturday [9], the 26th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, e capital, Dihlı, was reached.

The Sulṭān continued at Dıhlī for a period of five

Darmash, or that his family, originally, came from a place so called The ne name has already occurred See page 489, and note [4]], as سر مستی —"in intoxication," whilst Firishtah, by way of clenching the absurdity, and owing plainly whence he obtained *his* information, puts an additional word i e حال — سر حالت مستی —"in a *state* of intoxication"!!

I had some faith in the Ṭabaḳāt-ı Akbarī before I compared its statements th respect to this Shamsī dynasty I found it a mere transcript, with verbal erations, of our author's statements, *plus* the geographical and other unders referred to All this shows what errors may be made even by native uḥammadan compilers of Indian history what then may we not expect ›m European compilers who are wholly dependent on translations for their aterials?

[7] At page 352 of ELLIOT, vol ii, "*wazír*" is not translated at all, and, a w lines under, "*wakíldar*" is translated "prime *minister*," but here Wazīr-i-amālik is rendered "*minister*" Now it is clear, from our author's state-ents, that Wakīl-ı-Dar and Wazīr are totally distinct offices, and, therefore, e former office, as described by the Muḥammadan authors, is no doubt rrect 'Imād-ud-Dīn-ı-Rayḥān was still Wakīl-ı-Dar at this period

No mention of Abū-Bıkr's ["Abú *Bakr*" must be "Turani"] obtaining e Wazīr-ship is made in the account of Ulugh Khān, although it enters into uch more detail of these events

[8] Compare ELLIOT vol ii page 353 In Akbar's reign, the Ṣadr-ı-Jahān as the Chief Justice and Administrator of the Empire See Blochmann's anslation of the A'ĪN-I-AKBARĪ

[9] Saturday, *not* Tuesday, is correct, for, if Sunday is the 20th, how is it ›ssible for the 26th to be Tuesday?

months [1], when information arrived respecting the assemblage of the Maliks who had gathered about Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh [the Sulṭān's brother] [2]. The sublime standards [accordingly], in the month of Sha'bān, moved towards Sunām and Tabarhindah, and the 'Īd-i-Fiṭr [the festival at the end of the Fast Month—Ramaẓān] was celebrated at Sunām. The forces of the Maliks, namely, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Arsalān Khān, Sanjar-i-Chast [3], of Tabarhindah, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Bat Khān [4], Ī-bak, the Khiṭā-ī, and Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam from Nāg-awr, were along with Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindah. The Sulṭān [with the forces of his party] left Sunām and retired to Hānsī, and those Maliks moved towards Kuhṛām and Kaithal [5] The Sultān [on this] marched from Hānsī [8th of Shawwāl] in the same direc-

[1] The inscription over the entrance of the *minarah* at Al-garh [Anglicized Allygurh] is dated 10th of Rajab of this same year, and in it is said to occur the name of Malik-ul-Kabīr-ul Mu'aẓẓam, Kutlugh Khān, Balban ush-Shamsī which has been ascribed, by Thomas [PATHAN KINGS, pages 129-30], to Ulugh Khān, but "the amiable king" never bestowed upon Ulugh Khān the title of Kutlugh Khān according to the records in this work. Our author says this was the title by which Nāṣir-ud-Dīn's step-father was known, and by no other name is he mentioned in these pages, and he bore that title for a long time after. See under the events of the next year. The name probably refers to the person who held the fief when the *minārah* was erected

[2] Further details of this outbreak will be found in the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section. It was the occasion upon which the Sultān's brother, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, is said to have gone to the camp of Mangū Ḳā'ān, son of Tūlī, son of Chingiz, but our author makes a mystery of it. More about this will be mentioned farther on.

Firishtah, in his utter ignorance, turns the Sulṭān's brother into Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khānī [I have already referred to this blunder of turning Khān into Khānī, at page 633, note [9]], and says he was one of the "Turkān-i Khwājah-Tāsh," referred to in note [5], para. 6, page 717. He seems totally unaware that Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, was the Sulṭān's own brother. Sher Khān, after the same fashion, is turned into Sher Khān, Rayḥānī, in the "revised" text of *Briggs*!!

[3] See the Malik No. XIX in the next Section.

[4] The Malik No. XVI. in the following Section is referred to. This title or by-name is often mentioned in the accounts of the Turks

[5] This affair probably led the author of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī astray, and to mistake Kaithal, when Kāthehar was meant. See ELLIOT: vol. ii page 354. A slight skirmish did actually take place, and the greatest confusion arose in the Sulṭān's camp. The particulars of this affair will be found in the account of Ulugh Khān farther on, under its proper date. Firishtah, but not the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, brings Malik Sher Khān upon the scene here. Sher Khān does not appear to have had anything to do with this matter. See the account of him in next Section

tion. A party of Amīrs now interposed between the two personages[6] [the Sultān and Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh], and spoke words of peace, and 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān was the cause of discord on both sides, until, on Saturday[7], the 22nd of Shawwāl of this same year, the Sulṭān of Islām commanded that 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān should be sent to Budā'ūn, and that that territory should be his fief; and that accommodation was effected

On Tuesday, the 17th of the month of Zī-Ḳa'dah, after vows, pledges, and stipulations, Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, and the whole of the Amīrs and Maliks presented themselves, and [the province of] Lohor became the fief of Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh[8], and, attended by security and felicity, the Sultān and his forces entered the capital city of Dihlī, under a fortunate star, on Tuesday, the 9th of the month of Zī-Ḥijjah—May Almighty God ever adorn the

[6] The original—درمیان هر دو تن as above The persons referred to are the Sultān and his brother, but Ulugh Khān was also concerned Compare Elliot also here

[7] "Wednesday" is utterly impossible, if Tuesday is the 17th of Zī-Ḳa'dah In the account of Ulugh Khān it is said the 22nd of Shawwāl was Saturday

[8] This is the first time Lāhor has been referred to as a fief since it was taken by the Mughals in 639 H It was still in ruins, and was not rebuilt until some time after Some authors state that Jalāl-ud Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, held Lāhor *independent* of the Dihlī kingdom, and that he was countenanced by the Mughals More on this subject will be found in the last Section. Even above it is not said that Lāhor *was conferred upon him*, merely that it *became his fief*

In the account of Sher Khān in the next Section, it is stated that, on his return with honour from the *urdū* of the Great Ḳā'ān, Mangū Khān, in Tūrān [this shows the state of the Dihlī kingdom, when even Ulugh Khān's own cousin went to the Mughal Court], he, Sher Khān, joined Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn; but there it is stated that contention arose between the latter and Sher Khān at last, that Jalāl-ud Dīn retired in disappointment, and that his dependents and followers fell into the hands of Sher Khān's followers. This however, it must be borne in mind, had nothing whatever to do with these events, and happened a year or two afterwards Sher Khān then endeavoured to recover Tabarhindah from the feudatory, Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Arsalān Khān, but he, having sallied out to encounter him, Sher Khān had to withdraw Swift messengers were sent after him from Dihlī, and pledges were entered into [to induce him not to retire to the Mughals probably], and he was induced to proceed to Dihlī, whither the feudatory of Tabarhindah was also summoned The latter was sent to govern the fief of Awadh, and Sher Khān received back all the frontier fiefs he had previously held Contention, however, again went on between him and Malik Balban i-Kashlū Khān as before, Tabarhindah and its dependencies were conferred upon another Malik, Nuṣrat Khān, Badr-ud-Dīn i Sunkar, and Sher Khān obtained another fief, as stated in note [5], page 713, and note [9], page 714 which see

sublime standards of the Sulṭān with the emblems of victory for the sake of his illustrious Prophet!

TENTH YEAR: 653 H

When the new year of 653 H came round, an uncommon thing happened, and it was on this wise, that the decrees of destiny suffered the blessed heart of the Sulṭān to change towards his mother, the Malikah-i-Jahān, and, as she was married [a second time][*] to Ḳutlugh Khān, command was given to both of them that Awadh should be their fief, and that they should proceed to it[1]. In conformity with this command, they repaired to their fief, and this circumstance happened on Tuesday, the 6th of the month of Muḥarram of this year.

When the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal came round, on Sunday, the 23rd of the same month, the Sultān of Islām,—May his sovereignty continue!—entrusted to the charge of this servant of the state, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, under the same covenant as on a previous occasion, the Ḳāzī-ship of the realm and jurisdiction over the capital city, Dihlī

[*] There appears to have been some secrecy with respect to this match, and it is on account of the proceedings of the Sulṭān's mother and her second husband that he is excluded from the account of the great Maliks. Compare E i 101 here also

[1] Some time previous to this period, but when or in what year is not stated—more than between the beginning of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, and the putting to death of Malik Kuṭb-ud Dīn, Ḥusain, the Ghūrī, in the middle of 653 H—Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Yūz-Bak-i-Ṭughril Khān, who had previously held the fief of Ḳinnauj, having showed a rebellious spirit, Malik Ḳuṭb ud Dīn, Husain, the Ghūrī, was sent against him, and he succeeded in bringing Malik Yūz-Bak to the capital The latter was then appointed to the charge of the fief of Awadh, and, subsequently, that of Lakhanawaṭī was conferred upon him Hostility arose between him and the infidels of Jāj nagar who renewed their attempts against the Lakhanawatī territory Malik Yūz Bak was at first unsuccessful against them, but, at last, he penetrated into their country, and appeared before its capital After this success, Malik Yuz Bak, who was continually acting contumaciously towards the Court, assumed *three* canopies of state, invaded Awadh, and assumed the title of Sulṭān Mughīṣ-ud-Dīn The kingdom of Dihlī appears to have been in such a state of disorder that its ruler was powerless to oust him from Lakhanawaṭī, and, subsequently, Malik Yūz-Bak invaded Kām-rūd, but was defeated and taken prisoner, and died Further particulars will be found in the next Section, but our author gives not a single date, and his accounts differ considerably

In the month of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, they conveyed to the hearing of the Sulṭān a remark from Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of 'Alī, the Ghūrī, who was Nāyab [Lieutenant] of the kingdom, which was contrary to the sublime opinion, and, on Tuesday, the 23rd of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, he cited Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain [2], and ordered him to be arrested and imprisoned; and that Malik obtained martyrdom [3]—Almighty God long preserve the monarch of Islām!

On Monday, the 7th of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, the fief of Mīrath was assigned to Malik Kashlī Khān, Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the Sultānī Shamsī, Ulugh Ḳutlugh-i-A'zam, the Bār-Bak [the full brother of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam], after he had presented himself at court [4] subsequent to his return from Karah—The Almighty's mercy be upon him [5]! On Tuesday, the 13th of the sacred month of Rajab of this same year, the office of Shaikh-ul-Islām [patriarch] of the capital was consigned to that Bāyizīd of the age, the Shaikh-ul-Islām, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, the Bustāmī [6], and, in this

[2] See the List at page 673 for his full titles

[3] This is another of our author's mysteries and suppressions of facts In his account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section, he says Ulugh Khān was made Nāyab or Deputy of the kingdom, in 647 H, soon after his daughter was espoused by the Sulṭān On the banishment of Ulugh Khān to his fief of Nāg-awr in 650–51 H, through 'Imād-ud Dīn-i-Rayḥān's machinations, he was, of course, deprived of his office, but, neither under this reign, nor in the account of Ulugh Khān, is it stated whom Ulugh Khān succeeded in that office, or who succeeded him, but, from the statement above, it is evident that Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, was made Nāyab when Ulugh Khān was sent to Nāg-awr, and that he held the office up to this time. From what is mentioned about Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, in the account of Ulugh Khān, where the latter's return to Court is detailed, and 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān's banishment, at the end of the year 652 H, it is also evident that the former—he was no slave either, but a free born Ghūrī noble of royal descent—held a high position in the state, second only to the Sulṭān himself. His fate evidently was connected, in some way, with the Ḳutlugh or Rayḥānī factions, from what is mentioned respecting the occurrences of this year, in the account of Ulugh Khān or, he may have merely been in the way of Ulugh Khān's ambition, for, immediately after he was got rid of, his extensive fief of Mīrath was given to Ulugh Khān's brother

[4] "Upon his coming from Karra to *pay his respects* to the Sultan." ELLIOT: vol ii page 354

[5] He died in 657 H

[6] Busṭām is the name of a celebrated town in Khurāsān, of which Jamāl-ud Dīn was a native, hence he is styled Busṭāmī, and Shaikh Abū-Yazīd or Bāyazīd is the name of the saint who has made Busṭām so famous among Musalmans. Some write the word Basṭām. See page 419

month likewise, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Sanjar, the Sihwastānī[7], managed to get out of Awadh, and ousted 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayhān from Bharā'ij, and he departed on a journey from this world. In the month of Shawwāl of this year likewise, the Sulṭān with his forces departed from the capital towards Hindūstān [i. e. east of the Jūn], and, on Sunday, the 17th of the month of Zī-Ḳa'dah, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam set out for Hānsī for the purpose of organizing the affairs of the Siwālikh contingent, and, having got those troops ready, returned to the capital, Dihlī, with them[8], and, on Wednesday, the 19th of the month of Zī-Ḥijjah, at the close of this year, he joined the royal camp [with his contingent]

Previous to this a peremptory command had been issued that Malik Ḳutlugh Khān [the Sulṭān's step-father] should leave the province of Awadh, and proceed to the fief of Bharā'ij, and he had not obeyed that mandate, and Malik Bak-Tamur[9], the Ruknī, was directed to proceed from the capital with a force and expel him [from Awadh]. The forces on either side came in contact in the neighbourhood of Budā'ūn[1], and Malik Bak-Tamur was martyred. On this, the Sultān with his forces set out towards Awadh for the purpose of remedying this mishap, and, on his arrival in that part, Malik Ḳutlugh Khān retired before him, and the

[7] There are three Maliks mentioned in the next Section bearing a similar name and title, one Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Kuret Khān, another, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Tez Khān, who lived in this reign, and, at this period, held the fief of Budā'ūn, and a third, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, but the Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Sanjar, here referred to, must be a totally different person, and is not mentioned among those in the next Section See also note [4], page 704.

In the account of Ulugh Khān he is styled Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Māh-pishānī [of the moon-like brow] "Out of the *city* of Awadh"—the ancient capital— is here meant, where he was confined Further particulars will be found under Ulugh Khān, which see Firishtah, who certainly did not obtain the names of persons from our author, turns him into Tāj ud-Dīn, the Turk

[8] On the 3rd of the month, Zī Ḥijjah In Muḥarram, the first month of the year 654 H, the army reached the frontier of Awadh

[9] In some copies this name appears Bak-tam—بکتم—but it is an error What appears the long stroke of م is merely the way in which some writers, writing quickly, would write بکتمر—Bak-Tamur, but the I H L *MS*, R. A S. *MS*, and Paris *MS*, have بکتم or بکتمر Ruknī refers to Sulṭān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, in whose reign this Malik was raised to that dignity, probably. He is styled Malik Bak-Tamur-i-Aor Khān in the next Section

[1] It is said, in the next Section, that they met at Samrā-mu

Sulṭān moved towards Kālair[2]. Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam [with a part of the army] followed in pursuit of Malik Ḳutlugh Khān, but did not meet with him, and, with great booty, he rejoined the Sulṭān's [camp][3].

ELEVENTH YEAR: 654 H.

When the new year, 654 H., came round, the Sulṭān's forces, in the month of Muharram, 654 H., having achieved that success[4], attended with felicity and victory, and aided by the protection of the Creator Most High, the Sulṭān turned his face towards Dihlī, and, on Tuesday, the 4th of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 654 H., the capital was reached.

When Malik Ḳutlugh Khān became aware that the Sulṭān's forces had retired towards the capital, he began to appropriate the territories of Karah and Mānikpūr, and between him and [the feudatory] Arsalān Khān, Sanjar-i-Chast, a conflict took place, but the victory remained with Arsalān Khān[5]. As it became impracticable for Malik Ḳutlugh Khān to make further resistance in Hindūstān, he determined to move upwards [towards the Biāh and Lāhor] through the border tracts, and proceeded in the direction of

[2] The name of this place is doubtful in all copies of the text, but is written Kāler or Kālair—کالیر—in the most trustworthy copies. The probability is that it refers to—کلیر Kaliyar—a few miles north east of Rurkī. It is the remains of an ancient city. In some copies of the text the word is کالنجر—Kālinjar, but, of course, the celebrated stronghold of that name is not, and cannot be, referred to. In the account of Ulugh Khān, in the next Section, the scene of these events is said to have been near the frontier of Tirhut.

[3] Near Kasmandah, or Kasmandī, for it is written in both ways, on the 16th of Rabī' ul Awwal.

[4] It was a great success, certainly, *not* to catch a rebel.

[5] Two Maliks living at this time, whose names and titles are somewhat similar, and are thereby liable to be mistaken one for the other—one, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Tez Khān, the other, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Arsalān Khān, Sanjar-i-Chast. The first mentioned became Wakīl-i-Dar and feudatory of Buda'ūn in 654 H. He was, subsequently, sent against Kutlugh Khān, but had to retreat, and, some time after, the fief of Awadh was conferred upon him. The latter had married the daughter of Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Tughril, the Mu'izzī [see page 544], and had great interest. When Malik Sher Khān retired from Sindh and Tabarhindah, Arsalān Khān was sent to Tabarhindah. He was afterwards sent against Kutlugh Khān, when feudatory of Awadh, and was more successful, and compelled Kutlugh Khān's faction to disperse. This is what is referred to above. See Maliks, Nos. XVII and XIX, next Section.

Santūr [6], and sought shelter among the independent [Hindū] tribes [7]. The Sulṭān with his forces moved from the capital, Dihli, on Monday, the 20th of Zī-Ḥijjah, to quell this sedition of his; and, as the new year, 655 H. [8], came round, the army, in that year, marched towards Santūr,

[6] See the account of Ulugh Khān, in the next Section, respecting Santūr

[7] There is not a word about "the highlands" here, as given in ELLIOT [vol. ii. page 355] The word مواس is made *a tract of country* in that work! The words are—سور مباس مواس عرصه بالاكرد—as above

The editor of the above-mentioned work adds, in a foot-note, that "These two names are written مواس and سنور (var ستور) The former is probably MEWÁR, and the hills the Arávallí mountains Briggs says there is a town called Santpúr, near Abu Thornton has a "Santoo, eighty-four miles S S W. from Jodhpur" " Where will they lead us next? They are entirely out, however, both in their latitude and longitude here, *only* about *five degrees* too far W and S " Where "*Mewár*?" where the Himālayah mountains? Perhaps "*Bahrāich*" is near "Jodhpur" also Firishtah turns ستور into جيتور—Jītūr—and جيتور—Jīt pūr—or, rather, the "*revised* text" of BRIGGS does. Dow has *Sitnoor*, as in the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī, which proves that the *MS.* of Firishtah used by him was correct, for سنور in a *MS* might be read, by a person not knowing what place was referred to, ستور The "revised" text of Firishtah might be *revised* from other MSS of that work with much advantage

There is some difficulty with respect to the *exact* meaning which our author desired to convey by the word مواس—*mawās*—here, and مواسات—*mawāsāt* used elsewhere The latter word seems as if intended for the plural form of it, according to 'Arabic ideas or, otherwise, for the 'Arabic word signifying "society," "neighbourhood," "fellowship," &c There is also a Hindī word written in the same way—مواس—meaning "refuge," "protection," "retreat," "asylum," and the like, which might be used here but, from the way in which the second form of the word, viz مواسات is used in the account of Ulugh Khān, and in other places farther on, respecting these events, both words evidently refer to neighbouring independent Hindū tribes and the tracts they dwelt in, adjoining the Dihlī territory, but not under the sway of the Dihlī kings, and as such I shall use the word here

The country of the Mews or Mewrās is certainly not meant, for Mewāt is too far south-west The events here recorded happened in and around the Upper Do-āb, in and near the lower ranges of the Himalayah mountains, as far east as the district of Tirhūt, and as far as the Biāh on the west.

I have in my possession detailed geographical accounts of these tracts, but neither of the words used in the text is mentioned There is a possibility that the name *mawās* is local, but, at the same time, there seems but little doubt of their being the same, or one among the aboriginal Hindū tribes, referred to in Dalton's Ethnology [pages 154, 221, 230, 231, 280], and in the Rom Geogr Journal, II of 1855, under the name of *Mawās*, which is used like the term گنوار—*ganwār*—[illegible]—by some native writers, applied to a nomad people of Hindustan

[8] These are the events of the next year, not of 654 H In the account of Ulugh Khān it is stated that the Sulṭān's troops only began their march in the *third month* of 655 H

d hostilities were commenced between the forces of Islām ıd the Hındūs of the Koh-pāyah [skırt of the hills][9]. utlugh Khān was among that people; and a party nong the Musalmān Amīrs, who were apprehensive, rough being falsely accused, joined him[1], but, as they ıd not the power to withstand [the Sultān's troops], they nsequently turned their backs [and retired], and Ulugh hān-ı-A'ẓam, by stroke of sword, turned that mountaın ıct upside down, and pushed on through passes and files to Sılmūr [ı e Sırmūr], and devastated the Koh[2]-i-lmūr [the hill tract of Sirmūr], and waged holy war as the faith enjoined, over which tract no sovereign had quired power, and which no Musalmān army had ever fore reached,' and caused such a number of villainous indū rebels to be slain as cannot be defined nor numbered, r be contained ın record nor in narration[3]

TWELFTH YEAR 655 H

After withdrawing from thence [the hill tract of Silmūr], on ınday, the 6th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 655 H., Malık Saıf-ud-īn, Ban Khān, Ī-bak, the Khıtā-ī, sustained a fall from his ›rse and dıed from the effects of the ınjurıes he sustaıned, ıd the Sultān's forces turned their faces towards the pıtal, and, on Sunday, the 26th[4] of the month of Rabī-Ākhır, he reached the ıllustrıous seat of government, ıhlī

[9] The Sub Hımālayah ıs here meant, not the hılls of Mewāt

[1] This is rendered ın ELLIOT [vol ıı page 356] "a party of nobles *in the* yal army, &c, went and joined them," as ıf they deserted from the Sulṭān's my The text, however, will not admit of this rendering, and the words are و از امرای اسلام جمعی که خائف بود The Musalmān Amīrs were not with the royal rces at this time See under Ulugh Khān

[2] In a few of the more modern copies of the text *Kaṣbah*—town ıs used ınstead *Koh*—mountaın, hill-tract, &c. Sılmūr and Sırmūr ıs one and the same ıng The chief town bore that name as well as the tract of country For rther particulars respecting this part, see the account of Ulugh Khān ın the xt Section There the Ḥıṣār—fortress, or fortified town—of Sılmūr ıs entıoned

[3] It was on the last day of Shawwāl of this year, although some say the llowing day—the 1st of of Ẕı-Ka'dah—that Rukn-ud Dīn, Khūr Shāh, the st of the Mulāḥıdah rulers of Alamūt, came down from his stronghold of aımūn-Dujz and presented himself before Hulākū Khān, the Mughal

[4] It was the 25th according to the statement ın the account of Ulugh Khān, hıch see

On the return of the victorious forces, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, who, with the troops of Ūchchah and Multān, was [then] in the neighbourhood of the banks of the river Bīāh [5], advanced still farther [north-eastwards], and Malik Ḳutlugh Khān, and those Amīrs who were in combination with him, joined Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, and advanced to the limits of Manṣūr-pūr and Samānah [6]. When information of the movement of this faction came to the sublime hearing, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam with the troops was appointed [to march against them], and, on Thursday, the 15th of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 655 H., he moved from the capital [7].

When Ulugh Khān [8]-i-A'zam, with the forces under him, arrived near unto the army of the faction, so that between the two armies about ten *kuroh* [about 18 miles] distance remained, a party at the capital, such as the Shaikh-ul-Islām [patriarch], Jamāl-ud-Dīn, the Sayyid, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, and Ḳāẓī Shams-ud-Dīn, the Bharā'ijī, wrote letters secretly, and despatched them to Malik Ḳutlugh Khān and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān [urging them] to come to the capital, and that they would give up the gates [of the city] to them, and every one within the city they were getting to pledge their support to this movement,

[5] This advance was made with an object, as will appear in the account of Ulugh Khān.

[6] Ḳutlugh Khān and his faction, skirting the lower range of the Himālayah, advanced towards the Bīāh, keeping north of Sirhind, and Balban-i-Kashlū Khān moved up from the Multān district to meet him, along the banks of the Bīāh—which, at that period, from our author's remark in his account of Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, was the boundary of the Dihlī kingdom. It flowed in its old bed at this period. See remarks on the "Lost River" in last Section.

[7] Our author's account here differs considerably from that given in his notice of Ulugh Khān,-and that again differs, in a great measure, from the other two in his notice of Balban-i-Kashlū Khān. Under Ulugh Khān, our author states that, when he, with his troops, drew near to the rebels in the vicinity of Kaithal, *on the 15th* of Jamādī ul-Awwal, certain persons at the capital wrote letters, &c.

[8] He is again turned into his namesake, Balban, by Firishtah, who styles him اعز الدین. The title of his namesake, however, was 'Izz[ی]-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān. Ulugh Khān never went by the title of 'Izz-ud-Dīn. The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, which copies from our author, is perfectly correct, but Firishtah imagines that "Kashlū [not Kashlī] Khān, Ḥākim of Sind" and 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban, was another person altogether, and makes two persons of him in nearly every instance throughout his account of this reign.

and were entering into compacts, and making stipulations with them. Certain loyal informants [however] wrote intimation of this sedition to Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam who, in consequence of this treason, from his camp, imparted information to the sublime Court respecting the fact of this disaffection on the part of a party of turban-wearers[9] [priest-hood], and requested, in the event of its being expedient in the sublime opinion, that a royal mandate should be issued by his Majesty unto them to the effect that those [among them] who held fiefs in the neighbourhood of the capital should repair to their respective fiefs, and that their return to the city again should be prohibited, by his Majesty's command, until that sedition should be quelled.

On Sunday, the 2nd of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 655 H., the mandate was issued that the Sayyid Ḳutb-ub-Dīn, the Shaikh-ul-Islām, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, and Ḳāẓī Shams-ud-Dīn, Bhara'-iji, should proceed to their fiefs.

On their letters from the capital having reached Malik Ḳutlugh Khān and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, they, at once, without the least delay, marched from their position, with the whole of their forces, and pushed on towards Dihlī. This forced march of theirs upon the capital, from their camp near Samānah, was begun on Monday, the 3rd of the month of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir[1], and they pushed on with such celerity that they marched a distance of one hundred *kuroh* [about 180 miles] in two days and a half, and, on Thursday, the 6th of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, they alighted at the Bāgh-i-Jūd [the Jūd Garden][2]. The next morning, at dawn, after morning

[9] Compare ELLIOT [vol. ii. pages 356, 357] here دستاربندان does not mean "nobles."

[1] How is it possible that the hostile Maliks could have started on the 3rd of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, even if the information sent by the loyal party arrived the same day as that in which the letters of the turban-wearers reached the hostile camp? Ulugh Khān had to despatch the news to the Sulṭān, at Dihlī, and he had to issue his mandate to expel them, and this, our author says, he did on the 2nd of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir—*the day before the letters* from the different partisans *reached the respective camps!* These two dates cannot both be correct.

[2] The printed text here has a typographical error of باغ حود for باغ جود which is immediately after printed correctly, and the name occurs in a number of places in this Section and the next. In consequence of this slight mistake, this sentence is rendered in ELLIOT [vol. ii. page 357]—"they alighted *at their*

prayers, they made for the city gate, and made a circuit in the vicinity of the capital[3], and, at night, pitched their camp in the suburbs of Dihlī, between the Bāgh-i-Jūd, and Gilū-kharī, and the city.

When those Maliks and [their] forces, in expectation of the fulfilment of the promise [contained] in those letters, reached the Bāgh-i-Jūd, the favour of Almighty God was such that, two days previous to their arrival, the party disaffected had been sent away from the city; and, when those [hostile] Maliks became aware of their story, their proceedings became suspended[4], and a command had issued from the Sulṭān's court, so that they [the authorities] secured the city gates; and, as the [royal] troops were absent from it, they made dispositions for defence The Amīr-ul-Ḥujjāb [Lord or Head of the Chamberlains] 'Alā-ud-Dīn, son of Ayāz[5], the Zinjānī, and the Deputy Amīr-i-Ḥājib, and the Ulugh Kotwāl-Bak [the great Lord, the Seneschal], Jamāl-ud-Dīn, the Nīshāpūrī, with the Dīwān-i-'Āriz-i-Mamālik [Muster-Master of the Kingdom], that same night, in organizing the fighting men for the defence of the city[6], greatly distinguished themselves, and Amīrs, heads of families, and respectable persons, were appointed to the ramparts

gardens [plural] (outside the city)," &c Immediately under, the same is repeated in the text, but printed correctly—باغ جود—but, in ELLIOT, Bāgh i-Jūd is discarded altogether, and the words "gardens on the Jamna" are *substituted*, and the editor adds, in a note —"the text has '*Júd*,' which I take to be a mistake for *Jún* = Jumna '" When our author is perfectly correct he is, in this manner, made out to be wrong

From its situation, the Jūd Bāgh is probably that which now goes by the name of the Bāgh-i Shālimār, some distance W of the old city of Dihlī

This affair will be found much more detailed in the account of Malik Balban-i Kashlū Khān, and of Ulugh Khān, farther on, and the Jūd Garden is again referred to

[3] There is nothing about *walls* in this part of the sentence

[4] In ELLIOT [vol ii page 357]—"they became *very cautious* in their proceedings," &c The original word تعلل here signifies delaying, suspending, retarding, &c

[5] He had succeeded, as Deputy of Ulugh Khān's brother, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak i-Kashlī Khān, who had been sent to the fief of Mīraṭh after Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, the Ghūrī, had been got rid of

[6] Malik Badr-ud-Dīn-i-Sunḳar, the Rūmī, feudatory of Bhīānah, also reached the capital with a body of troops, and this timely aid tended to the security of the city As usual with our author, he gives part of the details here, but retains the greater part of the particulars for his account of Balban i-Kashlū Khān, and Ulugh Khān, which see

When the morning of Friday [the 7th of Jamādī-ul-Āk͟hir] dawned, God Almighty prepared a pleasure [for them], and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kas͟hlū K͟hān, proposed to retire. The other Maliks along with the Sulṭān's mother, the Malikah-i-Jahān, when they perceived that his intention was to be abandoned, all concurred in retiring. The greater portion of their following [however] did not accompany them at the time of their withdrawal, and took up their quarters in the vicinity of the city, and many of the great and notable persons among them sought to be admitted to terms, and presented themselves before the sublime court [7], and those [disaffected] Maliks retired towards the Siwālikh [8] [territory] foiled in their objects.

When information of their intention [to march against Dihlī, previously related] reached Ulug͟h K͟hān-i-A'ẓam, and the [other] Maliks and Amīrs of the royal army, they moved from the position they were then in, and pressed forward towards the capital, until, when they arrived near unto it, the state of affairs became manifest to Ulug͟h K͟hān-i-A'ẓam, and he reached the capital again, safely, prosperously, victoriously, and triumphantly, on the 14th [9] of Jamādī-ul-Āk͟hir—May Almighty God perpetuate the sovereignty of this dynasty, and make lasting the fortune and power of this K͟hān-ship, and preserve the people of Islām, through His illustrious Prophet Muḥammad [1]!

Subsequently to these events, on Wednesday, the 8th of the blessed month of Ramaẓān of this year, the *masnad* of the Wazīr-ship was entrusted to the Ẓiyā-ul-Mulk, Tāj-ud-Dīn, with the title of Niẓām-ul-Mulk, and the *masnad* of the [office of] As͟hrāf-i-Mamālik [2] was committed to the

[7] That is, they presented themselves to make their submission, after terms were entered into, and do homage to the Sulṭān. In the account of Malik Balban-i-Kas͟hlū K͟hān, in the next Section, it is said that only 200 or 300 followers accompanied him on his retreat.

[8] The Siwālikh has been previously described.

[9] Without even a *skirmish* having taken place between them! So much for our "candid and conscientious narrator."

In the account of Ulug͟h K͟hān the date is the 10th of Jamādī-ul-Āk͟hir.

[1] No further notice of Ḳutlug͟h K͟hān and his wife, the Sulṭān's mother, occurs throughout this work, although our author, no doubt, was well aware of their fate, and it is not recorded anywhere else. They probably retired within the Mug͟hal dominions, or remained with Kas͟hlū K͟hān in Sind.

[2] See note [8], page 635, respecting these titles.

Ṣadr-ul-Mulk ; and, at the end of this year[3], an army c infidel Mughals from Khurāsān reached the territory c Ūchchah and Multān, and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-Kashlu Khān, entered into a compact with them, an joined the camp of their leader, the Nū-yīn, Sālīn[4], th Mughal.

THIRTEENTH YEAR · 656 H

When the new year came round, and the month of Mu ḥarram, 656 H., was entered upon, on Sunday, the 6th c Muharram, the sublime standards moved from the capit for the purpose of making holy war upon and repelling th Mughal infidels, and a camp was formed in sight of th city of Dihlī.

Trustworthy persons have related on this wise, tha on Wednesday, the 9th of this same month, Hulāū [c Hulākū], who was the head of the Mughal infidels [i 'Irāk], fled discomfited before the troops of the Lord of th Faithful, Musta'ṣim B'illah, from the gate of Baghdād[5].

[3] In Zī-Hijjah, the last month of the year

[4] ELLIOT [vol. ii. page 358]—"at the camp of *Sálín-nawín*"! Th leader is styled Sārī by our author in the account of Ulugh Khān, and Sālī *r* and *l* being interchangeable—in other places, and by other authors.

The Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī dismisses this invasion in a few words, and ha "At the end of this year an army of Mughals came into the territories Ūchchah and Multān, and the Sulṭān marched to repel them, and the Mugh army retired without fighting, and the Sulṭān also returned"

The "revised" text of Firishtah has لشکر مغول بساری و نواحی اوچه و ملتان امد whic *if* correct, shows that writer knew not what he was writing about, for it can on be rendered—"an army of Mughals *came to Sārī* and the territories Ūchchah and Multān." The name of the leader has been mistaken for place, and his rank seemingly for a territory also He adds, what is neith contained in our author nor in the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī—"the Sulṭān broug forth his *red* tent [pavilion] and pitched it, and *after four months*, when l forces had assembled, he set out by continuous marches, and, as the Mugha retired without fighting, the Sulṭān also retired," all of which is total incorrect, and his own concoction The Sulṭān *never moved* from his capit nor did the troops either, and there they remained The Mughals d just what they liked, and ravaged the frontiers of the Dihlī kingdom, a Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i Kashlū Khān, who was independent, all but name, of the Dihlī government, had lately returned from a visit to Hulāū [Hulākū, both being correct] Khān's camp, and was saddled with the presen of a Mughal intendant or commissioner in his territory See the account Balban-i-Kashlū Khān and Ulugh Khān farther on

[5] The editors of the Calcutta text add a note here to the effect that tl

When the Sulṭān's troops issued forth for the purpose of carrying on war against the infidels, Maliks and Amīrs, with bodies of troops, were appointed to all parts[6]; and the centre [division] of the Sulṭān's [own] troops returned to the capital on the 1st of the month of Ramazān, where the Sulṭān continued for a period of five [seven ?][7] months. On the 18th of the month of Ẕī-Ḥijjah[8] of this same year, the kingdom of Lakhanawaṭī was conferred upon Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd[9], son of [the late] Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī.

FOURTEENTH YEAR: 657 H

The new year having come round, on Thursday, the 13th of Muḥarram, 657 H[1], the Sulṭān's forces moved for the purpose of carrying on war against the infidels, and, on Sunday, the 21st of the month of Ṣafar, the territories of Bhīānah, Kol, Balarām, and Gwāliyūr were placed in Malik

statement is contained "in all four *MSS* used by them," and that it is "contrary to the truth" I can assure them that it is contained in *eleven MSS*, and more, that, wherever a *MS* of the text is found, therein will this statement be found also, and still more, that the statement is *perfectly true* that the Mughals—the van of Hulāū's army, amounting to 30,000 horse—on approaching the gates of Baghdād on the west side of the Dijlah, were encountered by the Khalīfah's troops under his general Sulīmān Shāh, and other leaders, and repulsed This was but a temporary success however Al-Musta'ṣim B'illah, Abū Aḥmad-i-'Abd-ullah, was martyred by the Mughals, together with four of his sons and other members of his family, on the 6th of Ṣafar, 656 H

[6] Where these bodies of troops were sent may be seen in the account of Ulugh Khān, and may *partly* account for the forces of Dihlī, concentrated at the capital, being unable to move against the Mughals.

[7] All the copies of the text have five months, but, from the 6th of Muḥarram —the first month of the year—mentioned above, to the 1st of Ramaẓān, is exactly *eight* months less five days.

[8] In some copies Ẕī-Ḳa'dah.

[9] He is styled "Shāh" in some of the best copies of the text, which is certainly redundant, for we nowhere meet with it except for the princes of this dynasty In the List at the commencement of this reign he is called Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Ḳulich Khān, son of the late Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, who is certainly, at page 625, styled Shāh zādah of Turkistān In other places the son is called Malik Ḳutlugh, Mas'ūd, son of Jānī, and also Ḳulij and Kulīj, Mas'ūd, son of Jānī. See the account of Ulugh Khān for notice of other discrepancies respecting Lakhanawatī and its governors

[1] No movement was made, according to this, for a period of four months and twelve days, from the 1st of Ramaẓān, 656 H to the 13th of Muḥarram, 657 H The infidels referred to were Hindūs, as will appear

Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Sher Khān-i-Sunḳar's charge[2], and the Malik-un-Nawwāb, Ī-bak, was nominated to proceed with a force against the infidels of Rantabhūr, and the Sulṭān's forces returned to the illustrious seat of the kingdom's glory again.

On Wednesday, the 4th of the month of Jamādī-ul-Akhir of this year, two elephants and some treasure from the territory of Lakhanawatī reached the sublime Court[3]; and, on the 6th [26th ?] of the aforesaid month, the Shaikh-ul-Islām [Patriarch] of the capital, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, the Busṭāmī died, and on the 24th of the month Ḳāẓī Kabīr-ud-Dīn departed this life—the Almighty's mercy be upon them!—and their offices were conferred, with king-like benevolence, upon their sons. In the month of Rajab of this same year, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, Kashlī Khān[4]-i-A'ẓam, the Bār-Bak, passed to the eternal mansion of the Most Compassionate, and the office of Amīr-i-Ḥājib was assigned to his son, Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad[5]. On the 1st of Ramaẓān, the Imām, Ḥamīd-ud-Dīn of Mārīgalah[6], died likewise, and his grants, by the royal favour, were confirmed to his sons

[2] In the account of Malik Sher Khān, and of Ulugh Khān, besides these fiefs, Baltārah, Baltādah, or Paltārah—for the word is written thus in the best copies of the text—and Mihir and Mahāwan, are also said to have been conferred upon him See note [9], last para page 714.

Firishtah, who, of course, knows more than any one else, and is always *so* correct as I have shown, says, immediately after mentioning the "Sulṭān's *return* from marching against the Mughals"—which was not correct, as shown in the previous note [7]—that the Panjāb was entrusted to Sher Khān's charge, and that Ḳashlī Khān, Ulugh Khān's brother, got Bhīānah, Kol, Jālīsar, and Gwāliyūr, which is equally fallacious The Sulṭān did not possess the Panjāb to give him the Mughals had overrun that part, as will be found farther on The frontier territory possessed by the Sulṭān at this period—657 H [when all Indian Histories *suddenly cease* from giving any further accounts of the reign, because dependent on our author for them]—was made over to the charge of Malik Nuṣrat Khān, Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunḳar, the Rūmī, as mentioned in a following note, and he was still stationed in that part, with a considerable body of forces, when our author ended his history

[3] See the account of Malik Tāj ud-Dīn, Arsalān Khān, in next Section

[4] Firishtah, of course, kills the wrong person He records the death of Malik عز [for عز] ud-Dīn, *Kashlū Khān*, who was still living when our author finished his work

[5] This nephew of Ulugh Khān rose to high rank in his reign, and held the offices his father had held, and his title was 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Kashlī Khān, Ulugh Ḳutlugh-i Mu'aẓẓam, the Bar Bak He was very munificent, a great archer and hunter, and very skilful in the game of Chaugān

[6] Of Mārgalah in the Panjab

After such turmoil, when the prosperity of the state, and the dominion of the great Sulṭān's kingdom, had its face turned to extension, and all fractures were set and all wounds were alleviated, on the branch of continuity on the stately tree of monarchy, a new flower bloomed, and a tender bud opened, and the ripening fruit grew; and, on the 29th of the month of Ramaẓān, the abundant grace of the Creator of the Sulṭānī [imperial] stem, from the illustrious shell of Khānī [the daughter of Ulugh Khān], bestowed a son[7], and such an amount of favours and benefactions reached both gentle and simple—noble and plebeian—[in gratitude] for these blessings, as the pen of the record-writer cannot record, nor the breath of the narrator be sufficiently capable of narrating[8]—May the Almighty God ever keep the parterre of sovereignty and garden of dominion adorned with the trees and fruits of continuation!

At the end of the month of Shawwāl of this same year, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Tez Khān, with a force duly organized and equipped, in accordance with the sublime mandate, reached[9] the capital.

FIFTEENTH YEAR: 658 H.

When the new year of 658 H. came in, the sun of sovereignty rose from the horizon of prosperity, and the

[7] This son was by Ulugh Khān's daughter, but he did not live long.

[8] Our "author's flourishes" seem to have been "greatly compressed" here, in ELLIOT, as well as in the account of the following year.

[9] The word رسید here used signifies—reached, arrived—not *returned*. He came from Awadh in order to accompany Ulugh Khān in his expedition into the Koh-pāyah, but, in the account of him in the next Section, it is said he arrived at the capital in 658 H., when our author finished his history.

In this year "when all fractures were set," and the Mughals harassing the frontier, Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunḳar, the Rūmī, on account of the implicit faith placed in him by the Court, and on account of the continual hostility between Malik Sher Khān, who held Tabarhindah and its dependencies, and Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān of Multān and Ūchchah, was made feudatory of Tabarhindah, Sunām, Jhajhar, Lakhwāl, and as far as the ferries of the Bīāh, and despatched there with a large force. On this occasion, the title of Nuṣrat Khān was conferred upon him. Sher Khān received the fiefs of Kol and Bhīānah, Bilarām, Jalīsar, Baltārah, Mihar, and Mahāwan, and the fortress of Gwāliyūr—a very considerable tract of territory. Both Maliks held these fiefs when our author closed his history.

moon of dominion shone forth from the zodiac of happiness.

On the 13th of the month of Ṣafar, the Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, marched towards the Koh-pāyah of Dihlī, to put down the violence of the contumacious Mew [1], of whom a demon would be horrified, and about 10,000 horsemen in defensive armour, warlike and relentless warriors, followed his august stirrup [2]. The next day vast booty, and cattle in great numbers, arrived. He [the Khān] plundered and devastated difficult passes, and attacked strong mountain tracts [3], and Hindūs beyond computation fell beneath the unsparing swords of the holy-warriors [4]

Since the accomplishment of this History has reached this place, with this holy-warfare, and victory and success conferred by God, it is concluded. Should life be prolonged, and eternity extend the time, and aptitude remain, whatever events may hereafter occur will be recorded

The hope and reliance [of the author] on such persons as may look into this ṬABAKĀT and into these Annals, and take into consideration these Chronicles and Narrations, or if an atom of these accounts or a hint of these statements should come to their hearing, is, that, if an error, mistake, inadvertency, or omission should enter their

[1] Mew, Mewrā, or Mewrah, or Mewātīs, a most contumacious race down even to modern times. In Akbar's time they were employed as spies, and Ḍāk runners. The words Mew and Mewrā or Mewrah are both singular and plural

[2] There is nothing whatever in the text about "their Deo," nor about "and a large army," as in ELLIOT [vol ii page 359], which compare here The force consisted of about 10,000 cavalry only

[3] The words كوهاى حصين — kohahā-i-ḥaṣīn — do not signify "strong *forts*"

[4] The details of these operations, but related in quite a different manner, will be found in the account of Ulugh Khān, in the next Section, together with the account of the reception of the emissaries from Khurāsān, and the circumstances which led to their coming These persons certainly came from – or rather returned from—the camp of Hulākū Khān, but *they were not envoys from him, nor from the* Mughals. Ulugh Khān returned from this expedition on the 24th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 658 H., the emissaries from Khurāsān were received in the middle of the following month, Rabī-ul-Ākhir, and, on the 24th of Rajab, the seventh month of the year, Ulugh Khān again moved towards the hill tracts—Koh-pāyah His return is not mentioned, but he had returned again, no doubt, when our author finally ended his history, in the tenth month of the year—Shawwal—658 H

generous minds or reach their recipient ears, they will veil it with the garment of forgiveness, and endeavour to correct and rectify it, since whatever had been read in previous histories from the narrations and chronicles of Prophets, Maliks, and Sultāns, has been copied, and whatever the eye has beheld has been recorded [6].

[6] It is remarkable, but nevertheless true, and I do not think the fact has been particularly noticed before, that all the Muḥammadan Indian histories of this dynasty suddenly end where our author terminates his account of it, and that no farther account of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's, reign is contained in any of them.

The Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī relates but two events in the year 657 H., and then suddenly comes to a conclusion with a short account of that Sulṭān's mode of life, and his death, and no other event is mentioned. Budā'ūnī goes on a little farther, and gives a few lines more, but only as far as our author goes in his account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section, and then gives several Kaṣīdahs, of many pages, by way of lengthening the account. Firishtah also manages to spin out his tale to the same date, but relates nothing farther than is contained in Budā'ūnī and our author, whose last date here mentioned is 13th of Ṣafar—the second month of the year 658 H., and, in the account of Ulugh Khān, the last date given is Shawwāl—the tenth month of that year, and all after is *a perfect blank* in Indian history, until the reign of Ulugh Khān,—Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban—with which Ziyā-i-Baranī commences his history, the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, but he relates nothing respecting the events of the period in question, although he says he commenced his history where "the Ṣadr-i-Jahān, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Jūrjānī, left off."

Most writers agree that Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, was taken ill in 663 H., and died on the 11th of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 664 H. His reign was exactly twenty years, three months, and seventeen days, and yet, with the dates before them, the authors of the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī, the Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī, Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh, Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, and several others, make it *one year less!*

One reason of this significant silence on the part of our author [who died in the next reign] for a period of nearly *six years*, is, probably, that the Mughals, being so powerful in the Panjāb, harassed the western frontier of the Dihlī territory, and occasioned considerable confusion therein; and, not being able to chronicle victories, he refrained from continuing his history. Our author's health does not seem to have hindered him, as he continued for some time in employment in Balban's reign. There *may have been* another reason for his silence, as some authors attribute the death of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn to poison administered by Ulugh Khān, although this is extremely doubtful, and some say he was starved to death whilst confined by Balban's orders. Be this as it may, the silence is ominous.

Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, left neither offspring nor heir, but, before his death, he had nominated Ulugh Khān as his successor. This was natural, as Ulugh Khān was his own father-in-law; that the latter was son-in-law to Nāṣir's father, I-yal-timish, is a mistake of the Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī and its copyists who confound him with Balban-i-Kashlū Khān; but I know of no proof that he even was son-in-law of that Sulṭān. Ulugh Khān's own son, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, surnamed Bughrā Khān, had married a daughter of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-

May the Most High God preserve and continue the dynasty of the Sulṭān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, the great king of kings, NĀSIR-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN, ABŪ-L-MUZAFFAR-I-MAHMŪD SHĀH, son of the Sulṭān I-yal-timish, on the throne of sovereignty and the couch of dominion to the utmost bounds of possibility, and may HE grant HIS forgiveness to the compiler of this ṬABAKĀT, for the sake of the illustrious Prophet Muḥammad!

Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, who was the mother of Ulugh Khān's [Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Balban's] successor, Kai-Ḳubād, and, therefore, it is not surprising that, on the death of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, Ulugh Khān, who had, in reality, governed the kingdom since the fall of 'Imād-ud Dīn-i-Rayḥān, with the accord of all the great Maliks, was raised to the throne

Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, whenever he had occasion to mention the name of Sulṭān Nāsir ud Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, used, always, to style him, in a contemptuous manner, by the name of "the Khwājah Tash slave"—Khwājah-Tāsh signifying one of a number of slaves of one master, and, also, servants of one lord

It is related that Nāsir's humility was so great that he requested, that, when he died, his face should be blackened, a rope tied to his feet, and his body drawn along the ground and thrown into a cavern When his death took place, and consultation was held as to the carrying out of his wishes, "some wise persons among the Maliks and 'Ulamā advised that the face of the corpse should be covered with a piece of the [old] drapery of the mosque at Makkah, which is black, his bier so constructed with long legs that it might be drawn along the ground by a rope to a cavern prepared for it This was done, and over that cavern his sepulchre still stands, which since that time has become a place of pilgrimage"

Among some of the events of the year 658 H, the Malik of Kābul, whose name is not mentioned, after he had carried on war against the Mughals for nearly two years, was taken by Prince Yūsh mūt and I yal kā, the Nūyin He was brought to the presence of Halākū Khān, who ordered his flesh to be cut from his body, and he was compelled to eat it until he died

In the year 663 H, on the 9th of Rabī'-ul Awwal, Hulākū died in Āzarbaijān, aged forty eight, after ruling, over Irān, nine years and three months.

In 664 H, the Imām, Bahā ud-Dīn, Zakariyā, the Multānī, died, leaving seven sons

Faṣiḥ-ī—like Ziyā ud Dīn, Baranī—says Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Ulugh Khān, ascended the throne of Dihli in 662 H

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—At page 525, where I have given what is said to have been the inscription on the coins of Sulṭān Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, I have stated, as will be observed, that the inscription is given as "contained in a work in my possession, and which the coins are said to have borne" I did not vouch for its accuracy, and this refers equally to the inscriptions subsequently given up to the reign just concluded

I am under the necessity of burdening this translation with these additional remarks because Mr H BLOCHMANN, M A, imagines he has made an important discovery. He says [*"Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal,"* No III, page 136, last para.], "I, too, have a work in my possession on the 'Coins of the Salatin i Hind,' a modern demi-quarto Dihli lithograph, based on Sayyid Ahmad's *Asár uṣṣanádíd*, and I dare say I have discovered the source of Major Raverty's information" In this, as in some other matters, however, he is totally mistaken I do not know of, nor have I seen, any Āṣār-uṣ-Ṣanādīd, by Sayyid Aḥmad—although I dare say anything from the Sayyid's pen is valuable The work I refer to is a *MS*, of which I had a copy taken by my Afghān Maulawī of Ḳandahār—a *real* Paṭān—some ten years since, and, from what I can discover, it had been used by, or belonged to, the late W Marsden I can put Mr Blochmann in the way of finding the *MS*, should he ever come to England

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